

TO MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

We address ourselves to those workers and militants within the ranks of the Communist Party who in their own minds and hearts still preserve the aim and ideal of the workers' revolution...

We know that there are such members of the Communist Party. We know that they have, in reality, nothing whatever in common with the cynical, depraved, corrupt bureaucrats who, at the bidding of the Kremlin, direct the Party...

To these workers and militants, we say:

Comrades, what is your answer to the Trial of the 21?

By this trial, Stalin has now wiped out the last of Lenin's intimate colleagues. Through the trials and the purges, he has executed virtually the entire membership of Lenin's Central Committee...

You do not have to take our word for this. The membership of the Central Committee, the names of the close associates of Lenin, are a matter of public historical record. You can check up easily for yourselves.

Do You Believe In The October Revolution?

In 1917 and 1918 the imperialists and reactionaries everywhere told us that the Russian Revolution was made by a gang of cut-throats, bandits, spies, murderers.

Do you believe this? Or do you believe with us that the Russian Revolution was the greatest and most magnificent event in the entire history of mankind?

Today Stalin tells you exactly the same story that the imperialists and reactionaries told us in 1917 and 1918. If you believe Stalin now, then you must believe that the imperialists and reactionaries were right to begin with.

Vyshinsky states that Yagoda was a poisoner, a brutal sadist, a liar, a depraved and degenerate tyrant.

This is true.

But for a decade Yagoda was Stalin's right-hand man, acting directly under Stalin's orders. Look back through the official press and you will find that this is clearly and unquestionably true.

Yagoda prepared and managed the Trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev. According to Vyshinsky himself, therefore, the Trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev was prepared and managed by a poisoner, sadist, liar, and tyrant.

Is This Socialism?

Let us suppose that the trials are true. Stalin tells you that socialism has irrevocably triumphed within the Soviet Union. What kind of "socialism" is it, then, that turns all of its founders and builders into mad dogs, that makes them prefer to work for the blackest fascism rather than for the "socialist" regime?

But, of course, the trials are not true. You yourselves know in your hearts that they are not true, that they are a gigantic frame-up.

Do you really believe that the cause of socialism can be served by frame-ups, by lies, by assassinations?

Why then are you silent?

Why not stand up in your Party units and demand answers to the questions which in your own minds shout for replies? Why not read the books, histories, pamphlets, newspapers which can put the facts about the Russian Revolution into your possession?

Truth Alone Serves Our Cause

Are you afraid of the truth? If you are afraid of the truth, how, then, will you have strength to face the revolution?

But there is no reason to fear the truth. Illusions, shams, treacheries—these are shattered and smashed by the truth. But our great movement, the movement for the emancipation of humanity, is nourished and grows strong by the truth and by the truth only.

You must act, comrades, and act quickly. You read the general press. You will see that no one believes this new trial. You will see also, however, that they are using this new trial to launch a vast campaign against the socialist ideal itself. The trial proves, they say, "the intellectual and moral bankruptcy of socialism."

By your silence you aid this reactionary campaign, which threatens to destroy the entire Marxist movement.

Stalinism, Not Socialism, Is Bankrupt

This campaign is a lie from start to finish. The trials in no slightest degree involve the ideal of socialism. The trials are the direct contradiction of socialism. What they prove utterly and completely is the final bankruptcy of Stalinism; what they prove for all time is that Stalinism and everything it represents is the destroyer, not the continuator, of the revolution.

This is the only possible answer that can be given to the campaign of reaction. No other answer can stand up under the attack, no other answer can vindicate the ideal of socialism.

And if you do not give that answer, you yourselves will be compelled to abandon your ideal. You will slip down once more into the ranks of the passive, broken slaves of imperialism.

Do not abandon your ideal! Join with us to defend it against all of its enemies. Only that ideal, the ideal of the classless socialist society, has hope or promise for men.

You will find that ideal guarded untarnished within the growing regiments of the Fourth International. In the face of the nightmare trial, in the face of the yawning crisis, the march of totalitarian reaction, the black clouds of the approaching war, let us carry forward our ideal, to a sure and lasting triumph!

Workers of the World Unite

Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

For the Fourth International

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462

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Lenin's Aides Shot

Anti-War Struggle Only Reply To Hitler

FASCISM LASHES AUSTRIAN LABOR

Drive Toward General War Conflagration Given Impetus By Latest Triumph of Swastika; Move Loses Wave of Chauvinism

VICIOUS REACTION IS DEEPENING

On Wednesday, March 9, Kurt Schuschnigg, then Chancellor of Austria, tried a last desperate bluff to preserve his own despotism against the encroachments of his giant rival to the north...

Hitler and his Austrian Nazi cohorts, realizing that the Schuschnigg-controlled plebiscite would undoubtedly return a majority for independence, immediately sent their gangs into the streets of the Austrian towns and villages.

On Friday, March 11, Schuschnigg was presented with a series of ultimatums from Berlin, demanding the calling-off of the plebiscite, Schuschnigg's resignation, the formation of a Nazi cabinet and full freedom for the Nazi party in Austria.

Nazism Triumphs

Schuschnigg yielded on every point, but the machine set in motion was not in the least prepared to stop with any concessions. That night the German army, in accordance with plans long ago worked out in meticulous detail, rolled across the Austrian border...

The clerical-fascism of Schuschnigg yielded its final fruit: the full-blown tyranny of Nazism. On Sunday, after a thousand years at the center of European history, the sovereignty of Austria was proclaimed at an end, and the nation was incorporated into the German Reich.

On Monday, Hitler rode in triumph through the streets of Vienna, as his police herded thousands from their proscribed lists into prison and concentration camps, as the frenzied gangs of Nazi students and demoralized middle class ruffians beat aged Jews into pulp, ransacked the Jewish shops and restaurants, applied cat-o-nine-tails to workers who failed to show proper

Loyalist Spain In Peril Of Collapse

Following up the recapture of Teruel, Franco's troops have embarked upon a determined drive to carve the territory of Loyalist Spain into two isolated segments. Reports as we go to press indicate that little effective resistance is being offered to the new fascist offensive, and that the Franco forces have already reached a point less than forty miles from the Mediterranean coast.

There are ominous rumors of secret negotiations between government heads and representatives of Franco's camp behind the scenes of the new military crisis. The Socialist Appeal will publish next week an extended analysis of the whole situation and its relation to the European crisis.

enthusiasm for their "liberation." On Saturday there had been issued an insolent announcement of the abrogation of Article 88A (Continued on page 3)

Navy Departs For Pacific War 'Games'

Record Maneuvers Will Cover Vast Triangle in Western Ocean

Proceeding under a shroud of secrecy which indicates the closeness of war, the greatest peacetime naval operations in the history of the United States got underway this week as more than 150 warships steamed out into the Pacific from their bases on the West Coast. Cooperating in the exercises are some 500 war planes, naval bases and shore stations from San Diego to Puget Sound and from Alaska to Samoa, merchant vessels plying the Pacific, and commercial airliners. Navy personnel totalling more than 60,000 officers and men are participating in the exercises which are scheduled to last until the end of April.

Actual time for the commencement of the maneuvers was kept a closely guarded secret and, unlike previous exercises, press representatives have been rigidly debarred from accompanying the fleet. The imperialist government at Washington, conscientiously preparing for war against Japan, is determined that results of the exercises shall remain an official secret.

Scope of Maneuvers

Another indication that war with Japan is looming on the horizon is the decision to extend the exercises both farther west and farther south than ever before. Approximately 12,000,000 square miles of the Pacific will be covered. Although the maneuvers will, as usual, center around Hawaii, the American Samoan Island group with the best harbor in the South Seas, Pago Pago, will figure in the navy moves.

Some units are expected to (Continued on page 4)

GPU Court Decrees Death For Eighteen After Farcical Trial

Frame-ups? So What? Says Anna Strong

NEW YORK—"Suppose the Moscow trials are frame-ups—so what?" said Anna Louise Strong, professional "Friend of the Soviet Union," at a lecture to the forum of the Community Church last week. Her audience, composed largely of Communist Party members and sympathizers, sat in shocked and dumbfounded silence. The first to recover began to boo and John Haynes Holmes, the chairman, had to rise to restore order.

The flustered Miss Strong tried to swallow her unintentional slip by launching into a discourse about Soviet economy. She neglected to mention, however, that all the economic gains of which she spoke were carried out under the direction of men who have now been shot as "wreckers," "saboteurs" and "Fascist spies."

2,000 MEET TO DENOUNCE TRIAL

NEW YORK.—Two thousand people jammed the Hotel Center auditorium last Wednesday to protest the new Moscow frame-up at a mass meeting held under the auspices of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky.

The speakers, including Suzanne LaFollette, Eugene Lyons, (Continued on page 3)

Last of Lenin's Staff Victims of Stalin's Executioners; Rakovsky Spared For Future Frame-up Charges

TRIAL WAS FLIMSIEST OF ALL

Eighteen of the twenty-one have been sent to their doom! Climaxing a decade of repression against the opponents of his reactionary regime, marked at its high points by the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial and executions in August, 1936, the Radek-Piatkov trial and executions in January, 1937, and the execution of the Red Army generals a few months later, Stalin has now physically exterminated almost the last of the authentic representatives of Russian Bolshevism.

Sentence on the defendants, who were dragged into court March 2 on demonstrably false charges of sabotage, treason and murder, was passed last Saturday in the totalitarian courtroom in Moscow after a trial universally condemned as a monstrous travesty of justice; a trial in which the charges rested, as in previous trials, and contrary to Soviet law, exclusively upon the "confessions" of the defendant-witnesses—confessions forced from Stalin's broken victims in the foul dungeons of the G.P.U. and then repeated in the courtroom; a trial in which there was no defense; a trial planned in advance, in all its details, by Stalin; a trial in which contradictions and absurdities abounded by the carload; a trial featured by the most fantastic falsehoods and an almost unbelievable rewriting of the history of the Russian Revolution—

A trial which, translated into the language of honest and normally intelligent people, was a FRAME-UP!

The Victims

Nikolai Bukharin, Alevei Rykov, C. F. Grinko, N. N. Krestinsky, A. P. Rosenzoltz, V. I. Ivanov, I. A. Zelensky, Old Bolsheviks and colleagues of Lenin, were sentenced to death. Like-

wise doomed were Stalin's loathsome creature, Henry Yagoda, (former head of the G.P.U.), M. Chernov (former Commissar of Agriculture), F. Khodzhaev (former chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Uzbekistan), B. B. Sharanovich (former secretary of the Communist Party of White Russia), Akmal Ikramov (member of the Stalin Constitution commission), P. Zhabrev, V. Maximov, V. Kruchkov, Bulanov, Drs. L. I. Levin and I. N. Kazakov.

Christian Rakovsky, one of the most illustrious of the older generation of Russian revolutionists and the last of the Oppositionists to capitulate to Stalin, was sentenced to prison for 20 years. S. A. Bessonov, former secretary to the Soviet Embassy in Berlin, was given 15 years, and Prof. D. D. Pletnev 25 years. These men, especially Christian Rakovsky, who told an unfinished Japanese spy-plot story involving diplomats not yet brought to trial, are doubtless being saved for another frame-up as forecast in more detail elsewhere in this issue of the Socialist Appeal. The fate of the defendants was sealed before they entered court. Stalin had already written the death sentences for the eighteen and the prison sentences for the (Continued on page 4)

Lenin's General Staff of 1917

STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALONE REMAINS



SOVIET CONSULATE PICKETED IN FRISCO

SAN FRANCISCO—Members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party picketed the Soviet Consulate here on March 10 to protest the judicial murders in Moscow.

"Defend the Russian Revolution against Stalinism," "Stop the Moscow Frame-ups," "Hands off Trotsky," were some of the slogans on the placards carried by the pickets.

Officials at the consulate said the consul was "not in" when a delegation demanded entry to make their protests directly to the representative of Stalin's government.

Mooney Wages New Battle To Gain Liberty

State Assembly Passes Resolution For A Full Pardon

SACRAMENTO, Cal. — Tom Mooney, America's most famous class war prisoner, last Thursday faced the California State Assembly, the law-making body of the State that has kept him behind prison bars for 21 years, and told the legislators once more that he was the victim of a frame-up.

"The only crime I am guilty of," declared Mooney, "is attempting to organize the 2,200 employees of the United Railroads in San Francisco."

The State Assembly, after two days of debate, early Saturday passed a resolution introduced by Assemblyman Paul Richie, designed to grant Mooney, convicted, with Warren K. Billings, of the Preparedness Day bombing in 1916, a "full and complete pardon." Acting the same day, the State Senate killed the measure by an almost unanimous vote.

Merriam Has Pardon Power

The "pardon," without legal status even if passed, was introduced by liberal legislators in an effort to put pressure on Governor Merriam, in whose hands rests the only bona-fide power of pardon. In connection with this plan, Mooney was brought from San Quentin penitentiary on a subpoena issued by the State Assembly.

Mooney, old and gray from years in prison, yet erect and fearless, spoke for several hours to the crowded Assembly and galleries packed with his supporters. He outlined in detail his part, as a well-known labor organizer, in the strikes prior to the 1916 bombing.

"I was in bad repute with most of the labor leaders in San Francisco," Mooney stated, explaining that the old line labor fakers were opposed to the militant struggles that the workers in the West were conducting at that time.

Mistrusts Courts

Mooney, whose defense in the past has been led by the most militant sections of the working-class, told the legislators that his case had been a "political football," and declared his distrust of the various courts actions, that have consistently failed to obtain his freedom.

To most of the legislators the Mooney-story was not a new one. In California and throughout the nation it has long been established that Mooney and Billings are absolutely innocent; that their conviction was obtained on a vicious and thoroughly exposed conspiracy between the union-hating industrialists of California and the San Francisco courts and police.

Goff Demurs Alone

At the time of Mooney's appearance not one of the assemblymen attempted to portray Mooney as guilty. The next day Captain Charles Goff, San Francisco policeman and one of the last survivors of the frame-up gang, appeared to deny Mooney's charges.

"You can take your choice between Mooney and me," he said.

The long history of the Mooney frame-up has been a continual revelation to the working class of the travesty on justice as practiced by the capitalist courts. Despite a mass of incontrovertible evidence showing the innocence of the two men, Mooney and Billings remain in prison. Only the might of the organized workers can force open the prison gates and free them.

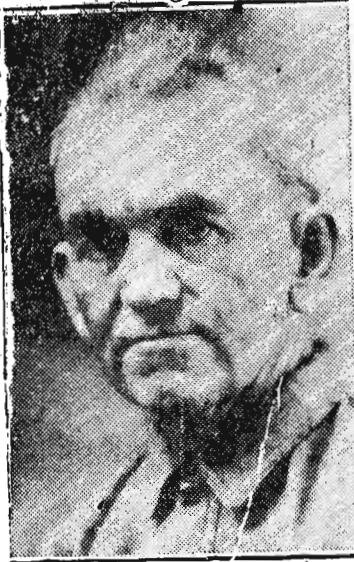
St. Louis Unionists Spike Fake 'Unemployment' Plan

ST. LOUIS.—A novel plan to supply St. Louis employers with docile labor from the ranks of the unemployed came to nothing when alert trade unionists exposed the "company union" features of the proposed Co-operative Employment Council.

At a public meeting held in the Public Library the sponsors of the Council, a Mr. Chestley and a Mr. Gill, explained how the principle of "no jobs for women whose husbands are working, and only one job to a family" would create vacancies for the unemployed. Then the Council, run by and for the unemployed, would fill the jobs.

So appealing to the businessmen of St. Louis did this plan appear that they volunteered to supply Mr. Chestley and Mr. Gill with the necessary funds to get the Council going. Members

Fights On



TOM MOONEY

Labor Leaders Offer Backing For Fred Beal

AFL Head Aids Defense; Dubinsky, Others Join Up

The voice of organized labor was heard last week in defense of Fred E. Beal, leader of the 1929 textile strike in Gastonia, North Carolina, who is serving a 20-year prison sentence on a frame-up charge.

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in a letter to the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal, made public last week, declared in effect that Beal was a victim of frame-up and said: "The ends of simple justice, in my opinion, will be fully served if Mr. Beal is rendered a prisoner by the Governor of North Carolina."

Dubinsky Speaks Out

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and a prominent C. I. O. leader, wrote the committee: "Fred Beal was railroaded to prison because he led a strike. The least that American labor can do is to unite behind the effort to obtain his speedy release. Naturally I join heartily in that effort."

The Communist Party and its International Labor Defense organization have deserted Beal in his hour of need because he has become an opponent of the Stalin murder regime. Going even further, they are working might and main to destroy the efforts being made to bring about Beal's release. All this notwithstanding their admission that Beal is a victim of frame-up and the fact that in 1929 he was a Communist working under the direction of the Communist Party.

More Join

But the campaign in Beal's behalf is acquiring added force. Latest among those to join the Non-Partisan Committee are Morris Ernst, Charles Yale Harrison, Rev. Frank Olmstead, Max Eastman, Charles R. Walker, Quincy Howe, Dr. Alvin Johnson, Ferdinand Lundberg, Prof. John L. Childs, August Claessens, Prof. George W. Hartman, Prof. A. A. Friedrich. Endorsement of the committee's work has been announced by the national executive committee of the Social Democratic Federation at its recent session in Washington.

CLEAR RASMUSSEN OF FAKE CHARGES

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Paul A. Rasmussen, former field representative of the C.I.O. in Minnesota and a well-known member of the Socialist Workers Party, has been completely exonerated on all charges brought against him five months ago by James Porter acting for the state council of the C.I.O. and for the Stalinist slander machine.

The charges preferred by Porter alleged that Rasmussen, with an honorable record of militant struggle in the ranks of the workers' movement, was a spy and a disrupter in the United Packinghouse Workers, C.I.O. affiliate, of which he was a member.

The executive board of Local 62 of this union, after sifting all the "evidence" against Rasmussen and hearing his defense, decided unanimously "that we find Brother Rasmussen not guilty of the charges brought against him by the State C.I.O. Council through James Porter." The board further unanimously resolved "that we will, as workers and union members, do everything in our power to restore to him his union membership, his good name and standing in the industrial union movement."

1,000 PAINTERS FIGHT MACHINE RULE IN UNION

Hold Mass Meeting To Denounce Weinstock Leadership

NEW YORK.—Over 1,000 union painters, members of locals under the jurisdiction of District Council No. 9, met last Saturday at the Central Opera House to protest the ruthless dictatorship of the Stalinist machine entrenched in the New York District of the Painters Union.

The meeting, called under the auspices of the Inter-Local Painters League, a loose federation of opposition groups representing various shades of opinion, marked the first mass action against the ruinous policies of Louis Weinstock, secretary-treasurer of D.C. 9, and chief Stalinist tool in the union.

Weinstock Pilloried

Weinstock, elected on a program of economy and trade union democracy, was charged by speakers with wasting the union funds, favoritism and discrimination in placing men on painting jobs, and open neglect in protecting the conditions of union men on the job.

Speakers urged members to attend their local meetings and take back control of their own union. They charged that Weinstock had flooded the union with new members, but had done nothing to get new jobs to employ these men, thus only adding to the already crowded list of unemployed members.

William Kitt, member of Local 51, addressed the meeting as representative of the Painters Educational Society, a group of militant and class conscious progressives. Making clear that he was only invited to represent the group to which he belonged, Kitt advocated a conscious program to build a fighting, progressive and democratic union.

Fight Called For

"The housing plan," said Kitt, "which should furnish jobs for many of us, are, at the same time, to be used in an attempt to cut our wage scale. We must rally all members of the Painters Union for a real fight by all the building trades unions. We must make that fight possible."

Kitt urged the adoption of the secret ballot, a measure now being voted on in a referendum throughout the locals. Progressives were forced to advocate the secret ballot because of the intimidation and coercion practiced by the Stalinist officials. Any member who dares to vote against the Communist Party machine is likely to find it difficult to get a job working at his trade.

In a leaflet circulated by the Communist Party fraction, any one voting for the secret ballot was charged with being a stooge for the employers. Nevertheless, Local 1011 passed the amendment, and in Local 261 the Stalinists were forced to break up the meeting in order to prevent the chairman from declaring the passage of the amendment. The "employers' paid stooges" had a clear majority.

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO THE SOCIALIST APPEAL 116 University Place New York City

S.W.P. Candidate Polls Healthy Vote In St. Paul

Stalinists Are Slapped By Farmer-Labor Politicians

BY CARL O'SHEA

ST. PAUL, Minn.—The Socialist Workers Party in St. Paul polled 559 votes in the primaries for its mayoralty candidate, Jules Geller. Ten thousand S.W.P. manifestoes were distributed on behalf of the revolutionary candidate, calling for support of the S.W.P. and the Fourth International.

The entire slate of Labor-Progressive (Farmer - Labor) candidates were nominated. The S.W.P. had given critical support to the five councilmanic candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party.

C. P. Gets Slapped

The Communist Party, running Leon Cuthill for the sixth councilmanic post, polled only 1,968 votes, despite the fact that Cuthill advertised himself as a member of the Parent-Teachers' Association, and one whose granddaddy fought in the Civil War. The C.P. gave unstinting endorsement to the F.L.P. ticket.

The pay-off came the day after election when the Labor-Progressive campaign manager issued the following statement: "It has come to my attention that the Communist Party representatives in Ramsey county covered the city during the closing hours of the primary campaign with both pamphlets and handbills urging the voters to support the Labor-Progressive ticket and to vote for the Communist candidate for city council...."

Nothing New

"There is really nothing new in this political trick, but its recurrence every two years has

Goodrich Locals Prepare To Oppose Wage Slashes

AKRON.—With the full implications of the rubber barons' drive against the United Rubber Workers becoming clearer every day, Goodrich local here is holding division meetings daily this coming week in preparation for voting down a company-proposed program of wage slashes and hour increases on March 20. The week will culminate with an outdoor mass demonstration in which all Akron labor—employed, unemployed, C.I.O., A.F. of L.—will participate on Saturday.

Leading the employers in their anti-labor drive is the Goodrich Co., ably assisted by the Greater Akron Association with a constant barrage of weasel-worded newspaper advertisements. Goodrich, pleading the loss of its competitive position within the rubber industry, boldly states that the union must accept a wage reduction from an average of \$1.00 to \$1.15 per hour to 90-95 cents an hour for men, for women a drop from 70-75 cents to 60-65 cents per hour. Furthermore, hours must be more "flexible," that is, stretched up to 40 from 36.

Threaten to Decentralize

Threatening to speed up decentralization plans by investing \$1,500,000 outside of Akron if the ultimatum is not accepted by the union, Goodrich hopes to intimidate the largest and strongest local union in the U.R.W.A. If labor gives in, Goodrich "promises" a written contract, no decentralization for six months, and saving the jobs of 5,000 rubber workers.

Hinging on the outcome of the Goodrich situation depend the living standards of the workers in all the other rubber plants for the bosses hope to continue a wage-slashing program nationally on the basis of the Goodrich workers' defeat. Thereupon they would launch themselves again into another of the bitter intra-industry price cutting wars that have been so characteristic of the industry in the past.

Acceptance of the wage cut in the Akron rubber plants would be the signal for similar moves in other major industries, and C.I.O. leaders realize this. Company officials privately admit that Akron was chosen as the battleground on which to smash the C.I.O.

Police Terror Rages

The right of the workers to picket has been denied. Police have beaten, clubbed and kicked workers, both men and women. A 66-year-old man was knocked down at the city jail and kicked by a policeman. On one occasion, the police lined up the strikers, men, women and children—including mothers with babies in arms—and without warning shot tear gas into their midst.

Over 700 arrests have been made. Scores of strikers have been kept in jail for days without charges. As many as 10 and 12 strikers have been crowded into cells built to accommodate not more than four prisoners. Police have threatened to set up concentration camps for the strikers if picketing continues.

The police terror has failed to intimidate the cruelly exploited workers, but funds are needed urgently for feeding and other relief. Donations should be rushed to J. Austin Beasley, secretary-treasurer of the Pecan Workers' Emergency Relief Committee, Box 1861, San Antonio, Texas. Beasley is international organizer for the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America and is in charge of the San Antonio strike.

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Candidate



JULES GELLER

become nauseating.... There is no way that we can combat these trouble makers other than to repudiate them publicly and to point out their tricks as they occur. It is not possible to embarrass them. It is not possible to shame them, for they have neither a sense of shame nor an understanding of political decency.... All we can hope to do is to inform the public that there has never been a recognition of the Communist Party by us; that we do not want their support, and that we have nothing in common with them."

Comment: (1) The F.L.P. shrewdly waited until after the primaries to issue its blast against the C.P. (2) It is a cosmic jest that the C.P. despite its degeneracy and grovelling before anyone whom it can even make look like a liberal, gets a boot in the rear from the very people it is most ardently wooing.

NEW SWP MARITIME PAPER IS ISSUED

SAN FRANCISCO.—Presenting the views of revolutionists within the maritime unions, Maritime Truth, official organ of the Maritime section of the Socialist Workers Party, made its initial appearance on the waterfront here recently.

The feature article of the first issue outlined a five-point program for building national unionism and to assure an aggressive struggle against the ship-owners. It called upon all genuinely militant, progressive and class conscious maritime workers to unite for such a campaign.

Pertinent articles on the war in the Far East, the menace of the proposed government mediation and other problems confronting the maritime worker round out the neatly mimeographed little magazine. Regular publication is planned and subscriptions for 25 copies during the year may be obtained for one dollar.

Communications should be addressed to 310 Clay Street, Room 11, San Francisco, Calif.

LIFT CHARTERS FROM FOUR WAA LOCALS IN PA.

Stalinists Force Split In Allentown; League Takes Lead

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—After trying unsuccessfully to force four locals of the Allentown Workers Alliance into the Stalinist-controlled Central Branch, the State Committee of the Pennsylvania Workers Alliance (also controlled by the Stalinists) removed their charters.

The four locals in question—the 9th, 10th, 12th and 13th Ward Branches—were under the leadership of Socialist Workers Party members and progressives in sympathy with their policies. The official reason given for lifting the charters was that their refusal to enter the Central Branch violated the State constitution of the Alliance, but the action came only after the progressives had demanded militant class-struggle action from the State Committee.

Aimed At Militants

It was obviously a move to drive the "Trotskyites" out of the Alliance. At the last State Convention, the Allentown Stalinists had insisted on the necessity of forcing these locals into the one they controlled in order to destroy the influence of the Trotskyists.

The expelled locals immediately called a city-wide convention and set up a functioning organization, the Lehigh County Unemployed League, with an aggressive class-struggle program similar to that of the Allentown Unemployed Leagues before their merger with the Workers Alliance in 1936. Resolutions were passed against the Roosevelt war program and imperialist wars, and embodying demands for all war funds for the unemployed, for union wages on the housing project that is being initiated, for opening of the mines under workers' control, and the like.

Unemployed Benefit

The break in the unity of the Allentown unemployed, for which the Stalinists have only their own splitting tactics to blame, is to be regretted, but the unemployed have already profited by the vigorous action of the new Unemployed League freed from the do-nothing, class-collaboration policies of the Pennsylvania Alliance.

In the short period since the City Convention, the League has already accomplished more than in the entire previous year within the Alliance. It has succeeded in getting the W.P.A. sewing project employing 270 women, which was recently shut down, re-opened, and is carrying on an aggressive campaign for a real housing project. The membership of the League is growing, and the Allentown politicians are again on the spot.

BOSTON

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

MAR. 27: FRED MORROW, "Is America Fine for Revolution?" Sundays, 3 P.M., Socialist Workers Party Hall, 669 Second Ave., North, Amsterdam 23 cents.

NEW YORK

MUSICALS EXTRAORDINAIRE! Washington Heights Branch and City College YPSL Sponsors, Sat., Mar. 19, at 1723 Amsterdam Ave. (145 St.—Room 3), Admission 25 cents.

WANT ADS

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

'New Republic' Evades Challenge By Cannon

Fails To Name Alleged Provocateurs In S. W. P. Banks

In the February 23 issue of the New Republic, T. R. B., the journal's Washington correspondent, charged that a new attempt to deport Harry Bridges, leader of the West Coast longshoremen, was being based on affidavits made by "Stalinites who have turned Trotskyist." In a letter to Bruce Bliven, editor of the New Republic, which appeared in the March 5 issue of the Socialist Appeal, James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, challenged the journal to reveal the names of these alleged Trotskyists. Replying in a letter dated Feb. 24, Bliven said "we have every reason to believe that the statements made by T.R.B., our Washington correspondent, are true. Naturally, we cannot reveal the source of confidential information." Following is the text of Cannon's rejoinder, dated March 9, 1938:

Mr. Bruce Bliven, Editor, The New Republic. Dear Sir: I received your letter of February 24 after an absence from the city.

I did not ask you to reveal the source of any confidential information. I asked you to give the names of those Trotskyists who are alleged to have furnished affidavits to aid the deportation of Harry Bridges. Do you have such names? If so, let us have them please.

I assure you that we are deeply interested in this question and we intend to follow it up to the end. If some provocateurs have penetrated our organization, we want to know who they are so that we can get rid of them. You have made the accusation. We want you to tell us who they are.

I haven't the slightest doubt that you will fail to make good on this second challenge. Your contemptible slander in your issue of February 23 had no basis in fact. You are now trying to cover yourself up by reference to "confidential source of information."

In your letter of February 24 you protest against the reference to the New Republic as an organ of Stalinism. My dear Mr. Bliven, your rotten and cowardly conduct in this case is Stalinism.

Sincerely, (signed) James P. Cannon National Secretary

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO THE SOCIALIST APPEAL

Stove Workers Win Sit-Down Victory

Fight New Cut In Wage Of \$2.50 Weekly; 700 In Jail

HATBORO, Pa.—Despite a brutal attack by vigilantes, armed with tear gas, guns and clubs, C.I.O. workers of the Roberts and Mander Stove Co. won a decisive victory, when, after a five-week sit-down strike, officials of the company agreed to recognize the Steel Workers Organization Committee as the sole bargaining agency for the 800 employes.

The agreement, reached last Saturday, was signed after an unsuccessful attempt by the company to break the strike by ousting the sit-downers, who had occupied the plant since early in February.

As negotiations proceeded within the plant last Wednesday, a crowd, led by the discredited remnants of the old company union and armed with tear gas and guns supplied by the company, attempted to intimidate the strikers into capitulating to the bosses.

When the strikers remained firm in their demands, the mob of 500, protected by over 100 local and state police, bombarded the plant with bricks and tear gas. The workers replied with flint pebbles and the powerful jet of a fire hose, but the fumes of the gas overcame them and police took over the plant.

Spokesmen, for the company described the vigilantes as members of the American Federation of Labor Molders Union who desired to go "back to work," but this was denied by E. J. Lever, field director for the S.W.O.C., who pointed out that 702 of the 800 workers employed by the company were members of the C.I.O. union.

Union spokesmen exposed the "back-to-work movement" as a company-fostered plan participated in by the office staff, salesmen, "hired gunmen and vigilantes composed of local businessmen who have always been aligned with the company in its anti-labor policies."

ANTI-WAR MASS-MEETING

March 18 - 8 P. M.

MANHATTAN PLAZA

66 E. 4th St.

Appeal Army

We are entering the fourth week of the Appeal Drive at a time when it is even more urgent that we have a permanent increase in Appeal circulation. Hitler's coup in Austria, the repercussions of the latest bloody Moscow Trial and the general world situation must be explained and analyzed by Marxists for the benefit of those who do not understand. The Appeal is already filling this need. Now it is your job to make it available to an ever increasing number of readers.

And don't forget the prizes. In next week's Appeal, we will publish the total sub and bundle order increases since the drive was started. Since most branches have failed to send in the names of the comrades who were responsible for getting the subs, we suggest that each branch send in the name of the comrade who got the most subs during the first month of the drive and the prizes for the first month will be awarded on the basis of the figures that the branches send in.

The third week of the drive shows the following increase:

Subs	Total
New York City	15
Minneapolis	5
St. Paul, Minn.	2
Newark, N. J.	5
Paterson, N. J.	1
Detroit, Mich.	2

Philadelphia, Pa.	1
Newcastle, Pa.	1
Chicago, Ill.	3
Boston, Mass.	1
Azusa, Calif.	1
Canada	1

Total subs for week ending March 11 38

Bundle Orders

Chicago, Ill., Karl Shier	5
Baltimore, Md., Jack Rubin	10
Philadelphia, Pa., Sol Thomas	10
Toronto, Canada, Geo. Keene	15
London, England, Margaret Johns	30

Total increase in bundle orders for week ending March 11 70

New York, which has always been the butt of criticism because of its inactivity, is waking up. Abe Miller, now in charge of literature, has cooked up all sorts of schemes for pushing the Appeal during and after the drive. Not only has New York started a real sub drive—but Conrad Miller orders literally thousands of Appeals each week for promotional purposes—and pays for them.

One more month to go for doubling the circulation! It's not impossible and it's going to be done even if Karl Shier in Chicago has to do it alone.

New York City Appeal 116 University Place New York City

I enclose \$..... for which please send me the Socialist Appeal. One year—(\$2.00); Six Months—(\$1.00).

I enclose \$..... as my contribution toward building the Socialist Appeal.

Name Address City

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO THE SOCIALIST APPEAL ANNOUNCEMENTS Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before six o'clock Monday evening. MINNEAPOLIS SOCIALIST PUBLIC FORUM March 20: GRACE CARLSON, "What Will Happen to the Wor-

FASCISM LASHES AUSTRIAN LABOR

(Continued from page 1)

of the Versailles Treaty, the article forbidding "anschluss" between Germany and Austria.

Thus was one more foundation stone knocked from under the shattered structure of the 1919 "settlement"—that settlement which was advertised to the world as the triumph of democracy and freedom, and which in practice served to usher in the blackest period of reaction in the world's history.

Hitler, however, gains from his coup only a temporary advantage in political prestige, a loud talking point to quiet for a brief time the underground murmurs of discontent which, spurred by the intolerable plight of the German people, must sooner or later break to the surface. Far from solving the economic crisis of German capitalism, the incorporation of Austria will in many ways only deepen that crisis. Austria supplies neither the raw materials, the consumer market, nor the fields for investment which German capitalism imperiously demands. On the contrary, as carved out by Versailles, Austria is an industrial and banking community faced to an even greater degree with the same conflicts which entangle the Germany economy.

War Drive Speeded

The reply of the rival imperialisms to the bold stroke of Hitler—himself and his acts in large degree the product of their own crimes—was not long in coming. With one voice Washington, London, and Paris called for a redoubled pace and scale in rearmament, pointing headlong toward the war to defend their own spoils and privilege, their own preserves of exploitation, against the threat of the upstart.

The entire press of the "democratic" imperialism unleashed a whirlwind of vicious chauvinism, utilizing the Austrian crisis to whip up an uncontrolled jingo spirit leading the masses toward a Holy War to bolster up the shaken positions of the victors of the world slaughter of 1914-18.

Here was a heaven-sent opportunity to turn the resentment of their own peoples away from the exploiters at home, away from the social system which ensures that exploitation, and to direct it against the "foreign" enemy.

Social-Patriots In Line

The imperialists and their direct spokesmen were truly seconded, nay far surpassed, by their hirelings and by the traitors within the ranks of the working class. The social-patriots outdid even their own past performances. In France, Leon Blum, head of the French Socialist Party and leader of the Second International, again took the helm of the imperialist state, calling for national union and the "ultimate sacrifice" in the interests of French capital.

In England, the Labor Party rallied against the too "peaceful" policy of Chamberlain, and announced itself ready at any moment to swing the British working class into line for a war to protect the British Empire—to protect, that is, the enslavement of India, the Near East, Egypt, the natives of South Africa, the coolies of Hongkong. Chamberlain accepted the offer

greedily. In his speech to the House of Commons, he declared: "I am confident that we would be supported in asking that no one, whatever his preconceived notion may be, shall regard himself as being excluded from any expansion of national effort which may be called for."

Stalinists To Fore

Throughout the world the Stalinists announced their readiness for war. They made clear that they will recruit for any imperialist army whenever the democratic imperialisms decide the time has come to strike at their Nazi rival.

What a tragic and terrible deception!

Hitler did not grow from a vacuum. He is the natural, inevitable product of the worn-out social system now in its frightful death throes. He was nourished and called into being by these same "democratic" imperialisms, who thought that their own positions could be permanently ensured by fastening on the defeated Central Powers the straight jacket of Versailles. The Versailles system only hid for a short while an internal putrescence—shared by the entire world order of capitalism—which soon had to force its way to the surface.

But not alone the "democratic" imperialisms are responsible for Hitler. The brave social-patriots of the Second International share most directly and heavily in that responsibility; for it was the social-democracy which strangled in blood the German workers' revolution which alone could have prevented Hitler's rise to power.

Stalinism Aids Fascism

And how mightily a share have also the Stalinists in that responsibility! For their fatal and hopeless policy of the "Third Period" once more shattered the German revolution, and led the German working class to bitter, abject defeat in 1933.

Now all of those who brought Hitler and Nazism to birth and to power unite once more for a Holy War, and call upon the workers of the world to follow them.

Such a war, far from wiping out Nazism, can only complete the subjection of the masses within every country to totalitarian dictatorship. Such a war will be directed solely, from both sides, against the lives and hopes and interests of the masses.

In reality, the lesson of the Austrian crisis is the final blow to all illusions of "capitalist stability," Versailles, the League of Nations, collective security, imperialist democracy, and the crucial illusion that the masses can gain anything from the support of any capitalist government, any imperialist war.

The Revolutionary Road

The Austrian crisis, with iron fist, drives home the inescapable conclusion: there is one answer and one only to fascism, to Nazism—the workers' revolution! So long as the working class does the bidding of its own imperialists, that long will fascism continue its victories. The enemy is in our own country! By defeating that enemy—our own bourgeoisie—we strike the only effective blow at fascism and render the only genuine aid toward the liberation of the German and Austrian workers.

Fund Mounts For Chinese Comrades

The campaign of the S.W.P. to raise funds to assist the Communist League of China through the present difficult period, and to insure the extension of the work of the Chinese Fourth Internationalists, has already produced gratifying results.

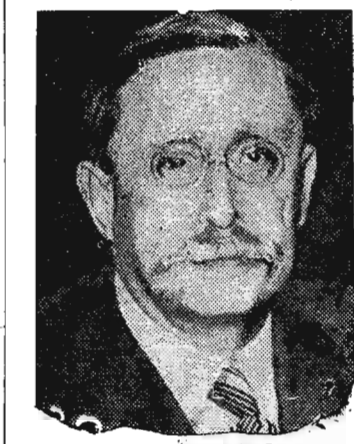
Following the announcement in the February 19 issue of the Socialist Appeal and the sending of collection lists to Party locals, the following sums have been received by the national office:

Astoria Branch	\$7.70
Lower East Bronx Branch	2.50
Chelsea Branch	2.50
G. C.	2.00
H. S. H.	2.00
New Haven Branch	1.00

Horo Park Branch	1.00
Upper West Side Branch	4.00
S.L. Paul Branch	.55
Wm. F. K. Gates	.50
Boston Branch	10.00
Newark District	9.15
Los Angeles Branch	6.50
Scherville Branch	1.50
Dover Branch	1.10
Quakerstown Branch	1.00
East Side Branch	1.50
Collected by Local N. Y.	7.23
Y.P.S.L. Boston Circle	2.00
Collected by Sol Lankin	1.50
Brownsville Branch	2.00
Minneapolis Branch	15.00
Village Branch	7.00
St. Louis County Branch	2.00

TOTAL: \$87.71
Of the foregoing sum, \$75.00 has already been transmitted to our Chinese organization. In order that a further sum may be remitted in the nearest future, party branches—especially those which have not so far acted in the matter—are urged to push the collection of funds and remit them without delay to the national office.

Stopgap



LEON BLUM

BLUM CABINET NEW ATTEMPT TO STEM CRISIS

Franç Dives As Regime Tries Desperately To Save Itself

French capitalism called again last week on the Socialist Leon Blum and he responded once more with a new effort to stave off the revolutionary crisis that threatens France.

The disastrous fall of the franc only served to underline the blankness of the impasse that faces the French capitalist regime.

Prepares For War

Blum's first act upon taking office was to call upon the workers to "facilitate" the speed-up of the arms program by desisting from making "unreasonable" demands, following this up with a pledge to defend Czechoslovakia against Hitler, thus showing that France is heading swiftly toward a "solution" on the battlefields of imperialism war. This is the real meaning of Blum's effort to form a national union government.

Such a government will follow the present transitory cabinet which Blum has set up. If it does not, the French Francs in the General Staff will mobilize the Rights and the Fascists to impose by force the kind of government they want.

Is there not something ominously prophetic about Blum's innovation in his new government—a Ministry of Propaganda?

Even while he continues his efforts within the frame-work of French "democracy," Blum is preparing the characteristic forms of totalitarian rule. Before the French Francs clap him into a concentration camp they may thank him for his service!

Treachery and Betrayal

The new cabinet resembles only in its most superficial aspects the honeymoon People's Front government that Blum brought into power in June, 1936. Since then two years' of continued crisis, of shameful treachery and betrayal of the workers' will to struggle for revolutionary solutions have wrought their changes in the objective situation and in the moods of the masses.

Blum will be even less able now to find common ground for the employers and the masses. Rather than let the masses surge forward to give their own answer to the questions of the day, he will drive all the more rapidly toward war.

That Blum unceremoniously shoved aside the Stalinist demands for participation in the government not only reveals the growing schism between the Socialists and the Stalinists but even more significantly reflects the fact that French foreign policy remains suspended in uncertainty.

Soviet Pact Doomed

Helpless before the crisis precipitated by Hitler's bloodless conquest of Austria, France awaits Britain's lead. It will scrap its pact with Moscow should Britain demand it in the interests of an understanding with Hitler to the general effect: Attack the Soviet Union—leave Czechoslovakia alone.

In either case it is understood that war has drawn frighteningly close. That is why the present Blum government is and can only be a stopgap. The regime that is seeking to bamboozle the French workers into going to war once more for French capitalism can only pave the way for a regime that will be prepared to lash the workers as soon as they show signs of striking back.

Anti-War Campaign On In Minneapolis

Minnesota Farmer-Labor Group Takes Militant Anti-War Stand

The following is the complete text of the anti-war resolution adopted last week by the Third Congressional District Convention of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party:

WHEREAS there is growing danger of the outbreak of another World War, as is so clearly revealed by the actions of the National Administration in launching a gigantic program of naval and military expansion, including over a billion dollars for arms in the regular budget, an additional billion or more for new warships, and other military bills now being drafted at the direction of the Administration, and

WHEREAS the government's preparations for war are a mortal danger to the organized workers and farmers, as is revealed by the plans for a military dictatorship in war-time embodied in the Sheppard-May Bill with its provisions for compulsory conscription, prohibition of strikes, control of the press and regimentation of labor, etc., and

WHEREAS what is in store for opponents of war was even more clearly revealed by the boldness with which the Administration organized a lynch spirit against the Farmer-Labor congressmen and others who supported the Ludlow Amendment requiring a popular referendum before Congress can declare war,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Third Congressional District Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party goes on record against the war preparations, and against the specific bills in which these preparations are embodied, and all other bills of the same kind, and instructs the Convention Arrangements Committee to give this resolution the widest possible publicity.

Mark Commune Date By Anti-War Mass Meeting

With a new world war hovering not only over Europe but over America, the Socialist Workers Party is calling a mass rally "Against the Coming War" this Friday, March 18, at Manhattan Plaza, 66 East 4 St., at 8 P. M. This rally is a high point in the course of the campaign against the coming imperialist war now being conducted by the Socialist Workers Party throughout the country.

Events of the past few days alone, such as Hitler's invasion of Austria and the close of the latest Moscow trial which revealed more clearly than ever the isolation of the Soviet Union in a hostile capitalist world, raise with special sharpness the urgent need of an effective program against imperialist war.

Such an effective program, against imperialist war and for the defense of the remaining conquests of the Russian Revolution, will be presented by a list of prominent speakers including: Maurice Spector, associate editor of the New Internationalist; Nathan Gould, national organizer of the Young Peoples Socialist League; James Burnham, professor of philosophy at N. Y. U.; James Rorty, noted writer; and James Casey, former managing editor of the Daily Worker.

This meeting falls with special appropriateness on the 67th anniversary of the Paris Commune, the first example in history of working class rule.

Commemorate with us the glorious memory of these heroic fighters of the past, and join with us in raising their banner of the class struggle as our standard now in the fight against the coming war.

2,000 Meet To Protest Frame-up

(Continued from page 1)

Carlo Tresca, Bertram D. Wolfe and Max Shachtman, laid bare the contradictions in the Trial of the Twenty-One, revealing the roots of the latest judicial farce in the desperate crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy. A message of solidarity and congratulations from Leon Trotsky was read from the platform. There were also evives from Norman Thomas and Horace M. Kallen.

Winding up Affairs
Announcing that the Committee was winding up its affairs, Secretary George Novack summarized the results of the Trotsky defense movement and the Dewey Inquiry Commission which grew out of it.

Max Shachtman summed up the historic achievements of the American Committee, and delivered a spirited rejoinder to those who are seeking to make anti-Bolshevik capital out of the debacle of Stalinism.

Trotsky's Message

"From inside the fortress won by the proletariat, Stalin deals socialism such blows as no one has yet dealt. If anyone sabotages the economic and cultural development of the U.S.S.R., it is Stalin. If anyone undermines the military power of the U.S.S.R., it is Stalin. If anyone poisons the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard by treachery and betrayal, it is Stalin. Were united world reaction to seek an agent of its own choice, it could find no one more suited than Stalin. The Moscow trials represent the lone attempt in history to deceive all mankind. However, if there is no limit

Issue Cuts Through All State Politics; 544 Leads Drive

MINNEAPOLIS. — The war question is a burning issue in the daily political life of Farmer-Laborite Minnesota.

It is already obvious that the struggle against war is leading to a realignment of forces in the labor movement and the Farmer-Labor Party.

Left wing leaders of Minneapolis trade unions have been developing an anti-war campaign which has already led to repercussions in the Farmer-Labor Party. A systematic campaign against Roosevelt's war preparations is being waged by the Northwest Organizer, organ of the Teamsters Joint Council, the electrical workers, the furniture and warehousemen's unions, etc. One important result of this campaign was the adoption of a militant anti-war resolution by the Third Congressional District Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party (the full text appears elsewhere in this issue).

Stalinists Losing Out

An immediate result of this campaign is a split developing in the top leadership of the Farmer-Labor Party, dividing the pro-war Stalinized elements and Stalinists from the rest. Yesterday the pro-Stalinist Governor Benson combination appeared to be unbreakable. But pressure from the left is dividing them. The Farmer-Labor delegation in Congress voted for the Ludlow Amendment. Benson himself is campaigning against the Sheppard-May Bill, and has recorded himself in opposition to Roosevelt's naval program. All this is in direct opposition to the pro-war line of the Communist Party.

The Stalinists very well understand what is happening, and are attempting to weather the storm until the inevitable moment when the war crisis approaches a climax and the Farmer-Labor tops swing back into line. This was the Stalinist motivation for silence on the war question at the recent Farmer-Labor convention, even to the extent of not voting against the militant ("Trotskyist") anti-war resolution in the Third Congressional District Convention. But the harder the left presses along its independent line, thereby forcing the Benson-pacifist wing to declare itself, the more difficult it will be for the two sections in the ruling bloc of the Farmer-Labor Party to hang together during the next months.

On April 11, a gigantic mass meeting in the Auditorium, sponsored by all the joint bodies of organized labor—the Central Labor Union, the Teamsters Joint Council, the Building Trades Council, the Printing Trades Council—will deal with the problems of the present economic crisis and the war crisis.

Bosses' Offensive

As part of the preparations for war, as well as a result from the desperation of capitalists in the face of the economic crisis, the labor movement here is confronted by a bosses' offensive. But it is significant to note that, unlike the usual capitalist onslaught against militant sections of the labor movement in a developing war crisis, the capitalists have as yet secured no aid from reformists in an onslaught against militant union leaders. Partial explanations of this situation are the strength and militancy of the trade union movement, and the deep roots struck into the mass movement by the militant union leaders.

These explanations are, however, only partial. The basic cause of the fact that the capitalists have been unable to secure reformist aid on a large scale for a joint onslaught on the left wing, is the raging economic crisis, which drives the capitalists into a general attack on all the sections of the labor movement, militant and reformist alike.

This combination of circumstances presents the revolutionists with unusually favorable opportunities for assuming the leadership of the masses in a

SOVIET UNION NOTES

Stalin On His Onetime Allies—He Sheds Blood. He Said Opposition Wanted—The Mystery of Postyshev

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Stalin and Molotov on Bukharin — in 1926

In 1926, when Stalin and Molotov were in a bloc with Bukharin and Rykov, the State Publishers issued a pamphlet, first edition—200,000. This pamphlet is entitled "A Reply to the Opposition." The authors are: J. V. Stalin and V. M. Molotov. The contents are the summary speeches delivered by Stalin and Molotov at the Fourteenth Party Congress on the Political Report of the Central Committee.

In his speech, Stalin revealed a "plot" hatched allegedly in 1923, after the Twelfth Party Congress, to "destroy the Political Bureau," and to "turn the Secretariat into a political and organizational leading organ, composed of Zinoviev, Trotsky and Stalin."

Commenting on this "plot," Stalin indignantly said: "What is the import of this platform? What does it mean? It means to lead the party without Rykov, without Kallin, without Tomsky, without Molotov, without Bukharin. Nothing came of this platform at that time not only because it was unprincipled but also because it is impossible to lead the party without the above-named comrades." ("A reply to the Opposition," Moscow 1926, p. 27.)

Echoing Stalin, Molotov accused the Opposition (among them Krupskaya) of seeking to exaggerate mistakes and foist "deviations" upon "comrade Bukharin, member of the Political Bureau, editor of our central organ." And then Molotov added the following: "This is no longer a desire to correct mistakes but rather a desire to exaggerate mistakes, a desire to create such a situation in the party as would create distrust toward the best members of our party, one of whom, as is recognized by the entire party, is comrade Bukharin." (idem, page 34.)

In 1926, Stalin swore that it was "impossible to lead the party without Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky." In 1938, Stalin swears that they are "conspirators who served the interests of capitalism all their lives." (Pravda, Feb. 28, 1938.)

Stalin and "Bukharin's Blood"

In the self-same speech in 1926, Stalin accused the Opposition of "hounding" Bukharin, and of demanding, no more, no less, "Bukharin's blood."

Stalin said: "How explain this unbridled baiting of comrade Bukharin? What do they really want of Bukharin? They are demanding comrade Bukharin's blood. That is just what comrade Zinoviev demands, by aiming the barb of his attack in his summary against Bukharin. You demand Bukharin's blood? We will not give you his blood, you might as well know it." (Applause. Cries: Hear! Hear!) (idem, p. 26.)

Stalin on the "Policy of Lopping Off"

Again, in this 1926 speech, Stalin revealed yet another conspiracy—this time, to expel Trotsky from the party. The leaders in this conspiracy, if one believes Stalin, were Zinoviev and Kamenev, who, at the end of 1924, proposed to expel Trotsky from the party. Stalin, together with the majority of the Central Committee, would not agree to this proposal. Shortly thereafter, Kamenev proposed to expel Trotsky from the Political Bureau. And Stalin comments: "... We did not agree with this proposal of the Opposition either. We obtained a majority in the Central Committee, and limited ourselves to removing comrade Trotsky from the post of People's Commissar of War. We refused to agree with comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev because we knew that the policy of lopping off is pregnant with great dangers for the party, that the method of lopping off, the method of blood-letting—and they were demanding blood—is dangerous and contagious. Today you lopp off one, tomorrow another, the next day a third—and what will then be left of our party?" (Applause.) (idem, p. 22.)

In his concluding statements, Stalin once again returns to this theme. He says: "We are against lopping off. We are against the policy of lopping off... We are for unity and against lopping off. The policy of lopping off is revolting to us." (p. 30.) Comments are hardly necessary.

The Postyshev Mystery

The defendants in the trial of the sixteen (Zinoviev-Kamenev et al) in August, 1936 confessed that among the victims of their plot, Postyshev's name figured prominently. His name is mentioned in the indictment as one of those marked for assassination. Vyshinsky in his summary speech repeated his name time and again. The defendants were shot, in part, for "conspiring" against Postyshev's life. In the trial of the seventeen (Radek-Piatkov et al) Jan. 1937, Postyshev's name was again referred to as that of a prospective victim of the terrorists (see Verbatim Report, Eng. Edition p. 328; p. 348; p. 358 etc.).

Meanwhile, Postyshev has not only been removed (together with Rudzutak) from the Political Bureau, but even from the minor party post to which he had been demoted. It is reported that he is under arrest. No doubt he plotted with the executed defendants and the defendants-to-be to "assassinate" himself as a fiendish ruse to cover up his complicity. Just as we are asked to believe that Yagoda arrested, exiled, tortured and killed thousands of Oppositionists for years in order the better to disguise the fact that they were his fellow-conspirators.

struggle against war, hunger and unemployment. The response to the proposal of Drivers Local 544 for the gigantic mass meeting of all labor to discuss unemployment and war—this is indicative of the enormous possibilities which open to us, to rally labor against the capitalist onslaughts.

GENE FREY

MINNEAPOLIS. — Workers here are mourning the death of Gene Frey, Socialist Workers Party member, who passed from the ranks of the movement on February 28, following a brief illness. Comrade Frey was active in the Federal Workers Section, and was a member of the General Drivers Local 544.

All his life he was a rebel. He was a member of the old Socialist Party; active in the days of the Non-Partisan League; at the time of his death, a Fourth Internationalist. He was active on every picket line of recent years in Minneapolis. The staff of the Federal Workers Section attended the funeral.

GALA SECOND APPEARANCE

The Red Puppets in "Oscar Gets The Pretzel Benders Daughter" and "Fremkin Prelude" SAT., MARCH 19th; 8 P. M. DANCING TO SWING MUSIC Lower East Side Branch 159 Rivington Street — Sub. 20c, Children 5c

SPEAKERS:

Maurice Spector

Co-Editor, New Internationalist

James Casey

Ex-Managing Editor, Daily Worker

Nathan Gould

National Organizer, Y.P.S.L.

Mass Rally

AGAINST THE COMING WAR!

Manhattan Plaza, 66 E. 4 St.

FRIDAY, MARCH 18, 8 P. M.

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

SPEAKERS:

James Burnham

Co-Editor, New Internationalist

James Rorty

Writer, Lecturer

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor.
HAROLD ROBERTS **FRANK GRAVES**
Associate Editors.
BOB BROWNE
Business Manager.

Debacle of People's Frontism

Events of world significance crowded into the brief space of two weeks and occurring in the Soviet Union, Austria and Spain, have served to emphasize with all the sharpness of historical reality the horrible bankruptcy of the People's Front policy in reply to the continuing decay of world capitalism and the mad onrush of the dark forces of fascist reaction.

The brutal heel of Hitler treads mercilessly on the bowed backs of the Austrian workers, whose social-democratic and Stalinist leaders smoothed the road for Hitler via the dictatorships of Dollfus and Schuschnigg. The Austrian coup of the "iron chancellor" of the Third Reich, whose advance to one conquest after another could not be stayed by the allegedly invincible People's Front, has given fresh heart to Franco's fascist forces in Spain. Using troops sent by Mussolini as the spearhead of a new drive, Franco is threatening Republican Spain with imminent annihilation. Deserted by England and France, the "democratic" allies whom Stalin so assiduously cultivated at the price of betraying the Spanish revolution, the "democratic" government of Negrin is reported ready to treat with Franco and to sell out the Spanish proletariat to fascism.

Closely linked to the Austrian and Spanish events is the recent Moscow trial, in which Stalin, displaying his ardent love of democracy, has extirpated eighteen of the few remaining representatives of the October Revolution. This latest bloody deed of the Kremlin Bonaparte has sent a shudder of revulsion and horror through the ranks of world labor and contributed enormously to weakening the revolutionary struggle against fascism and war at a crucial turning-point in world history.

This, then, is the balance of all those policies summed up in People's Frontism. It spells only one thing—political bankruptcy. The entire world movement of labor is threatened with annihilation by the forces of fascism and imperialism war. The fraud of bourgeois democracy stands completely exposed in the era of declining capitalism as the precursor of fascism and war. Policies built upon the preservation of bourgeois democracy not only cannot bar fascism and stave off war—they actually pave the way for these twin evils.

The path for all honest, revolutionary elements in the ranks of the labor movement is clear. It involves repudiation of bankrupt Stalinism and its criminal policies, a return to the revolutionary line of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, a fresh rallying under the banner of the Fourth International for the assault on capitalism—breeder of war and fascism—and the establishment through the socialist revolution of real peace and plenty under the power of the workers.

Liberalism Gets Indigestion

Among the rats sent scurrying for cover by the latest trial, we notice conspicuously those two prime specimens of American liberalism, the *Nation* and the *New Republic*.

Navy Departs For Pacific War 'Games'

(Continued from page 1)

operate in the vicinity of Kingman Reef and others may approach Howland and Baker Islands, near the Equator, or steam even farther south. A squadron of six naval patrol planes now permanently stationed at Sitka, Alaska, and other planes and surface vessels to be temporarily based on Kodiak Island, Dutch Harbor or other Aleutian Island points, will join in the exercises. Detachments of the army garrison of about 20,000 men on the Hawaiian island of Oahu, the defenses protecting the Hawaiian naval base at Pearl Harbor and the cable and radio stations and Pan-American Airways station on the Midway Islands are also expected to participate directly or indirectly.

Coming immediately after the adoption of the more than one billion dollar navy budget by the House Naval Affairs Committee, and considered in conjunction with the unmistakable war policy of the administration, the annual naval maneuvers this year have much more than a mere routine significance—so much so that Hanson W. Baldwin, naval expert of the *New York Times*, is moved to describe them as a "rehearsal for war."

Diplomatic Moves

Other indications of the drive towards war are to be observed in the "peaceful" diplomatic moves of the Roosevelt ("I hate war") government directed toward securing the exclusion of Japanese trawlers from the fisheries in Alaskan waters and like efforts to settle with Great Britain the question of sovereignty over the tiny Phoenix islands of Canton and Enderbury in the South Seas.

The war program of the American imperialists, which is first of all designed to establish American hegemony in the Pacific and to guarantee investment and profit opportunities for American capitalists in the Far East, proceeds under the usual smoke

screen of pacifist propaganda intended to deceive the American workers into believing they will be fighting for "freedom and democracy."

The closer war comes, the more openly do the patriotic defenders of the interests of American imperialism in the ranks of the workers' movement display their real colors. The Communist Party moves with perceptibly bigger strides to first place in the army of imperialist war mongers.

Mask Is Off

For weeks on end, the Stalinists refrained from taking any clear and unequivocal position either for or against Roosevelt's big navy program. But at Chapel Hill, N. C. on March 3 Earl Browder made the C. P. position perfectly clear. He was replying to Representative Maury Maverick of Texas, an opponent of the navy bill who stands for "isolation." Speaking in Congress, Maverick had said, and said quite truly, that "every one of the Communists I know is in favor of the bill and the reason is they think we are going to take our navy over there and fight Japan and get Japan out of China because that is a me-

These doughty knights of journalism found themselves able to digest the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial with scarcely a murmur. By swallowing hard, they kept down the Radek-Piatokov successor, the execution of the generals, and the continuous purge.

Indeed, they performed even greater services by attacking and slandering every attempt to get at the truth of the trials and the purge, or to defend the conscience and future of mankind against them.

But, somehow, the trial of the 21 seems to have affected them with at least a touch of nausea.

"At the time of the Revolution and ever since, its enemies have said that it was conducted by traitors and mad-men. This is now the official view of the Stalin government," writes the *New Republic*. "When one looks at Bukharin's picture and reads his words, the whole past of the revolution clamors for defense and vindication," says that pious and noted defender of the Revolution, the *Nation*. "The Moscow trial is a world issue," remarks the *Nation* in passing, after having told us for two years that the trials were a local Russian question over which we should not be concerned. In its March 9 issue, the *New Republic* protests that "there is no real reason to believe that it (the U. S. S. R.) has been seriously weakened by recent events"; and states exactly the contrary in the issue of the week following.

After having concluded two years ago that a hundred years would be needed to make up our minds about the trials, the *Nation* now concedes that "the coming weeks in European diplomacy and the next decade in the development of radical thought and action, will determine the real significance of the Soviet trial." After having on a hundred occasions sung the perfections of Kremlin justice, the *New Republic* now discovers that the entire judicial system and procedure is worthless and "unconvincing."

A prime function of liberalism is to defend the status quo by providing a critical sauce to make it appetizing to those who might not otherwise find it palatable. Can it be that the *Nation* and *New Republic* are losing confidence in the unshakability of the Stalinist status quo?

Then the pay-off: After having proved publicly, by their own written words, their own one hundred percent intellectual (not to speak of moral) helplessness and bankruptcy in the face of the challenge of the trials, they conclude that now "political thinkers" must "examine the premises of revolutionary doctrine."

Pardon us if we are in a terrible and may we suggest that if our liberal contemporaries really want to do some "honest examining," they have given in their own pages a fairly convincing proof that the "premises" which require it are precisely those of that liberal (not, God forbid, revolutionary) doctrine which motivated, among other things, their present record on the trials.

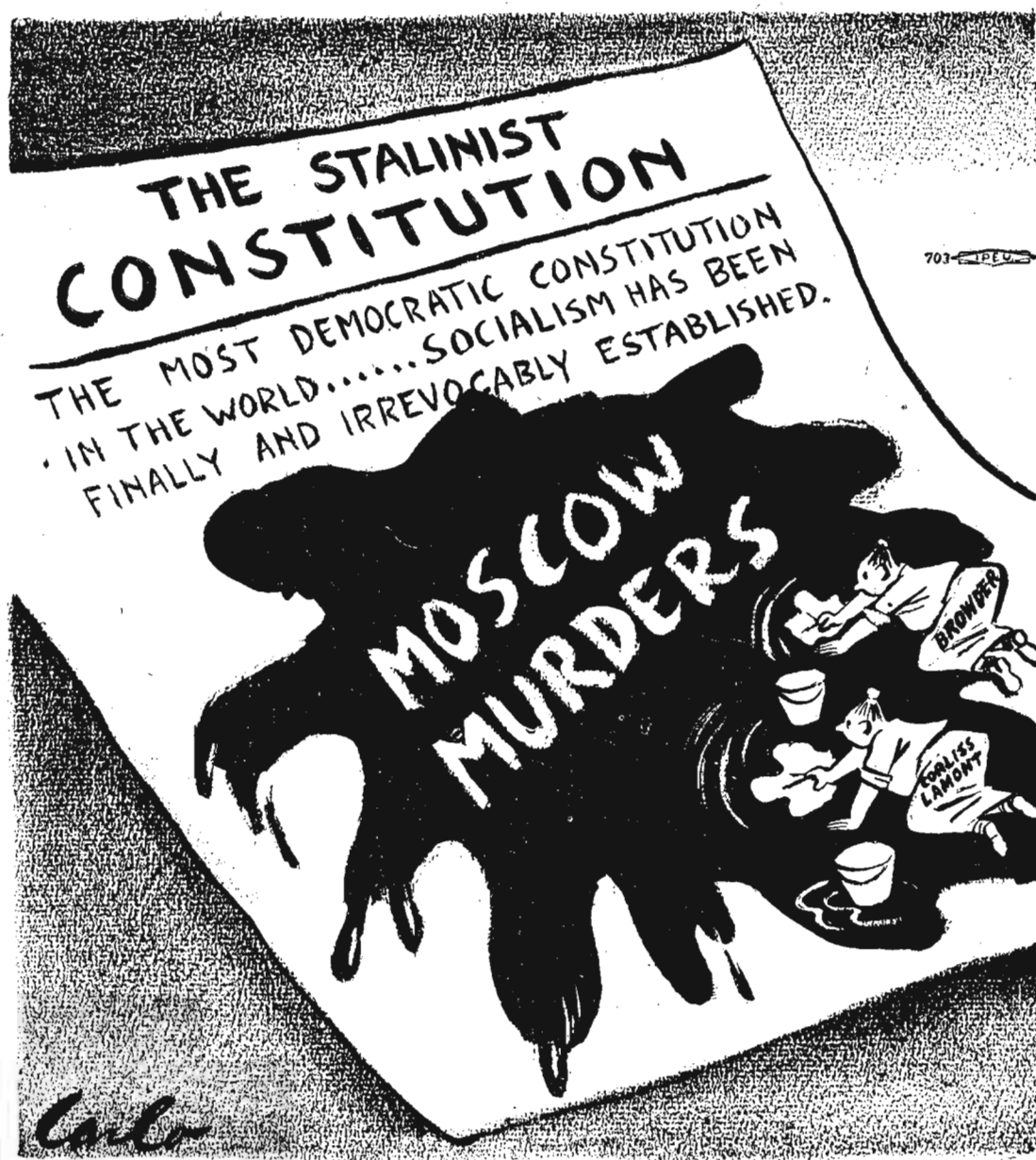
On The Hippodrome Meeting

There have been called to our attention two phrases in the article published in the *Appeal* last week on the "Keep America Out of War" rally which are in error from the points of view both of fact and of political interpretation.

The article referred to the audience as "liberal." Whatever the conscious political opinions of the majority of the audience, it was in considerable part working class, and it was undoubtedly genuine in its anti-war sentiment. The crime of the "Keep America Out of War" committee, and all such movements, is precisely to exploit this sentiment, and to divert it into ineffective and downright reactionary channels.

The article also stated that the committee represented "the last attempt of the desperate pacifists..." Unfortunately, this is far from likely. In the deepening war crisis, we may expect this committee or other similar organizations to continue and to extend their perfidious role.

Stains That Won't Come Off



Stalin Saves Rakovsky For New Frame-up Trial

BY LI FU-JEN

In sparing the lives of three of the eighteen defendants in the Moscow frame-up trial, the counter-revolutionary Stalin regime displayed neither a sense of justice nor a disposition to be merciful. The prison sentences imposed on Christian G. Rakovsky, S. A. Bessonov and Dr. Pletnev were calculated to serve purely practical ends.

First of all, it was necessary to spare some of the defendants in order to make possible the extraction of "confessions" from future trial defendants. If all were killed, how could Stalin's future victims be persuaded to "confess" in exchange for a promise to spare their lives?

Role of Rakovsky

Secondly, that phase of the recent frame-up which relates to an alleged Trotskyist conspiracy with Japan against the Soviet Union, the United States and China was not completed. Rakovsky was the only defendant-witness used for the unfolding of this angle of the "crimes" of the Trotskyists. He said just sufficient to indicate that there was a "plot" and then it was left hanging in mid-air.

When he arrived in Tokyo in September, 1934 (after having spent six years in jail and exile) as head of a Soviet delegation to the International Red Cross Conference, he was, he said, met by "an important Japanese public figure." The pair discussed drawing Rakovsky "into work as a spy, an informer of a certain government." Rakovsky's reluctance to specify the Japanese government surrounds the "plot" with the necessary aura of mystery.

There were more mysterious conversations, and Rakovsky mentions the names of C. C. Yuen and Dmitri Bogomolov, former Soviet ambassadors to Japan and China, respectively, who have been lodged in Stalin's jails for several months and who, reportedly, may be brought to trial in the near future.

How He Spied

Then Rakovsky relates how he returned to Moscow "with the credentials of a Japanese spy in my pocket." What spying activity did he thenceforth engage in on behalf of Japan?

"During 1935 and in the first half of 1936, i.e. prior to the trial of Kamenev and Zinoviev, I handed over through Naid five reports to the Japanese secret service." What was the nature of the spy information thus transmitted? (Vyshinsky was not interested, of course, in asking who "Naid" was.)

Spy Information

Rakovsky had nothing to say regarding the payment he received for this wonderful "spy information," which, incidentally, the Japanese imperialists could have gotten quite cheaply and easily by reading the *New York Times* Moscow dispatches, the International Press Correspondence, the *Moscow Pravda*, or the *Isvestia*. This is unimportant, anyway. What was important was that Rakovsky involved the jailed Soviet ambassadors to China and Japan and thereby laid a basis for a new trial.

How did he involve them? He related that after speaking with the "important Japanese public figure" whom he met in Tokyo, he talked with Yurenev, the Soviet ambassador to Japan. Yurenev showed him a letter from Piatokov (shot in January, 1937). The letter, of course, was not produced, but "in its side by side with the text written in ordinary ink, was another text written in invisible ink."

What did the invisible message say? "It is very likely a certain government will itself take steps in this direction (i.e., in the direction of utilization of Rakovsky)."

He "Helped Britain"

Continuing his testimony, Rakovsky said that "Piatokov wrote Yurenev regarding Bogomolov, the Ambassador to China, pointing out that a certain government was dissatisfied with his political line, that he was giving more help to Britain than to the government in question."

Piatokov is dead, but presumably Yurenev and Bogomolov are still sufficiently alive to be brought into a new treason

trial. This is why Rakovsky's life has been spared.

An obvious question occurs: If the trial was honest and above-board (which no honest and intelligent person believes), why were not Yurenev and Bogomolov confronted in court with Rakovsky's testimony? Why did they not occupy the defendants' bench with the twenty-one?

Victims Not Ripe

The answer is simple: the G. P. U. has not had sufficient time in which to break them and force them to confess. When that stage is reached they will be hailed into court, broken, to be confronted by the broken Rakovsky, who is being "saved" for that purpose and that purpose alone.

Rakovsky, the ex-oppositionist, last of the capitulators, had, of course, to involve Leon Trotsky, too. Trotsky, through the Communist League of China (Fourth International) was needed by the Japanese imperialists "to create an incident in China" which would give the Japanese imperialists "a desirable ground for being able to intervene in Chinese affairs." Meanwhile, a furious campaign of provocation and vilification is being conducted in China against the Chinese revolutionists, who are charged by the Stalinist allies of Chiang Kai-shek with being paid agents of Japan. In China, too, a favorable atmosphere is needed for the coming trial.

Everything of importance in this new amalgam is already sufficiently clear. Trotsky and his followers, in China and the U. S. A., are responsible for the Japanese invasion of China. At the same time, they plotted with the Japanese imperialists against the Soviet Union and the United States. Rakovsky, Yurenev and Bogomolov will be Stalin's witnesses in Moscow. Persons arrested recently in China and dubbed "Trotskyists" by the Stalinist press (although they are not and never have been members of the Communist League—see *Socialist Appeal*, March 5) will by their confessions, posthumous or otherwise, furnish the China angle of the frame-up.

The links between Moscow, the U. S. A., Mexico (Trotsky) and the Far East will be furnished, in part at least, by the Robinson-Rubens couple now being "interviewed" by the G. P. U. in a Moscow jail.

But a frame-up is a frame-up, and Stalin's new effort will be no more convincing than its predecessors.

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STALIN EXECUTES ANOTHER EIGHTEEN

(Continued from page 1)

other three, as in previous trials, and had proclaimed them in his totalitarian press: "No mercy for the mad dogs!"

White Guard Prosecutor

Prosecutor Vyshinsky, who earned the privilege of framing-up and befouling the records of revolutionary fighters by his own record of fighting in the White Guard armies during the Civil War which followed the Bolshevik revolution, endeavored in his summation to distract attention from the cracks and fissures in the fraudulent trial structure by a stream of invective surpassing in vulgarity and malice anything previously heard in Stalin's totalitarian court-room.

He described all the defendants as "a stinking heap of human scum." Bukharin, who alone of all the defendants bore himself with some human dignity and firmness, he described as "a cross between a fox and a pig." To no avail! The hysterical declamations of this venal tool of Stalin, directed against Lenin's colleagues, architects of the first workers' state, did not and could not convince the world, especially the world of labor.

Bukharin, maintaining an unexpected nobility of bearing, some last shreds of independence (much to the irritation and discomfort of Stalin's prosecutor, who had reason to fear that a monkey-wrench might be thrown into the machinery of the frame-up), blasted holes in the flimsy fabric of the trial both in his "testimony" and in his last speech to the court. Reading between the lines of his speech, one could discern a bitter hatred of the criminal Stalin regime.

Exposes Falsehoods

The former chairman of the Communist International vigorously denied that he was a murderer and stoutly repudiated the testimony of Sharangovich that he had given the latter instructions for spying in the interests of Poland. Going still further, he denied even knowing Sharangovich or the members of the "bloc" whom Sharangovich allegedly represented. Sharangovich, playing out to the end the role assigned to him, promptly called Bukharin a liar. Bukharin treated the interruption with merited contempt — by ignoring it.

Even more revealing was Bukharin's declaration that he had "confessed" to the crimes charged against him from despair in prison. "It was not the evidence that broke me down," he said. "It was the solitude in prison." (*New York Times*, Mar. 13.)

These precious words, spoken by a once eminent revolutionist on the edge of the grave dug for him by the counter-revolutionary Stalin regime, tear to shreds the last doubt any honest, intelligent person may have harbored concerning the character of the trial. They rip open the frame-up at the seams. Not all of Bukharin's equivocal and hazy admissions of guilt in general, interspersed as they are throughout the trial proceedings and Bukharin's final address to the court, can destroy this damning indictment of Stalinism.

Daily Covers Up

That delectable organ of "democracy" in this country, the *Stalinist Daily Worker*, which is merely an extension abroad of Stalin's prostitute press, printed on March 14 the "last statements" of Stalin's latest victims, and managed to do so without giving a single word of Bukharin's accusatory assertions! Honest members and followers of the Communist Party must ask themselves why, for other papers carried them in full.

Bukharin's damning indictment of Stalinism must be taken in conjunction with Krestinsky's accusatory statement to the court on March 2 at the commencement of the trial proceedings.

ings, when the former vice-commissar of foreign affairs repudiated his "confession" and declared that he had "confessed" at the preliminary investigation only in order to secure opportunity to proclaim the trial a fraud in open court. Krestinsky's retraction of this repudiation the following day, after being shut up over night with G. P. U. inquisitors in the blood-bespattered cellars of the Lubyanka Prison, could not and did not destroy the force of his original statement in court.

These two incidents in the trial alone—the first declaration of Krestinsky and the "last word" of Bukharin—have destroyed the last lingering doubts regarding Stalin's "justice." For these two leading defendants not only stamped the trial a fraud—they also revealed, with an authority which only the victims could impart, the technique by which "confessions" are extracted from Stalin's helpless tools.

A New Failure

The effort of Vyshinsky to link Leon Trotsky with the defendants in a web of "conspiracies" to murder Stalin and his satellites, to wreck Soviet economy, and to hand over Soviet territory to the imperialist enemies of the U. S. S. R., as with similar efforts in previous trials, met dismal failure.

The defendant Bessonov testified that he had written Trotsky in December, 1936, and had received a reply a few days later, destined for Krestinsky, another of the defendants. This crude falsehood crumbled when the Norwegian Passport Office told the newspaper *Dagbladet* that from September, 1936, to December 19 of that year, the day he sailed for Mexico, Trotsky was, under the strictest police surveillance and could not possibly have communicated with his alleged co-conspirators in Russia.

From December 19, 1936 to January 10, 1937, Trotsky was aboard the tanker "Ruth" bound for Mexico. The *Dagbladet* quoted the present Norwegian chief of police, who accompanied Trotsky on the trip, as affirming that the revolutionary exile had not been permitted to use the tanker's radio throughout the voyage. No one but a Stalinist would contend that the Norwegian authorities, who interned Trotsky and held him virtually incommunicado for three months, are friendly to Trotsky or partial to his cause.

No Real Evidence

As in the previous trials, there was no real evidence. Not a single letter, not a scrap of paper that broke me down, there were only "confessions" and "conversations about conversations." All the "plots" lacked flesh and blood. To correct a shortcoming in the earlier trials, a few corpses were exhumed—disintegrated corpses at that. Stalin realized that the corpse of Kirov had already been worked far beyond any limits of credibility.

And yet the trial showed that the "conspirators" had accomplished virtually nothing beyond demonstrating their own extreme ineptitude—that is, if one excludes the breakdowns in Soviet economy and the failure of the Kremlin's foreign policy, sins of Stalin which the "beloved leader" deemed it necessary to load on to the backs of his pitiful victims.

The evidence against the defendants, including the absent "defendant" Leon Trotsky, was pitifully characterized by a foreign observer at the trial of the twenty-one: "Everything is true but the facts." (*New York Times*, March 14.)

Conclusion: This trial, like its predecessors, was false and fraudulent. Eighteen of the twenty-one are dead. The other three have gone to a living death. But history has already nailed the executioners and their masters to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of the Stalinist high priests will not avail to redeem them.

Trotsky On Hearst

The *APPEAL* has received the following communication from Leon Trotsky:

"During the Moscow trial the *London Daily Express* asked me to give them an exclusive article upon the trial. Cabling the article, I did not have the faintest idea that it would return from London and appear in the Hearst papers.

"Let the various bigots who support Stalin-Vyshinsky make what they can of this occurrence. I am not greatly moved. It is by no means a question of literary 'collaboration' with Hearst. My task and that of my collaborators during these days was to launch into world circulation through all accessible channels the greatest possible number of facts and arguments against the executioners and thus attempt to stay their hand. If I should have to post placards, warning the people of a cholera epidemic, I should equally utilize the walls of schools, churches, saloons, gambling houses, and even worse establishments.

"LEON TROTSKY."

"Mar. 3, 1938.