Of the World Unite!

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Fourth International!

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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-revo-

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 1.00 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 re- SHACHTMAN TALKS gulations, 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 con-

cow, marks a new climax to the to a withering analysis. long series of crimes committed against a nightmare background 1921, of police brutality and bureau-

cratic inquisition. of New York, record our protest international labor with full and along with that of the over- free rights of examination and whelming majority of men thro- cross-examination of all defendughout the world, against this ants and witnesses. inhuman and unprecedented frame-up. Standing unalterably ternational hounding and perseas we do for the defense of the cution by the agents of the G.P.U. Soviet Union against its enemies, of Leon Trotsky and his family. and for the triumph of world socialism, we demand an end to frame-up and murder of the these methods and practices heroes of the October Revolution the forces of black reaction and Workers' State. 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 we'l for 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 Schultzi') Flegenheimer, and Dracula. We further suggest that at the ceremonial presentation of the prize to Yezhow (if he wins), cyanide of potassium cocktails be served, with carbolic acid for a chaser.

frame-up, the Trial of 21.

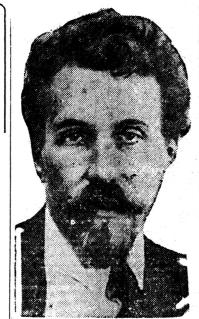
Shachtman read from docuby the Stalin regime against the ments in the Moscow Pravda of Business Agent of Electric Work- Hoan group. interest of the Soviet Union and 13 years ago to explode the ers Local 292; Oscar Coover, Orthe international working class. charge that Bukharin "plotted to ganizer, Electrical Workers Local State Committee has already In total disregard of the most assassinate Lenin" in 1918. He 292; C. R. Simonson, member of eliminated the name of the So-bers of the committee favored loud complaints and protestations elementary dictates of truth and also discussed at length the rejustice, the public trial itself was lations that existed between Ger- Workers Organization Commit- incorporation as the flung in the face of mankind many and the Soviet Union after tee, and Herman Husman, Busi- Party" of Connecticut.

presence within the court room Machinists. "We, the revolutionary workers of authentic representatives of

"We demand an end to the in-

"We demand an end to the

"We call upon you to transmit this document at once to your Russian Government to adjourn complished only by the disband- usual pitiful role. They and their litical struggle; and that compli-



ALEXEI RYKOV

Trial Protest Sent By Mpls. Trade Unions

Midwest Organizations Wire Troyanovsky On Moscow Frame-up.

Calling upon the Russian Go-

ernment to adjourn the latest Moscow trial until a committee of abor and liberal leaders can arive to attend the trial, a group of prominent Minneapolis labor leaders warned Ambassador Alexander Trovanovsky last week that "the decision handed down of Inquiry headed by John Dewey, characterizing as deliberate frame-ups the previous Moscow movement, and another tria under like conditions and without the repute of Soviet justice."

The Signers

Among those signing the communication were: Farrell Dobbs. Secretary-Treasurer of the North press pretends to put faith in the Central District Drivers Council; trial which, more than any other Miles B. Dunne, editor of the that preceded it, is so obviously Northwest Organizer; Henry a frame-up, so obviously absurd Schultz, Assistant Business Ma- and unbelievable in every imnager of the Electrical Workers portant aspect. President of the Warehouse given by the defendants, it be- the customary run of "confes-Union No. 292; James Bartlett, Workers Union Local No. 20316; comes increasingly apparent that sions." And, again as usual, the John Jonasco, Business Repre- the doomed prisoners are being "confessions" foundered upon the the wording of a special report sentative of the Woodenware forced to play the part of scape- reef of facts. Workers Local 20418; Fred Died- goats for the crimes committed rick, President of Furniture by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Workers Local 1859; Bill Brown, the past five or more years. President of General Drivers ON TRIALS TO 800 Union Local 544; Joe Lear, Pre- ed to make an effort to resist sification. For this reason the States..., provides for the prosident of Private Chauffeurs the vicious bullying of Vyshins-More than 800 workers pack- Local 912; Harry De Boer, Preed Manhattan Plaza last Friday sident of Bakery Drivers Local night at a mass meeting called 289; Ed Palmquist, Chairman of SOCIALIST PARTY READY TO LIQUIDATE by the Socialist Workers Party to protest the new Moscow | Federal Workers Section Local 544; Ray Rainbolt, Business Representative of Ice Wagon Driv-Max Shachtman, editor of the ers Local 221; O. R. Votaw, Sec-"The trial of the 21 defendants | Socialist Appeal, gave an ex- retary-Treasurer of District 77 | weeks, important local steps have cracy. headed by Bukharin, Rykov, and tended review of the past trials. of the International Association been taken by the Socialist Party Rakovsky, now taking place be- He also subjected the evidence of Machinists; Joseph Pease, in the direction of liquidation of fore the military tribunal in Mos- given so far in the present trial Business Agent, District 77 of the party organization long the International Association of foreshadowed by the policies of Machinists; William J. Heigel, the controlling Altman-Thomas-

Ask Postponement

ness Representative of District

77. International Association of

Troyanovsky at the Soviet Em- be effected. bassy in Washington, the comscribe to the proposal already other political party - although ments. transmitted to you by Oswald this latter provision is not rigidwhose only result can be to serve and the founders of the first Garrison Villard, John Haynes

New Moscow Trial Shows **Usual Flaws**

Universal Ridicule Greets 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 saied 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 Dag-

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 Becenber, 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 Ruth 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 rials held in Moscow since the killing of S. M. Kirov in by the International Commission December 1934, is drawing to a close.

In the face of almost universal ridicule and disbelief for additions to naval armament. tutions.... These will be des- Women's International League expressed by both the capitalist and labor press throughtrials, is almost universally ac- out the world, the Prosecuting Attorney continues to drag mittee from the original sum of ist Party, Norman Thomas was that "the will of the American cepted by the American labor the moral wrecks seated in the prisoners' dock through \$800,000,000, is over and above strangely lacking in even the people be expressed in action an orgy of carefully rehearsed "confessions," compoundlegal guarantees to the defend- ed of lies and self-debasement, and staged in the interests ants will still further blacken of preserving the shaky totalitarian regime of Stalin and budget. Company.

They Stand Alone

With each day of testimony

Even Bukharin, who has seem-

ky, nevertheless "confirmed" the 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

Facts are notoriously stubborn things. Only within narrow limits mittee on Naval Affairs: can they be manipulated and The definition of fundamentshifted about for purposes of fal- al naval policy of the United

(Continued on Page 5)



The world-imperialist scope of the naval activities which are twenty-six members of the Com-

(Continued on Page 5)

CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY

House Group Adopts Huge

Original Figure Raised To New Record Peace-Time High

This entire amount, raised dur- troyed by war."

amendments already projected.

Prepares World War

During the past two or three! the League for Industrial Demo-|lidated in the Socialist Workers Party. Clarity Pushed Aside

Entry Being Planned

In New York, plans are busily being prepared looking toward endum. some formula whereby entry into

ly enforced.

Laidler Tells All

That such a liquidation is fore-In Connecticut, Devere Allen's York State Executive Committee. | Clarityites are permitted only the Joint Board of the Textile cialist Party by filing papers for closer forms of "cooperation" of revolutionary intransigence. with the A.L.P., Laidler demo-

Addressed to Ambassador the American Labor Party can Dan Hoan, who some time ago masters of the breed of opporturned the Socialist Party of tunism which the Clarityites atundersigned trade unionists sub-|simultaneous membership in any|ly in favor of the new develop-|ruptcies which have so uniformly

In this whole process, predict- Clarityite maneuvers. Local New York." leaders arrive to attend the trial." tional society" along the lines of volutionary current, now conso-substitutes for principle.

Zam and Tyler are, as always, seen was openly indicated in a shoved unceremoniously aside recent press release from Harry when the Altman-Thomas "demo-W. Laidler, chairman of the New crats" have business to do. The After explaining that all mem-the rather doubtful privilege of

Many of the Clarityites seem cratically observed that of course inclined to some sort of deal with any proposal to dissolve the the Lovestoneites as the only party altogether into the A.L.P. way out of the Labor Party diwould be "submitted to a refer- lemma into which Altman and he pointed out that "I have no tion to collective security, he de-Thomas have forced them. The It goes without saying that Lovestoneites are, after all, past The constitution of the Ame- Wisconsin into a mere appendage tempt so awkwardly to imitate. rican Labor Party prohibits affi- of the LaFollette machine, It is to be feared that the result munication asks him to "kindly liation by any other political or- through the Farmer-Labor Pro- of such a deal would be only one Hawaii, Panama, and from the inform your government that the ganization; and even excludes gressive Federation, is thorough more in the long series of bankfollowed each of the elaborate

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 the inevitable retired general to representatives of the so-called left, advanced a strange jumble of defensist, isolationist, and pacifist ideas which, at very best, were but a vague reflection of the American Navy Budget reflection of the American League Against War and Fascism in its first roseate 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 By the overwhelming majority us to exercise our right as American citizens to indicate our desires to Washington As loyal tuated and may very well be the Committee last week reported Americans we want nothing of "bulkwark against the Commuout favorably the Roosevelt- foreign war.... The greatest sponsored Naval Construction things in the world are American Bill, authorizing \$1,121,000,000 Democracy and American Insti- Dorothy Detzer, secretary of the

ing passage through the com- As spokesman for the Social- in no uncertain terms her desire the billion dollars already pro-diluted militancy which he has for... stricter neutrality legis vided for military and naval ex- sometimes expressed on past lation." And, lest anybody be so penditures in the regular Federal oratorical occasions. Gone was the misled as to mistake her for a vibrant "only-socialism-can-end- pacifist, she hastened to add that Within a few days it is ex- war" note of his earlier speeches. "cautious pacifism isn't enough. pected that the Bill will be sent In his broadcast address he We need the power and prestige to the floor of Congress by the thundered a stirring appeal of moral audacity." Whether Only the subsidized Stalinist main line of the imaginative plot Rules Committee, where it is for... "a Central Committee of Miss Detzer's "moral audacity quite possible that still further all those who are opposed to is to be translated, upon occasums will be added to the stag- war.... and a People's Congress sion, into the harsher and more gering total through a serie: of in Washington to let the govern- forthright cruisers and subment (not our government, com- marines of Major-General Rirade Thomas?) know our stand." vers, she neglected to make clear. The wily Stalinist war-mongers will find it hard to take any is- other speakers, Miss Detzer insue with Thomas's "anti-war" sisted vigorously that "since we foreseen emerged clearly from proposals, they were so inept live in democratic America, the and so futile.

Retired General

Major General W. C. Rivers, of the other speakers did. that sterling foe of war and militarism who served for years in the army without anybody discovering that he wore pink pa-

her defense," Rivers boasted. To contingency. buttress his statements, he had just published an article in the thrilled his liberal audience Committee's magazine in which when, in explaining his opposiemotional complex against war clared: "It is at that moment -if any good is to be derived (when depression hits the mas-(from it), or if (it is) necessary ses, during war-time), in a world for the defense of our land and full of revolutionary change that of that part of the seas adjacent the real menace to our own form to our country—the Aleutians, of democracy would arise." Caribbean to Maine.

Favors Japan

ed accurately more than a year | Perhaps some day some of the outlined in his speech, contains pinkish aura over the proceed-Wholesale entry of Socialist ago by the Appeal, the Zam- Clarityites will learn that capi- the following radical proposals: ings. As a representative of the Holmes and other friends of the Party members into the Ameri- Tyler "Clarityite" wing of the tulation to anti-revolutionists is instead of expensive capital "extreme left," he extended a Soviet Union, calling upon the can Labor Party can thus be ac- Socialist Party is playing its a poor way of preparing for po- ships.... a series of small cruis- warm hand of welcome to the ers, submarines, mines, and a pacifist organizations adhering nent.

Russian Government to adjourn to adjourn the latest Moscow trial until a sex Rice McKinney, Secy.

Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Party organization itself, with, perhaps, the followers are today tasting the fo tion that Japan is favorably si-

SWP ANTI-WAR MEET MARCH 18

NEW YORK-A high point in the campaign which the Socialist Workers Party is conducting against the rapidly - apprenching 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 International," James Casey, former managing editor of the Worker," and Nathan Gould, national organizer of the Y.

nization of Asia"! The next speaker for peace for Peace and Freedom, stated

Echoing the remarks of the government in Washington are the servants of the people. We must not forget this....

La Follette's "Differences'

There followed the main speaker of the evening, Senator Robert jamas, was the next speaker. In- LaFollette, Jr., "glorious son of a troduced by Villard as a man glorious father," as Villard did whose "pen and voice are at the not forget to point out. This new side of the peace movement and crusader for peace proceeded to his sword for the defense of his outline his deep-going differ-Peace-Lover Rivers ences with the administration's addressed his remarks to the imilitary policy, which on further "friends of peace and prepared analysis turned out, surprisingly ness." Lauding Roosevelt's defini- enough, to be also . . . of a purely tion of preparedness ("adequate technical character. "The proper national defense not only of line of defense," he insisted, "has coasts but of communities far been described as extending from away from the coast"), the Alaska to the Virgin Islands and speaker made it quite clear that to the coast of Maine." But, don't his disagreements with the ad- you see, "experts and authorministration were purely techni- ities are agreed that this country (come, come, Brother LaFollette "As a military practitioner, I -our country!) is adequately know what America needs for protected against any possible

But Senator LaFollette really

The Pink Wolfe

Bertram D. Wolfe, speaking for the Lovestoneite war-haters. Rivers' program for peace as next stepped forward to cast a (Continued on page 5)

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 antiwar campaign," B.J. Widick, Socialist Workers Party labor se- in the C.I.O. and about 400 in

district trade union comnittee 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 for med 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 La-

bor's Non-Partisan League. "The Foodworkers union I happened to be there. Over 600 were present, and believe it 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 dorsed by the Farmer-Labor As- misrepresentation. the C.I.O. and A.F.L. unite? That sociation for the post of mayor, concluded the trip to New Eng- is unacceptable to any class-con- fluous.

N. Y. Painters Get

Weinstock Imports C. P. that election. Gangsterism To Gag Militants

NEW YORK-Praising the destroying the "Trotskyites" Louis Weinstock, Secretary-Treato a regular meeting on February ciation, the above candidates if means against all who dare oppose the Stalinist regime within the Painters Union.

Weinstock reported on his recent visit to the Soviet Union sible only for members of its and devoted most of the meeting own organization, that is, for to defending the frame-up Moscow trials and the bloody purges. lutionary program and are disci-At the conclusion of the tirade, in which he labelled every honest struggles of the toilers. Thus militant and progressive unionist as a "counter-revolutionist", the those elected on the F. L. P. chairman ruled that questions and discussion were out of order.

Vigorous Protests

Only the vigorous protests of from the floor to debate the workers of St. Paul to vote for counter-revolutionist".

This ruse, so successful among Weinstock then offered to debate if formally asked by the local. an empty gesture.

Riot Prevented

breaking out.

democratic expression at union rights, for further organization meetings, is becoming common in of the unorganized, for militancy the Painters Union. At a recent and unity in the labor movement, meeting of Local 848, where the for higher relief standards and opposition to the Stalinists was the transference of all war funds have you been turned away from becoming strong, deliberate and to the unemployed, and for an planned assault was used against extensive housing project. 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 clubs.

Goshen Rubber Workers Stalinist Moves Kill Fake Union Move

GOSHEN, Ind. — Countering the management's attempt to build a company union at the Mogul Rubber Company, Local 1.61 of the United Rubber Workers brought production to a standstill on February 25 in a threeday 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 openshop town, Goshen has in the last six months given rise to an organized labor movement which now embraces over 750 workers cretary, writes of the first leg of the A.F.L. The Mogul victory brings the number of C.I.O. a-"A four hour meeting with the greements in this town of 12,000 population up to four.

Coming on the heels of a lockout 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 smal 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 Partisan Committee on February municipal elections soon to be held here with Jules Geller, mil-Lynn had its first social while itant member of the International find that there is only one of the Brotherhood of Electrical Work- signers of that letter who can ers and youth organizer for the lay claim to being a member of or not, the labor secretary was S.W.P., as its independent candi- the Socialist Party. If you will

platform the S.W.P. declares that Rather that claim is made by the McDonough, member of the Young Daily Worker, in line with their mers." Democrats who has been en usual policy of falsification and scious workers' organization because of his acknowledged capitalist connections and program. McDonough has never been, and not now, a member of the F.L.P. On the contrary, he was opposed by the Labor Progressive Taste of Stalinism opposed by the Labor Progressive Association in the 1936 campaign, and an independent candidate was run against him in

Critical Support

In calling upon the workers of St. Paul to vote for the five Labor - Progressive councilmanic candidates, together with the Lamurderous methods of Stalin in bor-Progressive comptroller, the "having to depend upon the organized workers at the polls, and surer of the New York District due to some measure of discipline of the Painters Union, speaking within the Farmer-Labor Asso-25, called for the use of similar 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 respon-Socialists who accept the revoplined fighters in the every day we accept no responsibility for ticket.'

Anti-War Fight

According to the platform, the paramount question for the worka large section of the 450 mem- ers, which overshadows even the past, has become a bureaucratibers present forced the chairman most important local issues, is to allow questions to be put to the fight against war. In this Weinstock. Faced with a demand connection the S.W.P. urges all whole question, Weinstock at- Geller as a protest against the is tied through its leadership to tempted the old Stalinist dodge war budget, the jingoistic spirit of "refusing to debate with a now in process of creation by the ed) and this leadership is plac- ing population that needs increas-Communist Party, and as a token Party, produced a roar of indig- to the last ditch for all those nation from the union members. workers' rights which are endangered by the war-mongers.

While reiterating its stand for As the Stalinists have acquired "the revolutionary overthrow of control of Local 51, the offer was the capitalist class," and its conviction that "only the establishment in America of a Workers and Farmers government, and the Throughout the question period establishment of like governcreate a disturbance, thus to en- do away with the evils which are able the chairman to adjourn the a necessary part of capitalism: meeting. The determination of war, unemployment, wage slave-Rioting, as a tactic to prevent for unrestricted workers' civil another.'

ANTI-WAR MASS-MEETING

March 18 - 8 P. M. MANHATTAN PLAZA 66 E. 4th St.

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

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.

In the campaign against Beal and the Non-Partisan Committee which is fighting for his free-dom, 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-28, Burt writes:

"We have made inquiry and note, in the letter there is no In its recently issued campaign claim that they are Socialists.

Any comment would be super-

Handicapped Form

Utterly Incapable Of Struggle

W. P. platform explains that sical handicaps and disabilities, mid-December to mid-January, The program of the new organirollments, Harry Friedman, pro- month.

visional secretary, proclaims the new body "a fighting democratic organization . . . formed to fight for jobs for all handicapped workers."

League Degenerates

the organization has entered the field against the League of Phy- instance, the years 1923-1925 were sically Handicapped the circular denies that it is pursuing a po- sperity period 1923-1929 and the licy of dual unionism, pointing number of workers looking for out that the League, which did jobs then was millions less than good work for its members in the now. cally-controlled body utterly incapable of advancing the interests of its members.

the political party called for power. 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 spectacle of 6 or 7 delegations being elected to take up pro-

Plight of Handicapped

Pointed questions are asked in the circular: "How many times parents. a job because of your handicap? on your family for support? a militant organized fight What future do you face?

Roosevelt Price Policy Shows Economic Drop

By DAVE COWLES

ducts, and other goods which are

The reasons for high prices

here are: first, there are power-

full monopolies in these products

which limit production and com-

petition; second, whatever is

are to make profits, and who are

better able to pay. The high

Raising Basic Prices

Roosevelt's price policy is in-

tended to raise the prices of the

very commodities which the work-

ers must buy to balance these

upward to the level of monopoly

living standards will be disas-

are getting less wages. But the

drop in the cost of living has been

insignificant and real wages have

fallen. Raising prices as Roose-

velt 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 lit-

of course, and without any spe-

cific dates given. "The average

family will benefit from the busi-

ness recovery which a balanced

price structure will foster. In-

creased employment and more

Recovery In Profits

The effects upon their

wages of the workers.

ing increased prices which was with which to buy food and clo- not "more continuous income." and middle class.

the politics of liberalism and reform work only to maintain capi- most unchanged are building ma- osevelt's price policy. talism. The latest addition to the terials, metals and metal promountain of evidence showing the bankruptcy of reform politics | sold to producers. 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 finish- trous. Those who are employed ed products which are produced and sold under highly competi-

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 consu-

Sharp Depression

What is the "present situation"? It is one of depression whose sharpness is unprecedented in American economic history, ment and falling wages. In a the hides of the workers. causing wide-spread unemploystatement issued last week the New Trade Union statement issued last week the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that in the three months between October 15 and January, Old Organization Found 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, NEW YORK-A new organi- than employment, being driven zation, the United Handicapped down by the employers who took Workers of America, created to advantage of the depression to continuous income should much has entered the fighting field of employment fell almost seven the militant labor movement. per cent compared to the usual drop of only two per cent. But zation and its plan of campaign the drop in wages was twice as were unfolded at its first public sharp as in employment. The meeting held recently in Damas- result was a drop of more than zek's Manor, 12 St. Mark's Place. one-eighth in the purchasing In a circular calling for en- power of the workers in one

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 While frankly admitting that from wages, and the purchasing power that wages give them. For only the beginning of the pro-

But the number of jobs which private industry gave then was almost twenty percent more than now. The continuing crisis of ca-The League, says the circular, pitalism will cut production still further, cut employment still "a political party" (not specifi- further, and amidst an increasgovernment, Wall Street, and the ing the interests of that party ing purchasing power if it is to

Effect of Falling Wages

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

reduced the League to a handful, continues to be-flop-houses, beg- where a fifteen-minute lunch pe- whole gamut of capitalist cor-Weinstock's supporters tried to ments throughout the world, can results at every meeting in a ging in the streets, run-arounds riod, formerly figured within the ruption. Revealed through the blems with the administration, nation in private industry, inabi- has begun its campaign for the anatomy of capitalist government the progressives not to be pro-ry, fascism, etc.", the S.W.P. has while the 6 or 7 delegations at lity to lead a normal married life eight-hour day. Protests of the is being bared for every worker voked prevented an open riot from elaborated a series of immediate the previous meeting come back because of insufficient financial union were sharply rebuffed. demands. These include demands with reports of one failure after means, inability to secure crutches, braces and other orthopedic gles along upon the small allowance doled out to them by their

> through experience that the bet- Another factor which has buttraining? How do you feel about only because no organization exbeing forced to be dependent up- ists today which is carrying on security for the handicapped that "For years the handicapped the United Handicapped Workers have been asking themselves of America has been formed."

The Roosevelt statement ask-that the workers have less money creased employment," and less, printed in the New York Times thing. If the quantity produced The consumption goods industries of February 9, 1938, emphasized remains the same, the competi-will need less machinery and anew the following facts: Amer- tion between producers whose plant equipment, they will reduce ican capitalism is on the decline sales depend directly upon the their demand for capital goods, and needs government aid to consumers will drive prices down, and steel, machinery, lumber, make profits. The continued ex- Although the graph hides it, the transportation equipment, in fact istence of capitalism means the fact is evident in the Survey of all the capital goods industries destruction of the living stand- Current Business that those prices which are the basis of any susards of the workers, farmers, have fallen most which depend tained prosperity will produce primarily upon the purchasing less, employ less and disburse No matter what its intentions, power of the workers. The com- less wages. A deep depression true in the case of one, like the modities which have remained al- will grow deeper, because of Ro-

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 puices downward to the low prices, and he produced goes to producers who must buy capital goods if they faster than the falling wages. This would have increased the purchasing power of the great priced commodities do not have masses, increased their purchasto compete for the vanishing ing 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 till further by widespread decreases in the number of hours of work-without cutting pay of course. And this would give inmovement, would give more continuous income" and mass purchasing power. These would bring abundance and increase the standard of living; would bring economic recovery. But they would also cut profits. 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 tle food and clothing that they epeat as often as they like that do get. While wages are droptheir's "is not a policy of restricping, unemployed increasing by tion; it is a policy of abundance." the millions, and relief decreas-Their actions speak louder than ing Roosevelt's policy would raise their words. Their agricultural prices and starve profits out of policy is one of restricting production. Their industrial policy Roosevelt and his aides admit is one of raising prices, cutting that their price policy will cut consumption, and cutting producthe living standards immediatetion. All their actions belie their ly, However, they try to spread the flusion that it will also bring smokescreens to hide their act-'business recovery" in the future, ions.

The decline of capitalism is shown in this: whereas in its progressive state, profits for capitalists and low-priced abundance went hand in hand, today conditions have changed. Abuncapitalism will destroy the workers in order to save profits or in profits. Keeping prices up policies, are those of capitalismprofits in the consumption goods order to save profits. They are the outcome will be less, not "in- against the workers.

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

AKRON-Locals of the Good-I companies automatically stand to matters between management and in the price of crude rubber. labor to the end that amicable cooperation shall take the place locally, the C.I.O. forces in Ohio of the friction that now exists."

Meanwhile appeals of Good- convention last week-end. year and Firestone locals are pending with the Labor Relations Board, the Goodyear protest bebefore the interests of the handi- maintain its standard of living, ing based upon discrimination in the puppets of the Communist of their determination to fight capped. "Since the program of will cut wages and purchasing the laying off of union men, and ness of the whole capitalist sysing rights.

Plant Conditions

these questions and the answer At Goodyear, in certain divisions | ded accounts, favoritism, the from one charitable organization six-hour shift, has been placed inner contradictions in the state to another, continued discrimit outside the shift, the company legislature, the whole putrescent

with 10, 15, 20, and in some cases "labor's friend" (ah, yesterday!) appliances, while each one strug- even more years of service. Be- is sealed. cause of the large inventories and the demoralization induced campaign for a new "labor's by the layoffs the companies are friend," but throw his energies "The handicapped have learned able to take a granite stand.

How many years of training have terment of their conditions has tressed their position is that even which aims not to remove a man you received only to find your been secured through organiza- though the profits of last year and leave the system, but to about self denied the right to use this tion and militant action. It is were double that of 1936, the lish the system itself.

While disorganization exists

began to dig in through a state

Local Graft Uncovered At the same time, the rotten-

the Firestone appeal demanding tem has been uncovered here in an election for collective bargain- the revelation of official corruption throughout the state governmental and administrative machine in the classic foulness, arrogance, and crudity of the Tweed The actions were hastened by era. Nothing is lacking: the the conditions inside the plants. shakedown, nepotism, graft, padto see and profit from. It is plain Layoffs continue, reaching men that the doom of governor Davey,

Let every worker profit and not into the Socialist Workers Party,

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Monthly Marxist Magazine -- SUBSCRIBE NOW!--

OLD SOCIALIST VIEWS CONVENTION OF S. W. P.

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

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 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-liberalreformist ideology. The reaction of one who had

spent years in the S.P. struggling for a Marxist program and would have balanced both down a revolutionary party can best be described, perhaps, by contrasting the S.W.P. convention's entire "tone" of intense seriousness, realistic approach, and relessness and political cowardice all of them pulling stubbornly in different directions. On the other principles mean much more than there was no confused and divid- revolutionary or otherwise. ed 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 nard-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 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, words, and their words are mere 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 workers of America, created to advantage of the depression of the more than offset any increase in ist alongside of profits. Either tional aspect of the movement, not before) just how much redance and low prices cannot ex- in fact to dodge every interna- ed at the convention (if he had the convention of the S.W.P. liance should be placed in these courageously faced not only the workers destroy capitalism these supremely important ques-The price policy will not bring to save abundance. Roosevelt's tions but almost every other business recovery" but recovery price policies, like all his major problem of the working class, while wages are falling will raise aimed to destroy abundance in The conviction of the delegates ers in particular, increased. both national and international. that a genuine socialist moveindustries temporarily. However, at once evidence of the decline ment is, and can only be, an inless goods will be sold at the high-of American capitalism and the ternational one was conclusively er price, production of consump- effectiveness of "reform" politics demonstrated when affiliation tion goods will be cut down, and as an instrument of capitalism with the Fourth International bureaucratic clique running the

truly revolutionary organization. were permitted wide authority It is extremely difficult to con- and freedom of action within the vey to a "native socialist" who limits of convention decisions, it has always lived in the "all- was unmistakable that the memyear, Firestone, Goodrich, Gene- receive what financial magazines inclusive" party of Thomas & bers reserved to themselves, as ral, and Seiberling rubber com- estimate to be a fifty per cent Co. a clear understanding of the the real "dictators" of the new panies last week sent their re- increase in profits through a almost complete solidarity, and party, both the unquestioned spective managements a proposal writedown of crude rubber stocks feeling of "oneness" that pervad- right and the obligation of holdfor a joint meeting to "adjust induced by an international cut ed the convention of the S.W. ing these leaders strictly account-P. Unless he was himself at the able for their political activity convention, his thoughts are apt and the conduct of party affairs.

BY GEORGE M. WHITESIDE to fly first of all to the C.P. with its horde of servile campfollowers, blind devotees and sycophantic ves-men.

A few days ago the writer spoke to a friend, a former member of the S.P., of the unity and spirit of soildarity 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 increasing-

My own answer was that "party unity" may be either a healthy or unhealthy condition, depending wholly upon how it is established. Unhealthy, certainly, volutionary determination with if the decrees are simply handed the atmosphere of muddled help- down from the top and accepted by a docile and uncritical memthat pervaded the S.P. conven-bership; but the most healthy tion in March, 1937. At the last condition imaginable when the S.P. convention in March, one unity is arrived at by the free felt as if he were riding behind and open discussion of an intellia six or eight-horse team, with gent, alert and aggressive membership to whom revolutionary hand at the S.W.P. convention a blind devotion to any Messiah, 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 the obstacles in the way, were 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 lurid "arguments." As a result, even as his faith in his former respect for the Trotskvites generally, and the Trotskyite lead-

Vigilant Rank-and-File

We found, not a dictatorial and was voted without a single dis- movement in its own interests, senting voice. The fact is, of but a vigilant and capable rankcourse, that every delegate was and-file itself issuing orders and aware in advance that the new directives to its democratically party could not do otherwise if elected leaders. And though as it were to establish itself as a la matter of course the leaders

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

MINNEAPOLIS SOCIALIST PUBLIC FORUM

Mar. 13: MILES B. DUNNE, "Will the A.F.L. and C.L.O. Unite?" March 20: GRACE CARLSON, "What Will Happen to the Wor-kers in the Next War?" Mar. 27: FELIX MORROW, "Is America Ripe for Revolution?" Sundays, 3 P.M., Socialist Wor-kers Party Hall, 669 Second Ave. North. Admission 10 cents. BOSTON

Street. 13: DON CARSON: "Wage and Cannon Fodder—Our Saves and Cannon rouger—Our Educational System." Mar. 20: ANTOINETTE KONI-KOW, "Is Stafinism Practical?"

PUBLIC FORUM, SUNDAYS, at 8 P.M., Workers Center, 16 La

NEW YORK ARIS COMMUNE ANNIVERSARY Celebrate at the Boro Park Labor Lycetim, 14th Av. and 52nd Street Brooklyn. Sat., Mar. 12, 8:30 P.M. MAX SHACHTMAN, Speaker for evening. Dancing, Recital and

EARFUL, EYEFUL, MOUTHFUL Toeful, Armful, Social, at Washington Heights Branch, at Wash sterdam Avenue (at 145 Street) Mar. 19. Admission 25 cents.

WHICH ROAD to WORLD PEACE MAX SHACHTMAN speaks at the Frontier Discussion Group meeting Place, Frilay, Mar. 11, 8 P.M.

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

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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

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 socialdemocrat, 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 wellskilled 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 aspira-

The Trials and the

Defense of the U.S.S.R.

roused by the newest and most utionary Marxists have said that frightful of the Moscow Trials, the defense of the conquests of revolutionists will not overlook the October Revolution must rest its ominous significance as a fundamentally upon the intersymptom of the terrible danger national working class and upon in which the Soviet Union now the extension of the socialist refinds itself. In its turn, the trial volution. Only the revolutionary itself adds immeasurably to that workers can be relied upon to

for imperialism! What arguments blished by the Revolution. does Stalin give to the imperialist bandits, hungrily looking toward the vast territories and riches of fields for exploitation!

War Would Be Crusade

ment is being carefully prepared own society. in the bourgeois press throughout the world.

The system of the trials is being pictured to the minds of the volutionists throughout the world resign. masses as inseparable from the defend the remaining conquests Soviet Union itself.

of imperialism are ably seconded not and will not turn over that by the "friends" of the Soviet defense to imperialism. Union, who, defending the system of the trials, likewise picture them as inseparable from the Soviet Union itself.

Result of "Realism"

linist realism", so much praised caving capitalist order. by the lovers of the status quo as

In the midst of the horror a-| From the beginning, the revoldefend the Soviet regime and the gave an interview expressing the the whole revolutionary genera-How the trial greases the ways social and economic relations esta-

Basis For Advance

Stalinism is the destroyer of vilest despotism in all recorded history. But so mighty were the social conquests of the revolution The trial makes it possible for that even Stalinism has not yet the propagandists of imperialism succeeded in wiping them out. to picture a war against the So- The economic and social relations viet Union as a crusade to wipe still stand, ready to make posout a vicious and incredibly de-sible a great leap forward toward praved tyranny, as a holy war socialism once Stalinism is over- Trotsky which has been the for the "deliverance" of the So- thrown and the workers them- principal agency in spreading the viet people. Already this argu- selves again in control of their

In the face of the trials, all In the face of the trials, all great deal of money on long distribution to force me into silence on the tance telephone calls trying to ly because of the trials, the re- induce Committee members to of the revolution against any and In this work, the propagandists all of their enemies. They have

"Deliverance" To Slavery

imperialism is the deliverance of has no basis in fact. the Soviet people into the clutches of capitalist exploitation, into the Committee, upon authoriza-Here, then, is another of the the hopeless slavery of the fren- tion of its Executive Board, was More Important Than Last One results of the "hard-headed Sta- zied search for profits in the de- an appeal to American workers

Let this new trial not turn us to save the lives of the 21 de- the trial of Radek-Piatakov in against the "utopian dreams" of aside but be a clarion summons: fendants, and condemning the the importance of the accused Stalinists or non-political spethe revolutionists. Stalin's meth- for the unyielding, uncompromis- new trial as a frame-up, on the and approaches the Zinoviev- cialists. ods, isolating the Soviet Union ing revolutionary defense of the basis of the report of the Inter- Kamenev trial. In the list of diplomatically, ever more grave- Soviet Union-against the trai- national Commission of Inquiry. the accused there are no fewer ly weakening its internal econo- tors who stage this unbelievable A New York newspaper trans- than seven former members of mic and social structure, at the trial, and against imperialism ferred some of the names from the Central Committee of the central Committee of the central Committee same time are shattering the whose only interest in the trial the Committee's letterhead to an party, including Krestinsky, Bu- the whole trial. Last year he Hungarian, and Polish Opposi- past three years. Abandoning land and the United States moral basis for the defense of the lis in the use to which it can be excerpt from this press release, kharin, Rykov, former member of was arrested on a charge of sex- tionist members of the Commu- the class line and reliance on the against Germany and Japan. Soviet Union by the masses in put toward the final destruction which was issued without signa- the Political Bureau, i. e., the in- ual delinquency. The whole So- nist International. Later the Le- international proletariat, Stalin Only, despite his efforts-

MOSCOW TRIAL SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Socialist Appeal

VOL. II. - No. 11.

March 12, 1938

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

On March 1 the Labor and So cialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions wired a protest to Mosow. 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 In- at the time of the second Mosternational, and Friedrich Adler, cow trial (Piatakov-Radek) its secretary.

adopted a resolution to the same the other." effect, The paper also published

organ, the Sozialdemokraten, on tion, striking many with its sudthe same day denounced the denness, has as its objective the cow trials and recalled Prosecu- mosphere within the ranks of tor Vishinsky's White Guard the working class for the future Swedish Confederation of Labor workers that if he is shooting

Attempt To Break the Soviet Union as potential the revolution, and its regime the fields for exploitation! committee Fails wrapped in mystery should, until time Stahn is trying wrapped to the contrary be con-

In another abortive attempt to disintegrate the American Com- to force into silence an informed mittee for the Defense of Leon and courageous accuser. truth about the Moscow trials, Lombardo Toledano, Laborde, and the Daily Worker has spent a

telling the Committee members the main ingredients of the prea story to the effect that the paration! Committee, without authorization, signed their names to an appeal to the United States go-The "deliverance" proposed by to the present trial. This story

> The only statement issued by from abroad. and friends of the Russian people tures by the Committee.

Organizers of October



Trotsky Reviews Elements of New Trial; Cites Efforts To Gag Him fects of the policy followed by contentment the Stalinist regime itself. The ernment....

The following are the first of the daily statements issued to the press by Leon Trotsky in Coyoacan in connection with the new Mos-

By Leon Trotsky

During February of last year laire, Socialist Party organ, des- trial (Zinoviev-Kamenev), I mantic tale." The Permanent Ad- tisfy his thirst with salt water. ministrative Committee of the He will be forced to stage fur-Socialist Party unanimously ther judicial frame-ups one after

notorious article of Stalin (Feb. The Swedish Social-Democratic 14) about international revolu-"medieval sorcery" of the Mos- creation of a more favorable attion, it is exclusively in the interests of the international re-

have any other purpose. Sedoff's Death Second Step

doff, which continues to remain proved to the contrary, be considered as the second act of preparation for the trial: it was necessary at no matter what cost

The third act in the preparation was the attempt of Mr. eve of the third trial just as the

vernment to send representatives trial in order to take public opitimely delivery of refutations

The present trial far surpasses stitution which actually consti-viet press wrote about this open- (Continued on Next Page) pursued a foreign policy based which demoralized the interna-

tutes the highest power of the ly. Now Pletnyev has been thrown Soviet government. After the death of Lenin, Ry-

at the time of the second Moscow trial (Piatakov-Radek) which was supposed to correct the bad impression of the first rial (Zinoviev-Kameney). I where the control of the second Moscow trial (Piatakov-Radek) at the time of the second Moscow trial (Piatakov-Radek) ter his fall into disfavor, he became the editor of "Izvestia". Rakovsky was the head of the Ukrainian government and later portunity to verify this hypothecribed the confessions as "pure stated in the press: "Stalin relies" and the indictment as a "ro-sembles a man who tries to sa-Stalin as secretary of the Cen-provocation against world public afterward ambassador to Berlin tural question is composed of The third Moscow trial has stood at the head of the G.P.U. He does not read the foreign

Stalin Alone Unaccused

Of the nine people who were members of the Political Bureau thirst. during Lenin's lifetime, i.e., actual rulers of the fate of the U.S.S.R there remains only one unaccusbackground. The head of the trial. Stalin wished to tell the ed, Stalin. All the others have The death of my son, Leon Se-General Staff. At the present of the government, Rykov. time Stalin is trying fully to con-

who are known to me, fall into Bureau and as the head of the dations of the bureaucracy's power of this group, Tomsky, former sition considerably higher than president of the Soviet Trade that of a minister. All these peoother Mexican agents of Stalin to suicide. From 1923 the Right except the humiliation and the dis- The Stalinist regime? No; it has Bolsheviks, like Mdivani and O Opposition found itself in irre-memberment of the U.S.S.R.! concilable struggle against the Norwegian government forced Left Opposition, the so-called me into silence after the first Trotskyists. Rykov, Bukharin and The Stalinist spokesmen are trial (August, 1936). Such are Tomsky, shoulder to shoulder with Stalin, carried on the whole future, the new defendants are campaign of destroying the Left The accusation against the 21. Opposition. (b) The second group Kirov. I recall that Kirov, a Lenthe U.S.S.R., to dislocate Soviet the sentiments and grievances of defendants is once again publishis composed of those accused who ingrad agent of Stalin, was killed economy, cause dissatisfaction the nationalities? By terrorized only four days before the during a certain time actually on December 1, 1934, by Nikolaev. among the population with the ing them; by the scarcely conbelonged to the Left Opposition. on December 1, 1954, by Ivikolaev. among the population with the Soviet cealed declaration that they are nion unawares and to hinder the Such were Krestinsky, Rosengoltz, who, however, had already gone grounds, and in any case, as was taxes, with bad savings bank dismember the Soviet Union. over to Stalin by 1927, and Rakovsky who returned to the go-(c) The third group insofar as I know it consists either of active 104 "White Guards", who had

The Case of Pletnyev

into a trial of . . . the political opposition. One of the following kov was the official head of the hypotheses may account for this government for more than five either the accusations of sexual years. From 1918 Bukharin was delinquency were advanced agathe editor of the central organ of inst him only in order to extort the party, "Pravda", and from the necessary "confessions" from 1926 the official head of the Com- him; or Pletnyev is actually munist International. Later, af- guilty of sadism but hopes to

> ly become a victim of his own Bolsheviks. The system and its and thus facilitated stealing and salt water in order to quench his

February 28, 1938.

Eight Ministers

been declared agents of foreign were no fewer than seven former just another means of squeezing among the numerous non-Russtates, and in addition the accu- members of the central Soviet down the living standards of the sian peoples who make up the sations revert back to 1928 and government sitting on the deeven to 1918. The Russian White fendants' bench. Today after more ruble a horrible legal fiction that ling against the bureaucratic volution. His article does not emigres have more than once ac- precise study of the names I see leaves deep scars on the purchascused Lenin, myself, and all the that among the accused, not ing power of the people? These ities, who are supremely conother Bolshevik leaders of hav- counting the author of these lines, realities, which can no longer be temptuous of the cultural and ing achieved the October Revolu- there are eight former Soviet mi- concealed or denied, which were political aspirations of the Ukraition at the orders of the German nisters including the former head the inevitable product of the po- nians, Georgians, Armenians,

> According to their political staff member of the government, tendencies, those of the accused but as a member of the Political which threatens the very founthree groups: (a) Bukharin and Communist International from er? Rykov, former leaders of the the time of Zinoviev's fall into Right Opposition; the third lead- disfavor (1926), he occupied a po-Unions, was last year harassed ple, it seems, strived for nothing

Kirov Once More Apart from the other crimes, about which we will speak in the evident even from the Soviet acvernment camp four years ago. tion of G.P.U. agents. Immediately after the murder of Kirov. supposedly come from abroad in order to commit terrorist acts, were shot without trial.

The name of Professor Plet- were not published, it is known up the calamitous bankruptcy of hopes were staked upon cement

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 service, with delays in payment the Soviet masses by finding of wages, etc., for the purpose scapegoats for the ruinous ef- of causing wide, organized disfects of the policy followed by contentment with the Soviet Govbureaucracy wants to escape the responsibility for the crimes it such elementary necessities as has committed by shifting the sugar and butter and eggs? Are blame for all evils upon the de-

Finding Scapegoats

reaction sought to duck the swindled? blows of the angry and dissatisfied masses by whipping up a it is not the "counter-revolutionpogrom spirit against the Jews ary Trotskyists" who have inwho, according to the Black- vented these stories because they Hundred gangs, were really res- refuse to believe in the monsponsible for all the sufferings of trous official lie about an idyllic the people. Under the Stalinist "socialism" which all the Stalindespotism, the place of the Jews ist sheets from Prayda to the tral Committee of the party, was opinion? The answer to this na- biote Publication Trates Daily Worker continue to say exkists, Bukharinists, Zinovievists. ists. It is from Vyshinsky's in-Mensheviks, Fascist spies, and dictment that these facts are for several years. For almost all of the last ten years Yagoda temptuous of public opinion. (2) Mensheviks, Fascist spies, and dictment that these facts are temptuous of public opinion. (2) in general by anybody and every drawn and for which it tries to body save the ruling clique itself | make the scapegoats responsible. 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 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 defendance of the Central government.

"Medieval Sorcery"

The third Moscow trial has been prepared during a more protracted period and, one must think, more elaborately than the list of the accused there are do not dare to reveal the truth to do not dare to reveal the truth to Stalin. Thus he has unconscious the eyes of the whole world. The Stalin Alone Unaccused

Stalin Alone Unaccused

The third Moscow trial has been prepared during a more protracted period and, one must the head of the G.P.U. as Stalin's most trusted henchman and cooked up the Zinoviev. Man and cooked up the Junaccused of him only his "victories" over public opinion. (4) Informed people do not dare to reveal the truth to Stalin. Thus he has unconscious ly become a victim of his own Bolsheviks. The system and its on the regime you see, but under Nicholas the Bloody, the scapegoat Jew was accused of him only his "victories" over public opinion. (4) Informed people do not dare to reveal the truth to Stalin. Thus he has unconscious ly become a victim of his own Bolsheviks. The system and its on the does not read the foreign man and cooked up the Zinoviev. Man and cooked up the Junaccused of the does not read the foreign aims are identical.

very text of the official indict-robbing of consumers.

ment itself. Are wages poor? Are they paid irregularly? Are taxes Yesterday I stated that there burdensome? Are bank-savings masses? Is the standardized Soviet Union and who are rebellicy followed by Stalin's govern-Bukharin, devoid of administra- ment-have they resulted in tive capacity, never became a widespread discontent among the by the Bolshevik Revolution and Soviet population, a discontent

Grinko and the Ruble

tions is an emphatic YES! a scapegoat that must suffer for kudzhava, whom Lenin ardently its crimes. The former Com- defended and whom Stalin now missar of Finance, Grinko, is lists as "Georgian bourgeois namade to assert that he and his tionalists" (he executed them and "accomplices" worked

... to weaken the Soviet ruble, secret trial). also accused of the murder of to weaken the financial power of How does the regime answer anyone, apparently on personal Government, dissatisfaction with identical with a fascist plot to

Are the masses deprived of

the peasants without industrial fendants and their alleged ac- products for long periods of time? Are state funds embezzled by bureaucrats whose personal lives are one long orgy? Are In the days of Czarism, the the consumers despoiled and

Again the answer is, YES! And

squandering of State resources This fact pierces through the squandering of state the cheating and

Stalin's National Policy

Is there growing discontent rights to autonomy guaranteed the Soviet Constitution? Of

Who is responsible for the situation? The same Stalin whom Lenin, outraged and infuriated, denounced as far back as 1922 for his "out-and-out Great Rus-The answer to all these ques- sian nationalistic campaign' against the Georgians and partheir friends last year, after a

counts, with the direct participation of G.P.U. agents. Immedia-

serve the new oscillation in So- bloc of the "democracies" and viet foreign policy and to dis- the League of Nations against Although the names of the 104 tract attention from and cover the "fascist aggressors". All his

2. The trial is calculated to upon the pernicious illusion of

'Stalin Renders Commendable Service to Fascism'--Mussolini

Stalin For Purge Of

doing more than any other to destroy the faith of the

For cutting down thousands of revolutionists as "Fas-

cist spies," Stalin has won the gratitude of the Fascist

dictator Mussolini. Let those who still think they can be-

workers of the world in the Communist Movement.

has learned that neither England, France nor the United States is concerned for a moment with the ideals of "democracy" or with led, the trained and well-reheaved and well-reheaved and state and well-reheaved and state and well-reheaved and state and well-reheaved the defense of the Soviet Union. ed defendants are made to enact Military Intelligence Service. Like Germany and Italy and Ja- the role of "British spies", just pan, they are concerned exclusi- as in the previous trials they expansion of their imperialist the Mikado. position. The "democratic" bloc a Four-Power Pact (England, General Staff! Italy, France and Germany, supported by Poland), which excludes the Soviet Union, isolates her

Why England Comes In

vely with the preservation and starred as spies of Hitler and

in Europe, headed by England, is not mentioned at all, for the from Trotsky and Stalin-not a is now obviously in a state of simple reason that Stalin still single leader of the Bolshevik dissolution, or more accurately, hopes that the Franco-Soviet of reorientation. Instead of es- Pact will be strengthened. Yet, tablishing unity with Russia in the 1931 trial of the "Menshe-, against the fascist states, Eng- viks," the defendants were depicland is moving rapidly towards ted as the agents of the French two members of the Soviet Gov-

Why America Does Not

The alleged foreign relations | Not one! and is, primarily, directed at her. of the victims of Stalin's frameups have no reference to any reality whatsoever except that The recent events in Europe of Stalin's own diplomatic policy ation. He knows that behind the are the background for the tim- and its vacillations. If, for ex- obligatory adulation of all who ing of the Trial of the 21 to open ample, there are no "American surround him, is a fierce hatred. up when it did. It is the same spies" among the defendants to- He knows his unpopularity with events which cause Stalin to in- day, it is only because Stalin still the masses. He hopes to safetroduce England, the British In- hopes for an alliance with the guard himself against being overtelligence Service, and "English United States against Japan. spies" for the first time in any Should those hopes go the way thrown by making himself indisof the frame-up trials that have of previous hopes with regard pensable in the eyes of the Soviet been held since the death of to Germany and then with Eng-public.

Not One Will Remain

With Rykov, Bukharin, Rakovsky, Rosengoltz and Krestinsky On the same grounds, France gone, there will remain apart Revolution, scarcely a single member of the Central Committees of the Party that functioned in Lenin's lifetime, only one or ernment from 1917 to 1924, and not a single member of the Political Bureau of Lenin's day-

The head of the Bonapartist counter-revolution in Russia is consumed with fear and desper-

3. Documentary Evidence Lacking

the defendants are charged.

ganizations to which the defen- Japan, Italy, Poland, and Eng- and luckless incompetents? dants at the various trials have land, and their combined Intelliallegedly belonged, the famous gence Services. terrorist organization of the Rus- Yet, with all these thousands the zealously repeated confes- finally repudiate the very revolu- at that time. They were known, sian Social Revolutionists, which of persons involved, and despite sions. They differ from those tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- it goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- its goes without saying, by Lening tion itself as the product of "con- its goes without saying tion itself as the product of "con- its goes without saying tion itself as the product of "con- its goes without saying tion itself as the product of "con- its goes without saying tion itself as the product of "con- its goes without saying tion its goes without saying tion itself as the product of "con- its goes without saying tion its functioned to wipe out odious re- all their years of activity, the made before only in that they cealed enemies of the people." as well as by Trotsky, by Stalin presentatives of Czarism, never G.P.U. and the Prosecutor's Of- are more fantastic, less credible. That is the inexorable, logical as well as by Hotsky, by Scaling presentatives of Czarism, never G.P.U. and the Prosecutor's Of- are more fantastic, less credible. counted more than a couple of fice are unable to produce a Faizulla Khodzaiev confesses that end of his course. dozen persons engaged in conspir- single incriminating document, he had "not an oral nor a written atorial work. At the height of not a sliver of significant evid- but a silent agreement with incredible for the unrestrained its activity and influence, it ence! rose to thirty members! Yet, despite the greatest precautions, they left numerous traces of their work-letters, passwords, against arrested terrorists.

Thousands Involved

there are not a mere ten or tioning, and the almost total lack ed, meeting silently at some in-Ukraine, Rakovsky was organiz-German hand-grenade plants, The first to make known publications and the silently at some in-Ukraine, Rakovsky was organiz-German hand-grenade plants, The first to make known publications and the silently at some in-Ukraine, Rakovsky was organiz-German hand-grenade plants, The first to make known publications are silently at some in-Ukraine, Rakovsky was organiz-German hand-grenade plants, In-German twenty or thirty persons involv- of results produced by the work, termediate neutral point? By ing and leading the revolution in which clandestinely shipped mu- licly the story already known in erally thousands! The activity 500, 1,000, 2,000 and more pers- telepathy? By means of a Ouija Ukrainian Soviet Republic of Was Bukharin himself, in an ad- Tauride Palace, while Lenin was of all of them goes back to 1932 ons. and 1928; some of them began, And remember that these singu- perhaps through the medium of of the Council of People's Comwe are told, as early as 1926; larly unsuccessful plotters had at Prosecutor Vyshinsky's instructular missars. If Vyshinsky's assertion still others in 1921; and some their disposal, on various occa- tions, not so silently given within means anything—and it has a (Bukharin and Trotsky!) in 1918, sions and for long periods of the walls of a G.P.U. prison deeper significance than most right after the revolution. The time, the entire machinery of cell?

3. The present trial has in indictment included among the British, Italian, German, Japancommon with all the preceding conspirators—"the underground ese and Polish governments, as trials their most characteristic anti-Soviet groups of Trotskyists, well as of the Red Army, the feature: the complete lack of Rights, Zinovievists, Mensheviks, G.P.U., and an endless number material evidence to substantiate Social-Revolutionists, bourgeois of other Soviet Commissariats the countless crimes with which Nationalists of the Ukraine, and governmental institutions. The phenomenon is without nia, Azerbaizhan and the Central put such men to death? What precedent, from any point of view. Asiatic Republics." In addition, should it have to fear from such

Little To Show

Human credulity, human imagination, no matter how far they documents, telegrams—which fell are stretched, simply cannot into the hands of the Czarist bridge the gap between such vol- lent agreement. police (which was not distingu- uminous and widespread activity, ished by its intelligence or ef- and such perfectly flawless conficiency) and were later used spiratorial efficiency! For them, In the present case, however, in concealment and smooth functions from the two bodies involving the Bolshevik power in the tablishment on Russian soil of some fifteen years.

Would Never Have Appeared

White Russia, Georgia, Arme- Why should any ruling group Unlike the international spy or the Governments of Germany, a self-avowed crew of wretched ble even, it is dead certain that with the German General Staff

> terial evidence, there are, as usual, Russian Revolution, Stalin will ficial, and quite secret, at least Trotsky". This most-how shall madmen who rule the totalitarian we put it? — unusual kind of Stalinist regime. For already in agreement is solemnly and un- this trial, according to the reports questioningly recorded by the of the trial, Vyshinsky said "that Prosecutor and the Court. Not he suspected Rakovsky not only written, and not oral; just a si- of having been a British agent

arrived at between two persons war" they would have to bridge the separated by such a trifle as se- 1938). even wider gap between such veral thousand miles? By a wink

4. The 'Repudiation' By Krestinsky

stone in the structure of the Pro- country's rulers." luctant and half-defiant admis- counter-recantation can destroy the hands of the Prosecutor. sions of Smirnov in the August the enormous significance of his 1936 trial come closest to Kres- statement during the first session tinsky's outright self-repudia- of the court. It is a statement tion. In no other case, however, which stands on its own feet, has a defendant thrown the least regardless of the motive that anisuspicion upon the validity of mated its maker or the Prosecutthese secret examinations during or. And it throws a glaring light ed and did not weaken the repusions are dictated to the pros- inary investigation" and how the pective public victims of the confessions are extorted.

It matters not at all, in our opinion, whether Krestinsky's sensational statement on the first ing in his sensational statement?

"Deliberately Perverted"

court of the statement attributed firmation. The hundreds and even learned Slavologist, Mr. Walter

4. The testimony of Krestinsky liminary inquisition, Krestinsky announced, who disappear totally kovsky as an agent-in-espionage stands. in its most important declared: "I deliberately pervert- from sight, without being brought of the German Kaiser and the aspect, in a class by itself. Kres- ed my evidence to the prosecutor to trial, are the men and women (Imperial General Staff! tinsky repudiated his previous in the preliminary investigation who could not be broken to the confession, made in the notorious because I did not believe that if point where they agreed to any-"preliminary investigation," a I talked as I am talking now it thing and everything. And, conconfession which formed a key- would get to the ears of our versely, only those are allowed into a public courtroom about secutor's indictment. In none of Now, it is quite true that on whom the G.P.U. is quite sure, the "terrorist" trials has any- the following day Krestinsky re- whom they have reduced to the thing like this occurred; the re- pudiated his repudiation. But no level of moral wrecks, putty in

The repudiation was retracted? Yes. But we agree here with the statement by Dr. John Dewey that the retraction only confirmwhich the self-damning admis- on what goes on in the "prelim- diation. It is not difficult to visualize the unspeakable hours that Krestinsky must have spent with the G.P.U. during the night bet- (Continued from Preceding Page) | ly plotting with a foreign power ween the first and second days of the trial. What monstrous ningrad "centre" of the Zinoviev tant of the new defendants were mockery of justice and of the For what was Krestinsky saypressure must have been exerted group was accused of the murder members of the Central Com- human mind, a brutal blow struck day of the trial, was merely a That if he had not agreed, prior upon him during that time to of Kirov and 13 men were shot. mittee of the Party and govern- at socialism and the labor movepiece of stage-play arranged by to the public trial, to sign the force him to retract his first, After this, the "Zinoviev-Trotsky- ment and daily met the "victims" ment. It was conceived by a terthe Prosecutor, with the advance "confession" written for him by highly revelatory declaration! ist Centre" was accused of the marked by them. Moreover, ror-stricken bureaucracy which plan of a counter-repudiation the his police-tormenters, he would What horrendous threats must same crime and sixteen people Trotsky held in his hands the un-hopes that the bones of its victims next day, or a genuine attempt never have been allowed to ap- have been made about the punishby Krestinsky to break through pear in open court to make any ment of his nearest ones-hosthe dreadful conspiracy of silence kind of statement. That the only tages held by the police—to cause In January of last year the "Pa- The victim of this infernal con- er will ring like the death-knell surrounding what goes on in the possibility left him to tell the a man who had made such a clearcells of the G.P.U. For even if truth to the workers of the So- cut, meaning statement, to withit was deliberately planned by the viet Union ("our country's rul- draw it the very next day. Wit- ed of the murder of Kirov, and than the same Kirov who was numbered. Prosecutor, it had an effect enders"), was to acquiesce in the ingly or not, Krestinsky has 13 of the accused were shot. Filled in turn by the White Even if the mind of man could tirely different from the one in- lies he was forced to sign be- thrown ten thousand times more ally, we now learn that the Right Guards, Leningrad Zinovievists, assume for a moment that the "agreement" with the "line" and what is so tragically evident. The fore being permitted to come light on the "mystery" of con- Opposition (Rykov, Bukharin) the United Centre, the Trotsky- defendants are guilty, it would fessions than have all the mud-What we have always surmis- | dled disquisitions on Dostoievs- | In explaining his denial in open ed is thus given unexpected con-ky and the "Russian soul" by the

Soviet Relations With Reich the whole world, during a number of years constructed "main", low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with cided to renounce it in favor of low low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low to low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low to low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low to low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means that collaboration with low trials strike one as grandiose means the collaboration with low trials str

with him thousands of anti-Bol- Wilhelm II of Germany. ago made the same accusation! Why does it not complete its in- | spies?

German spies since 1921! What charsky and other Bolshevik

into court.

writers and their similars, long its charge back only to 1921? organized and led by German and Trotsky began in 1918. In ous in all its other parts.

5. One of the main points in In fact, Kerensky and Co. made famous calumny of the Russian the indictment charges the de- the same charge as far back as Revolution, borrowed from the centres and each of these centres lunatic armed with enormous test. For, virtually every person fession, it is under his regime of the Stalinist reaction can stay the indictment charges the de-fendants in general, and Trotsky and Rosengoltz in Krestinsky and Rosengoltz in forged documents to prove that power: It would be no exaggera-tion to say that this part of the bound to power to bound the power in the decline and the power in the same charge as far back as Revolution, borrowed from the charges the de-the middle of 1917, and even had arsenal of the White Guard plotted the murder of one and the power: It would be no exaggera-tion to say that this part of the Zinoviev to Bukharin to Ya-and hundreds of the later geneparticular, with having been Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Luna-secutor Vyshinsky was so active Kirov, whose name became known accusation is saturated with the goda and Yenukidze and Rudzu-ration, preferred to work for the timidity! Why, Kerensky, and leaders were agents of Kaiser during the first years after the only thanks to the trials. Bolshevik victory, and charge According to the new charges, will show in the future that the others, have ended up by want- gence Service rather than to

lieve 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 imagine that Stalin, Vyshinsky tion. and Co. will draw up short before

TO FASCISM."

Incredible, we say? Nothing is after the World War but of hav-And how, pray, even under ing been connected with the "socialism," is a silent agreement German secret service during the (N. Y. Post, March 5

While Vyshinsky was in the miraculous, unearthly efficiency or a nod? By ectoplasmic emana- ranks of the White Guards fightpeople 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 Ra-

Relations With Germany

As for the "treasonable rela-Trotsky has already explained in

ting the murder of this same Kirov. Thus all the leaders of

It would be wrong, however, posite by the experts in falsifica

Not Trotsky and not Krestinsuch an accusation. Not at all! sky, but the entire Soviet Govern-Outrageous as it seems, incredi- ment had very close relations on the road of abandoning all for several years after 1921-1922. If, as usual, there is no ma- the principles and ideals of the These relations were entirely ofto 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

Early in December 1926, the Manchester Guardian published a sensational (and substantially true) story about the secret es- known to a fairly wide public for Versailles Treaty. The story was on the floor of the German Reichstag.

Scheidemann's Confirmation

element of truth in the story, as Minutes, 252nd Session, 1926.)

the press, an element which is Guardian revelations quite coolly: maliciously distorted into its op- "We are not privy to the secrets

Trotsky Reviews Trials

themselves, no significance." (Dec. 16, 1926.) Zetkin's Speech

Last Old Bolsheviks Benito Mussolini addressed to Joseph Stalin last n the Locarno Pact, which threat- Along this line, there is no dictive police-brain. 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

> lution, that is, in March 1918 Bukharin and his group of socalled Left Communists and Trotsky and his group, jointly with the Left Social Revolutionists," plotted to overturn the So-

staunch Stalinists as A. Bubnov, V. Yakovlev, Bela Kun, Alex-

shev, M. N. Pokrovsky, A. Soltz, others, who never "deviated" from kyism," 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 presshow 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

No Need To Tell

not only not officially denied by Krassno-Pressensk district of Social Revolutionist, Kamkov, knew about the "plot." ticipated among others, General Council of People's Commissars you and then you and we shall in July, 1918. Hasse. The signing of the con- and, like him, opposed to the sign- have to make up a new Council tions" between Trotsky, Krest- tracts (with Russia) followed ing of the Brest Peace, had ap- of People's Commissars. I think lemnity or uproarious laughter, insky and Rosengoltz with the with false names, just as the proached the Left Communists, that, in that case, we shall have is of course a matter of tempera-German Intelligence Service and officers who traveled to and from jokingly, with the proposal to to elect Piatakov as Chairman of ment or political judgment. But general Staff officers, Von Seeckt Russia made their voyages with put Lenin under arrest for 24 the Council.'.... and Hasse, there is of course an element of truth in the story as Minutes, 252nd Session, 1926.)

The story as Minutes, 252nd Session, 1926.

When the story as Minutes, 252nd Session, 1926.

The story as Minutes, 252nd Session, 1926.

"The 'proposal' of the Left S. more relation to the Stalin-Vyshwar against Germany, thus conR. was not only never rejected insky dime novel "murder plot" The Moscow Pravda took the front Lenin with the accomplish- with indignation but it was never of 1938, than, let us say, the

we do not know whether or not Russia and Germany, the Com- quiet conversation took place in these reports correspond to the munist spokesman in the Reich-Berlin and in Moscow between reality. If we assume that they stag, Klara Zetkin, argued: Soviet and German representare not lies, then they have, in "Germany's future rests upon a atives, political and military. All

The foreign political line of the n favor of a close alliance not low, under certain circumstances,

of our military authorities and ened to weaken the ties between doubt at all that more than one close community of interests with this is old stuff, fairly well the Soviet Union, in economic, known. And this is all there is or political and if needs be also mi- ever was to the charge of Kreslitary respects... I even believe, tinsky's or any other Soviet leadcontrary to Mr. Deputy Wels, er's "espionage" relations with Soviet Union and the line of the that is is not so hopeless as he Germany, or with Generals von omintern were then anxiously imagines, for cooperation to folonly between the General Staffs between the Reichswehr and the years following. Anyof the two armies, but of the Red Army people." (Reichstag thing more is simply the putrid armies themselves. In her speech Minutes, 127th Session, 1926.) | product of a diseased and vin-

6. The 'Plot' Against Lenin In 1918

6. No less foul is the charge that it was made seriously, it, that four months after the revo- was not taken seriously. viet government by murdering Lenin, Stalin and Syerdlov. How does it happen that such

andra Kollontay, the late Kuiby-

in the "murder plot"?

The answer to these questions 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

dress to a party meeting in the ed fact, and then re-elect him rejected at all, inasmuch as it grumblings of Hugh S. Johnson unanimously as chairman of the was never discussed at all, for and Raymond Moley against the Council. It goes without saying there was no proposal from the New Deal have to a plot to asthat nothing ever came of this Left S.R.'s to the Left Commun- sassinate Roosevelt, Farley and "proposal," for even assuming ists.....

Leadership Knew

about the episode! On December in order to have some resolution reach such bitterness as during that period, in the period of the Reach Such Delication of the S Brest Peace. It is well known Unschlicht and numerous time in a separate faction, reached such a point of bitterness that of the Council of People's Com-Stalin in the fight against "Trots- they seriously discussed replacing People's Commissars with a new following: Lenin, as a revolu-Left Communists. A number of tion of having to wage a defense present oppositionists, comrades against the advancing Germans, kov and others, were among the meaning the Left Communists) faction of Left Communists."

very least-why is it now presented with the air of horrorat-crime? Why, after knowing discussed, because it was an aball 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 re- yan's death, Lenin was writing pugnant creature Yaroslavsky an obituary of the latter, comnow writes in the Daily Worker, rade Radek told comrade Lenin 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:

Radek, Piatakov Speak

"During the sessions of the Central Executive Committee of

"A second incident occurred which was likewise absolutely without any significance. Comrade Radek walked into the office The essential point is that the of the Commissar for Communientire party leadership knew cations, the Left S.R. Proshyan, 15, 1923, Stalin wrote in Pravda: of the Left Communists sent out Never, I believe, did inner-party by radio. Proshyan laughingly strife among the Bolsheviks said to comrade Radek: 'All you under arrest for 24 hours, dec-(!!), for example, that the Left lare war against the Germans Communists, who were at that and then again unanimously remissars?' What Proshvan then the then existing Council of said came naturally down to the Council among the ranks of the tionist, when placed in a posi-Preobrazhensky, Piatakov, Stu- would curse us and you (You, in every way, but nevertheless he would lead a defensive strugknown" as early as 1923—at the gle better than anyone else. Once not rejected by the Left Communists, but likewise not even solutely 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 Proshabout this incident and the latter roared with laughter over this

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

ed in a conspiracy. There are lit- for 10, 15 and 20 years, of 100, means of equally silent mental the Ukraine, establishing the mitions to Germany in violation leading Russian party circles, the Soviet which were held in the public more than 14 years ago! The entire party membership, at making a report on Brest, a Left least those who read Pravda, the Soviet Government, but was Moscow in 1923. It was in the approached Piatakov and Buk- tried to make a hypocritically confirmed immediately thereafter period of the first struggle a harin. In the course of the con- solemn face over it; Lenin had gainst "Trotskyism" and Buk- versation, which not only did not roared with laughter about it, harin sought to emphasize the bear the character of any kind and afterwards wrote a tender danger of factionalism by point- of official negotiations but did not and respectful memorial article ing to the extremes to which his even have the character of a busi- on the occasion of the death of "In the negotiations with the group was impelled during the ness-like preliminary probing of Proshyan, the main "instigator" firm of Junkers (airplane manu- inner-party struggle over the the ground on both sides, Kamkov, of the "murder plot," who had, facturers) on March 15, 1922, in signing of the Brest-Litovsk among other things, half-jokingly by the way, actually (and not the Reichswehr Ministry," said peace in 1918. He reported that said: 'Well, what will you do if fictitiously taken part in the armformer Chancellor Phillip Schei- the Left Social Revolutionists you attain the majority in the ed uprising of the Social Revoludemann, for example, "there par- who were then members of the party? After all, Lenin will leave tionists against the Soviet power Whether the episode merits so-

in any case, the reality has no

7. "If The Charges Were True---"

(Germany?). The most impor- obscene, hideous frame-up, a sins? were shot, not counting those shot limited means provided by a mil- will prop up its tottering rule during the G.P.U. investigation. itary apparatus. And the result? The pistol shots of the execution-Piatakov and others) was accus- with 1918 proves to be no more napartist clique, for its days are

was likewise occupied with plot- ists, and finally the Bukharin- be acknowledging the fact that it. It is Stalin who says so! the trials and the accusations are the most murderous possible experience, with names known to selves loose from the elementary of guilt!

7. The Trial of the 21 is an associate with him into assas-|ed it-its success would attract

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 comnlete absence of any democracy, that everybody who thinks or believes differently from Stalin | if we believe Stalin's accusations. 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 and we do not. We believe only actual clandestine work against bloodstained tyrant of the Krem-

If the charges are true, it the prostrate body of the Russian means that the "socialism" estab- Revolution. He is befouling the Having cut themselves loose indictment of the Stalin regime lished by Stalin is so horrible and very name of socialism. the Bolshevik Party, people of from every responsibility, the toitself. For the trials organized repugnant that all the men who great political and revolutionary talitarian leaders have cut them- by Stalin are his real confession devoted themselves for twenty, thirty, forty and fifty years to fair name, to that socialism and If the charges are true, it the cause of socialism, have de- its ideals which mean not only "united" and "parallel" terroristic nonsense, as the delirium of a Stalin is impossible by actual fascism. By Stalin's implicit conspirit of totalitarian idiocy. We tak, including thousands of Gestapo and the British Intelliing to murder him. It is Stalin work for Stalin. We always be-

to its support millions from other classes. Shall we believe now that after "socialism" has been established, it is decadent, fascist capitalism that will attract to its side those who are -or at thevery least, were—the best and most devoted leaders of the socialist proletariat? We must believe it.

Cannot Be Believed

But we cannot believe them, lin is driving a knife through

Then we shall redouble our work to restore to socialism its dom! Not even the gory hand

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sheviks, White Guards, Hearst Why does the Prosecution date that the Revolution itself was the terrorist plans of Bukharin accusation is no more meritori- who says so! What is there so lieved that once the proletariat unmentionably frightful about was on the highroad to socialism 1921 Trotsky was already secret- March 1, 1938. Stalin's rule that turns all who -to say nothing of having attain-

(Continued from page 1)

nection between the revolution- war. Every militant worker must ary struggle against capitalism recognize that it represents the and the struggle against war- last attempt of the desperate subjects which were strictly ta- pacifists, repelled by the premaboo at the meeting,-Wolfe ma- ture straightforwardness of Stanaged to appease his strange linist jingoism, to supply thembed-fellows with an appeal for a selves with a left coloration for broad united front of all those decorative purposes. The Thowho accept the illusive minimum masites and Lovestoneites have

at a safe distance from the broad- boration with whatever labor casting microphones, Wolfe ca- leaders they can dig up. left flank.

Whose Blood?

Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers before. of America, waxed eloquent in his thunderous denunciation of collective security, or "internacollective security, or "international company unionism" as he House Committee called it. But with the same breath he hastened to assure his audience that "American workers will defend their country with their last drop of blood.

The Committee, as part of its Original Figures Raised 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 already begun to evince a wan- abroad.... This fundamental ing 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 muchheralded Committee can hardly

STALINISM and BOLSHEVISM

10C

Leon TROTSKY

Piencer Publishers 160 Fifth Avenue New York, N. Y.

take a step in the direction of really keeping America out of stepped forward eagerly to fu!-As a sort of afterthought, and fill this important role, in colla-

The whole project has about manner, that really, after all, he it a tragic aura of pre-191.7 of falsifying even the most inis an internationalist and it is pacifism. It furnishes a fine opup to the "working class to lead portunity to recall the chamethe struggle against war." This leon-like rapidity with which the heresy was greeted by Wolfe's pacifists of former days discoverliberal cohorts with a chill si- ed that their love of country outlence, and the meeting came off weighed by far their anti-war with no further mishaps on the sentiments, in the "critical" hour. No more effective than its counterparts of pre-war vintage, the Committee will crumble to patriotic bits at the first new explosion, and perhaps even long

Votes Navy Bill reds of miles away from so unhappily named.

To New Record Peace-Time High

(Continued from page 1)

tection of both coasts...., of the Panama Canal, Alaska, Hawaii and our insular possessions, of of the Committee, however, have our commerce and of our citizens naval policy also provides for the maintenance of a navy to support our national policies. This includes the support and maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine.'

This definition of policy, i will be observed, gives the justification for war in any part of the world where any U.S. citizen (i.e., industrialist, banker, finance-capitalist) can claim that his interests (i.e. profits) are threatened.

Defence of What?

This, indeed, is exactly what Roosevelt means by a "defensive" war: a war in defense of the interests of U.S. imperialism. It is this kind of defense that the enlarged navy is designed to assure. The naive idea that "dofense" means the protection of homes and families of humble citizens is hardly taken seriously at the White House; it is only so much dust to throw in the eves of the innocent.

It is worth recalling that the increase added to the Naval Bill by the House Committee exceeds the total \$250,000,000 voted by Congress as a special unemployed relief appropriation. This contrast is an interesting marginal note on the true direction of New Deal sympathies.

Pacifists Rally To Dear 'Meetings' With Leon Old Stars and Stripes Trotsky Bungled Again

were exclusively of a telepathic

"Confesses"

Through Crisis. **Trial Shows**

(Continued from page 1)

dates, concretizing circumstances stances which would have made tions. significant detail of Trotsky's ate in his conspiratorial arrangeactivities and movements, re- ments than the luckless Romm;

tiniest trifle. Besides, the frame-up artists nature, in a supernatural realm have already had their fingers burned: the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen was found to exist only in the fond memories of prewar Baedeker browsers; the plane which allegedly conveyed Pyatakov 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

Cautious 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.

by the campaign in the reaction- see. To be sure, they somehow petty protests! These men are October 9, 1933, to a village calary and fascist press after his fail to be produced—not even a conspirators, they are capable of led Bagneres-de-Bigorre.

Stalin's Regime Going |"discovery" in Barbizon in April, fragment, a scrap, an envelop 1934, to leave the vicinity of Pa- flap-but they nevertheless bulk ris. His household was constant- large in the stories of all defendly on the move because of this ants. After all, it's a hell of a drive to expel him. From April, conspiracy that doesn't involve 1934, until his departure for Oslo, astronomical quantities of cons-Trotsky was away from Paris, piratorial letters, because the tele-Moscow trials scrupulously avoid under the close surveillance of pathic contacts sometimes break mentioning names, giving exact the police, living under circum- down in bad atmospheric condi-

of time and place. Vyshinsky's a casual trip to Paris, much less So it turns out that Bessonov tortuous route, as he skirts care- to a hotel, for the sake of meet- received a letter "written in fully around anything remotely ing a Bessonov, foolhardiness December, 1936, by Krestinsky resembling a fact, is all the worthy only of a child. The affi- to Trotsky." This letter, Bessomore striking in the present trial. davits and documents in the pos- nov confesses, "was passed on by The secret is simple: the bungl- session of the Dewey Commission me. In a few days I received a ers of the G.P.U. are incapable amply confirm these statements. reply from Trotsky." Just as Bessonov was no more fortun- simple as that.

Unfortunately there are complications. In December, 1936, corded as they are down to the his conversations with Trotsky 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 tion Betrayed, through the iron police ring.

Expelled From Norway

December 19, and embarked on many. a tanker, bound for Mexico. Under these circumstances, it would be a revealing insight ers were transmitted.

sion: after all, it is established that there was a letter. Let the Actually, Trotsky was forced But there were letters, too, you Trotskyite carpers bellow their

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 picayune 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 could not even get the manu- Merano incident. "Trotsky came script of his book, The Revoluto Merano (Italy)," Krestinsky blithely admits, "about October 10 (1933) together with Sedov. Trotsky came, he told me, under an assumed French passport and And then, with no let-up of came by the route stated by Bespolice cautiousness, Trotsky and sonov, that is, through the Franhis wife were unceremoniously co-Italian frontier and not expelled from the country on through Switzerland and Ger-

Covering Blunders

In preparing this trial, Yezhov into conspiratorial techniques if evidently attempted to rectify Vyshinsky would uncover the past blunders by thumbing precise means whereby the let- through The Case of Leon Trotsky, but the G.P.U. unfortunate-But he is apparently more than ly has no training-school in which satisfied with his witness' confes- to educate its agents in the use of source-books. As Trotsky explained to the Dewey Commission, he went to the Pyrenees on

> 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 Mewas 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 Local - Lit. Agent - Increase silence of the French ally to as- Newark, N. J., R. Negin sure Stalin's bloody frame-up! Chicago, Ill., Karl Shier Why are no questions asked a- Rochester, N.Y., Chas. Hess bout the exact name under which Boston, Mass., T. Leonard Trotsky traveled, the means Pittsburgh, Pa., Irving Oklin whereby the false passport was obtained? Furthermore, the Philade phia, Pa., Sol Thomas 5 French police, while respecting London, Eng., Mildred Kahn 24 congratulate the staff of the Ap-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 way. Karl Shier of Chicago, Ill., 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

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

SOVIET UNION NOTES

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 corpes 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: Pletnev, 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 Pletnev 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 nosing out Karl Shier, Chicago's drive has ended with some locals literature agent. producing results while others lag. Figures speak for them- comes through with: selves and here they are:

NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS New York City St. Louis... Chicago Newark, N. J. Los Angeles Paterson, N. J. Detroit, Mich ... Jersey City, N. J. New Castle, Penn. Hartford, Conn.

Total new subs

Bundle orders look better: 20 Clayton, Mo., Viola Graves

Total increase in bundles 1.14 This snows a modest beginning sue for the last six weeks has but we have word from locals all been an improvement over the over the country that the drive previous one . . . ". is just beginning to get under

they're going to have a hard time for a national daily.

And Newark, New Jersey,

"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. Hildegarde 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.

And 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 peal for the great work you are

now doing. At last we have a real workers' paper. Every is-

You're surprised at the 6-page edition that you have in your "San Francisco and Minnea- hands now. Get behind this drive polis have challenged us." Un- and a 6-page paper will not be less they do some tall hustling, a surprise but a jumping off place

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in horror at the brutal disregard over the most flimsy story and linism must protest with every of the elementary dictates of to utilize lack of precision as ounce of his strength at Moscow's justice and humane procedure confirmation of guilt. Every sin-monstrous perversion of justice. which enables Vyshinsky to gloss | cere person uncorrupted by Sta-Let us demand the facts!

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.

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

Hail The Heroic Paris Communards! A Commemorative Statement

NICHOLAS KRESTINSKY

which permits us no attitude

other than awed reverence.

On March 18, 1871, in the midst of the Franco-Prussian War, when Bismarck's invading armies were at the very gates of Paris, the proletariat of the French capital rose and took power, thereby establishing the first working-class state in history. For a brief but glorious seventytwo days, they held power and moved gropingly towards a regime of freedom, towards a social-

Thiers, head of the capitalist government at Versailles, had planned to open the city to the Prussian invaders in the hope that they would crush the insurrectionary workers, grown desperate under intense exploitation and oppression. The Paris workers, by their firm revolutionary action, forestalled the plot of Thiers. In power, they organized the defense of Paris while executing their social program.

This did not prevent their class enemies from charging them with facilitating the advance of the Prussians, just as forty-six years later the Russian bourgeoisie and its foreign a'lies charged the Bolsheviks with working for the German general staff, just as today the counter-revolutionary Stalin regime charges the revolutionists with being agents of the fascist imperialist

Suppressed In Blood

The Paris Commune and its sanguinary suppression has not been forgotten. Only a few years ago, a New York Times editorial recalled: When the Commune was set up in Paris after the war of 1870, we know what bloody work had to be done by the French soldiers to rescue the capital and the country from the deadly menace." (Feb. 8, 1934.) It omitted to mention that the same French bourgeoisie which had charged the Communards with selling out Paris to the Prussians, finally enlisted the aid of the Prussians to suppress the Communards, 30,000 of whom were slaughtered when the Commune

The "democratic" gentlemen still applaud the barbaric slaughter of the Communards by the Republicans of 1871. Everything is in order for the defense of the system of profits and exploitation, to prevent the downtrodden of the earth from overthrowing the parasitic masters of society!

Loyalty to capitalist property above all! In the face of the "deadly menace" the French Republicans of 1871 received the aid of the reactionary Bismarck: class solidarity is stronger than national antagonism! So tomorrow, in face of the deadly menace of workers' revolution, the "democratic" imperialist and Fascist powers will unite against the "third power," the working class. Whoever calls for the support of "democratic" imperialism against Fascism preaches the self-annihilation of the working class.

Social Democrats Betray

The Paris Commune issued out of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. Prior to the last world war, the Socialist International warned the imperia'ist governments that should they declare war, the working class would follow the example of the Commune and the Russian Revolution of 1905 (which issued from the Russo-Japanese war). However, once war actually broke out, the social democracy "forgot" their

threat. The Bolshevik Party remembered! The Bolsheviks also remembered that the Paris Commune had taught that the working

class cannot use the old state machinery, the army and bureaucracy of capitalist oppression, but must smash it and replace it by their own organs of power. Like the sections of the Commune, the democratically-elected soviets or councils of the Russian Revolution, a thousand times more democratic than any body under capitalist government, expressed the enthusiasm and creative powers of the liberated masses. Irano meeting took place), he The Red Guard, and later the Red Army, like the National Guard of the Commune, replaced the old reactionary army. The masses forged their own independent instruments of defense and emancipation.

Soviet Russia-the Commune of 1917-had one significant advantage over its predecessor: a firm revolutionary vanguard, the Bolshevik Party. The most intelligent, advanced and courageous workers belonged to this organization. Under its leadership, the Soviets were able to overcome even greater obstacles than the Commune faced: the internal counter-revolution and the foreign imperialist intervention. The party had absorbed the experiences of the earlier working class movement-including the Paris Commune-and was thus able to avoid the mistakes of the less mature Communards: their hesitations and half-measures.

New Courage and Hone

The Russian Commune inspired the workers of the world with renewed courage and hope. In Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy the masses spontaneously rose to overthrow their masters; they organized their soviets, their communes, which challenged the power of capitalism. Yet lacking the great instrument which the Russian proletariat had forged, the revolutionary party, they could not overcome the traitorous, procapitalist social democracy. The German social democrat, Noske, following in the footsteps of Gallifet, the butcher of the Commune, drowned the militant Berlin working class movement in blood. The old army clique and bureaucracy, instead of being destroyed, were restored to power by the European social democracy: thus preparing the way for Fascism and Stalinism.

Stalinism, the living negative of the ideals of the Commune and the Russian Revolution, developed and thrived on the post-war defeats of the working class. Its abandonment of revolutionary Marxism led to further defeats and catastrophes. It wiped out the workers' instruments of self-expression in the Soviet Union -the soviets, trade unions and Bolshevik party. Stalin has framed-up, murdered or exiled the best representatives of the Revolution and has brought discredit, in the eyes of millions, on the revolutionary struggle for emancipation, on the very cause of socialism.

The aims of the Commune and the Russian Revolution, complete freedom and equality of mankind, can be achieved only along the road blazed by the Communards and the Bolsheviks. They can be realized only in the struggle against the usurpers and traducers of the glorious traditions of the working class; in the intransigent class struggle against capitalism and for workers' power and socialism.

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SOCIALIST APPEAL

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> MAX SHACHTMAN Editor. FRANK GRAVES

HAROLD ROBERTS Associate Editors. BOB BROWNE Business Manager.

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. The paper says the trial will show the alleged plotters were following the orders of the Japanese to assist the conquest of China." Thus reads a Hankow dispatch to the New York Times on March 5.

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. Wang Ming (Chen Shao-yi), agent of the G.P.U. in Hankow, was evidently tipped off on a coming China-Japan-Trotskyist angle of the macabre frameup trial of Old Bolsheviks now proceeding in Moscow. But what stupidity to tell the whole world about it in advance!

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. Christian Rakovsky is testifying to a conversation which he alleges he had with "a highly-placed individual" in Tokyo in 1934. This "individual" (unnamed, of course) said to Rakovsky: "We are aware that you are a very close friend and adherent of Mr. Trotsky. I must ask you to write him that a certain government is dissatisfied with his articles on the Chinese question and also with the behavior of the Chinese Trotskyists. We have a right to expect of Mr. Trotsky a different line of conduct. Mr. Trotsky himself should understand what a certain government needs. There is no need to go into details, but it is clear that to create an incident in China would be a desirable ground for being able to intervene in Chinese affairs." (Daily

Worker, March 7.) Yes, dear children, it is all so perfectly clear: The government of imperialist Japan being unable, as you all know, to obliged to turn to Trotsky and the Chirese Trotskyites. Thus, you understand, Trotsky and his Chinese followers are the ones responsible for the Japanese invasion of China—that is, if you believe fairy tales

But who nowadays believes fairy

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. He is especially incensed over the last Moscow trial and feels that his democratic sensibilities have been offended. Like so many other "democratic"hacks, he is trying to restore some of his woefully faded prestige by reference to the horrors of Bolshevik dicta-

We are not, as is known, among those who believe that support of the Russian Revolution and the leadership of Lenin makes necessary an endorsement of the dreadful atrocities committed by the counter-revolutionary regime of Stalin and Co. Quite the contrary. But especially those who have not forgotten the history of the short-lived rule of Mr.

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. In fact, Trotsky and Lunacharsky were actually imprisoned by Kerensky on that infamous charge, and Lenin and Zinoviev were compelled to go into hiding to escape Kerensky's counterpart of Stalin's G.P.U. What Kerensky is really imbued with, therefore, is envy of Stalin because of the latter's murderous success in ac-complishing what Kerensky tried and

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. Writing on Kerensky's visit in the Daily Worker (March 8, 1938), Olgin says:

"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... The leaders and the persons who have sullied themselves with their brothers' blood, with the crime against the Fatherland and the Revolution, are being arrested.'

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 Lovestoneites and the Altman-Thomas Socialists, and officially launched last Sunday at a mass meeting in the Hippodrome. reported elsewhere in this issue Our statement declared this movement, founded on outworn pacifist notions and having nothing in common with the revolutionary struggle against war (which means the class struggle against capitalism), to be "a device for the deception and disorientation of the people, above all the workers.'

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. Furthermore, we drew attention to the fact that the organizers of the movement had calmly signed to their program "the names of all those who had for one reason or another agreed to sponsor the meeting-somehow, in the great majority of cases, forgetting the one 'detail' of consulting the sponsors about the call to which their

names were signed." Orson Welles, Broadway actor, was apparently one of those signed up without being consulted. Up bobs 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." The bold headline reads: "Welles Accuses Trotskyists of Forging Name to 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!

March New International Appears

The March issue of the New "Class Relations in the Chinese International has just come off Revolution," being a document the press. Included among its from the archives of the revolucontents is a review entitled "The tion. New Line-up in Europe and the James Burnham discusses Soviet Union" by the editors, an "Prospects for the Development

article on "The Crisis and the of a Labor Party" in the United Bankruptcy of the Liberals" by States, while Arne Swabeck Dave Cowles, and an article on writes on "The Trade Unions in "The Model Democratic Republic Politics." The book review secof Czechoslovakia" by W. Keller. tion covers Edgar Snow's "Red Two anarchists contribute their Star Over China," Ferdinand views to a symposium on the Lundberg's "America's Sixty role of the anarchists in the Families," in addition to the Spanish civil war. Leon Trotsky's latest books of John Dos Passos,

contribution is concerned with Ernest Hemingway and others.

This splendid issue of the monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism is on sale at the office of the New International, 116 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: litical position. You dealt only with the first four and the last three pages of the magazine. Internal evidence showed that even Where the Partisan Review fell

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

Charges Negligence

of an editorial, involves our Party Marxism. 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 orga. should be open to the best productions of living literature, regardless of the political views of their authors." But a revolutionary organ must pay regard to its authors' politics if it is to help in the understanding of Marxism. The politics of writers is one guide to excellent writing. Yet you are wrong in saying: "Politics dominates everything in our world, including literature." Politics is not the modern destiny, as Napoleon said it was; nor, as Blake said, does Empire coincide with our own, remain Zam clique and retaining memfollow art. Mode of production underlies all culture. Literature, politics, science, etc. respond autonomously, each retarded, each advanced by the other. Such political Philistinism as yours, would attract only third-rate

Stalinist Depths?

University Place, New York fusion or identification of the inclearly and candidly, what they party into the camp of Waldliterature or of political events on writers, with the influence of political machines upon literature. To this, I prefer the empirical tests which writers apply to social reality. Political machines debase the creative reason to and false half-truth. All depart- I at no time, in any way, gave Party, the only party that is carformal logic, or even to obscurments of contemporary culture permission for my name to be rying out the program of Marx antism. Politics cannot do with- have to be cleansed of false ideas used as indorsing those tactics and Engels. In my locality (Alout them. And for that very and pernicious influences. On the or the present so-called "Socialreason, writers must keep themreason, writers must keep them-selves free from the control of other hand, they must be kept selves free from the control of other hand, they must be kept meant to turn traitor to my com-tioning branches. politicians,—and this for the open for the introduction of the rades who were expelled from

political science. The attitude of of Marxism, if they are to pro-Your tactless treatment of the your reviewer towards literature gress. Partisan Review (see Socialist is the authoritarian attitude Appeal, December 5, 1937) was under which bureaucratic despotnot well calculated to win the ism grows. Uncorrected it would tain the notion that the interest Partisan Review over to our po- reduce us to Stalinesque depths. of revolutionary culture and re John Wheelwright.

OUR REPLY

this treatment was cursory. Partisan Review has evoked rejoinders from its editors and seshort of a revolutionary line on veral comrades who believe that activity, those anarcho-syndicalletters the Appeal did not correct the interests of revolutionary ists who resent and reject in practitioners remain independent the activity, of revolutionary so of revolutionary politics, either in cialists in the trade-unions. theory or in practice.

that "the Appeal, by equating indifference with independence, lands us in pure aestheticism, is entirely amiss. We criticized the By failing to review the body ference towards politics in generof the magazine from this gen- al, but for an indefensible ineral standpoint, the Appeal difference towards revolutionary the contrary we hold that they was negligent. Furthermore, the labor politics. That is not "pure are not discordant in principle review was anonymous, and aestheticism," but "impure," i.e. and can be harmonized in practice thus partaking of the character inconsistent and incomplete,

Present Program

The editors partially acknowledge the cogency of our argu ment 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 In contemporary terms it implies the struggle against capita ism in all its modern guises and disguises, including bourgeois democracy, fascism, and reformism (social democracy, Stalinism)." This program represents a step circulated by certain members of

forward from their previous to- the Socialist Party, wherein over tal silence on the subject. But my signature I am represented these admirable ideas, which as indorsing the Altman-Thomassuspended, like Mahomet's coffin, bership in their party.

fluence of "political machines" is, in our opinion, a dangerous ing."

Many intellectuals in their re vulsion against Stalinism enter volutionary politics are funda mentally incompatible and anta gonistic, and that a revolutionary Our December 4 article on the socialist party must blight all touches. In these ideas they r semble, in their own sphere of culture are best served if its principle the "interference," i.e.

Such ideas and attitudes have nothing in common with Marx The Partisan Review's protest ism. Just as we combat the reworkers, so we deny that they must necessarily harm the most sensitive interests of culture. On

To Socialists

The following letter, addresse Norman Gilbert to members 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 wellknown militant, is in their camp. -Editor.

To Members of the Pennsylvania Socialist Party: Dear Comrades:

It has just been brought to my attention that a paper is being

between heaven and earth. Having I want at this time to make explicitly rejected the ideas and it perfectly clear to every one organizations of the Second and concerned that when the above-Third Internationals, will the mentioned clique rode rough-shock editors of the Partisan Review, over every principle of party dewho remind us that Marxism is mocracy, violating the party connot only a theory but a guide to stitution, expelling those memaction, descend still further from bers who upheld it, thereby pretheir mist-wrapped Olympian paring the way for a shameless

Above all, I protest your con- heights and tell their readers, and disgraceful betrayal of the fluence of political science on think of the ideas and organiza- man-Browder-Wall Street and tion of the Fourth International? support of LaGuardia in the New Comrade Wheelwright's main York elections, I switched my supcontention that literature must the time-honored position of "No be kept wholly free from the in- Compromise, No Political Trad-

ist Party." To do so would have S. P. does not even have funchealth both of literary and of fertilizing and fructifying ideas the S. E. C., and to the principles Allentown, Pa.,

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 out 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-jingoes 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 patrictism. 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 Nerman 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 f capitalist patriotism and its middle class pacifist defenders.

Shachtman Heard At ILGWU Group

(Dress Pressers) of the Inter- Wednesday evening, at 8:45 P. national Ladies Garment Workers M. On March 23, Joseph Carter, Union listened intently on March will consider the background and man, editor of the Socialist Appeal, on "Dictatorship and Demo-This will be followed at succeedcracy," after the chairman of the ing sessions by a study of the local had exposed efforts made later congresses, the development by the "democratic" Stalinists to of the struggle of "Stalinism lissuade members from attend-

Shachtman made his presentacion so lucidly and forcefully Fourth International. that no one left until after the speaker had replied to the numerous questions from the floor. Many were the expressions: "Best ecture 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 sorial-democratic workers gave Shachtman further opportunity to show, on the basis of the workers' own experiences in the union and in strikes, and their experiences 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 entown-Bethlehem-Easton), the

Norman Gilbert.

MARXIST SCHOOL

The Third International, found ed nineteen years ago this month, NEW YORK. — A capacity is the subject of critical analysis meeting of members of Local 60 at the Marxist School every to a lecture by Max Shacht- proceedings of the Third Conversus Trotskyism"; the politics of the Brandler-Lovestone group; the forces and prospects for the

> 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 twentyfive 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

March 18, 1938 8 P.M.

NEW YORK ANTI-WAR MEETING

On the Anniversary of the Paris Commune

Manhattan Plaza 66 E. 4 St.