

La Guardia Cuts Relief Ten Percent

'Labor Mayor' Acts In 'Gesture' Against Gov. Lehman

ALL OUT!

All workers are urged to demonstrate against LaGuardia's 10 per cent Relief Cut at City Hall, 11 A. M., Saturday, March 26.

NEW YORK.—On motion of Mayor LaGuardia the Board of Estimate of New York, richest city in the world, has reduced payments to the unemployed by 10 per cent.

The immediate excuse for the cut, given by the mayor, was a tax dispute with Gov. Lehman and the State legislature.

Wants Cut Now

In a friendly discussion on the relief cut with Samuel Wiseman, Stalinist leader of the Workers Alliance, Mayor LaGuardia stated that there were sufficient funds on hand to carry on relief payments without any cut for several months.

Between the "People's Choice" Governor Lehman and "Labor's Mayor" LaGuardia, the unemployed of this city got it in the neck.

The ten per cent cut in relief payments will actually mean a twenty per cent cut in the food budgets of the jobless.

Rents must be paid as before. The landlord gets his pound of flesh or he evicts.

Gas and light costs must be paid as before, otherwise the utility companies will discontinue service.

There is only one place to cut: on food.

Unemployed Suffer

LaGuardia's "retaliation" against Lehman means taking approximately 20 per cent of the bread and milk from the mouths of already hungry men, women and children.

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RELIEF MILITANTS ARRESTED IN N. Y.

A. Dollinger, Martin Roerback, members of the S.W.P., and Morris Manus, member of Local 15 of the Workers Alliance, were arrested at the Single Men's Relief Bureau last Tuesday.

Kurt Stromm, Stalinist leader of the W.A.A. on the lower East Side, when asked by Dollinger, the grievance delegate to this relief bureau, for support on this emergency case, proceeded to herd his members out of the bureau.

The C.P. has again clearly demonstrated that it is a reactionary disunifying force in the Alliance. All three workers arrested are members of Local 15, a militant and progressive local of the W.A.A.

Expropriation Of Oil Lands Opens New Era For Mexican Workers

Cardenas Move Is Step Forward: Workers In This Country Must Give Full Support To Mexican Working Class

With the expropriation of the American and British oil companies by the Cardenas government, the year-long struggle between the foreign capitalists and the Mexican workers has entered a decisive stage.

The companies refused to accept the decision of the Mexican Supreme Court favorable to the workers, hoping that Cardenas would again yield to them.

'Democratic' Pressure

They knew that Cardenas urgently needs precisely at the present time money to subsidize the peasant cooperatives (ejidos) in the cotton plantations of Laguna in Northern Mexico which he created last year by expropriating and subdividing large estates.

Above all, they relied upon the pressure of "the great democracies" of Wall Street and the City of London. The New York Times has already hinted that Washington "supports" Mexico by buying large quantities of silver every month above the market price.

The companies in New York and London threaten to place an embargo on Mexican oil knowing that Mexico, which owns

SWP MILITANTS KEEP FASCISTS FROM EAST SIDE

Picket Line and Rally Block Meeting On Second Avenue

NEW YORK — An attempt by Fascists to invade the lower East side last Sunday afternoon was repulsed by militant demonstrations of the Young People's Socialist League and the Socialist Workers Party.

Learning that anti-Semitic and fascist speakers were scheduled to hold a meeting at the Church of All Nations on Second Avenue, in the heart of the Jewish proletarian section, 150 members of the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. appeared there at one o'clock.

Picket Line Formed

A sign on the Church announced that the meeting was called off, but a picket line was formed that grew rapidly to 300 people. For one hour, while hundreds looked on, a continuous chain marched in the block before the Church, shouting, "Stop Hitler's terrorism against the Jewish people!" "Drive the Fascists from the East Side!" "War Against the Bosses, Against the Bosses' War!"

Many members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League joined the demonstration behind the banners of the Fourth International. On learning it was a Trotskyite demonstration, some of them dropped out and stood on the sidelines in bewilderment.

Street Rally Held

Following the picketing, a street meeting was organized, one of the largest ever held in the district. More than 1,000 listeners heard speakers from the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. point out the necessity of aggressive methods in fighting fascism and the need of workers' unity in the fight.

Just before the close of the street meeting, Shulman, one of the leading East Side Stalinists, organized a counter-meeting on the other side of the street and sent hecklers across. The S.W.P. meeting adjourned in good order, singing the "International," and

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no tankers, would be forced to find customers and shippers in fascist countries, Japan, Germany, and Italy, whose policies Cardenas has opposed.

Our Position

The Socialist Workers Party wholeheartedly supports the expropriations of the oil companies and calls upon the American working class to back up this action against the machinations of the oil interests and the interventions of their respective governments.

The Fourth Internationalists who have defended the Marxist line for many years in the anti-imperialist struggle of China, India, etc., against the Stalinists have not the slightest illusion concerning the class limitations and the mortal weaknesses of the Cardenas regime.

A Progressive Step

The Fourth Internationalists, without renouncing open criticism of the bourgeois-nationalist government, are at the same time ready to be in the forefront to defend any progressive step of this regime against the imperialists of all nations.

Our sympathies are above all with the young and militant Mexican workers. Their fighting spirit has pushed Cardenas far beyond the limits which he would otherwise have observed in his struggle against foreign capital.

Workers' Initiative

One cannot but greet with enthusiasm the reports concerning the spontaneous power and skill with which the armed workers are now taking control and direction over the oil fields on their own initiative.

If the present offensive of Mexican people against imperialist slavery will stop halfway, the fault will not be on the side of the Mexican workers.

Representatives of the Socialist Workers' Party, now in Mexico, have publicly declared their solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Mexican people, and called upon the American workers to follow their example. We wholeheartedly endorse their declaration.

Against any imposition of sanctions in the interests of the oil barons!

Long live the struggle of the Mexican workers and peasants! Hands off Mexico!

Rappoport Breaks With French C.P.

Charles Rappoport, one of the founders of the French Communist Party and one of the leading Marxist theoreticians of the party, handed in his resignation on March 16. He denounced the Moscow trials as a "macabre farce" and rejected the crimes of the Stalin regime, stating he could no longer remain in the party which supported them.

Rappoport was also Paris correspondent of Izvestia, Stalin's government organ. In a statement to the press he declared that the execution of Nikolai Bukharin impelled his action.

TRIAL CAUSES NEW FISSURES IN C. P. RANKS

Evidence is mounting that the Trial of the 21 has to an unprecedented degree shaken the Stalinist movement to its foundations. Above all, the proletarian strata of the Communist Party is in ferment as a result of the new frame-up.

Stalin's Terror Repels Honest Proletarian Militants

From all over the country reports indicate that the best of the Communist Party membership is not swallowing the Trial of the 21, and in a number of cases is expressing its disbelief openly.

The turmoil in the Young Communist League is particularly striking. A substantial percentage of one of the largest units in the country refuses to accept the trial. In one of the most important States, a prominent member of the Executive has already made known his intention to break with the party and join the Fourth Internationalists.

Foreign Groups Revolting

The foreign-language members—almost entirely proletarian, including conspicuously the Polish and Lettish workers, are in a state of incipient revolt.

At several recent meetings on the trial held by the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party members have taken the floor to denounce the frame-up and in at least one case have joined the Socialist Workers Party on the spot.

Afraid To Argue

In their efforts to stem this tide, the Stalinist leadership is in many cases afraid to argue the case of the trial, but tries to "submerge" the issue of the trial in a general appeal for loyalty in the face of the war crisis and the danger to the Soviet Union.

They are also beginning to learn that under the banner of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International the only real struggle against imperialist war and the only real mobilization for defense of the Workers' State is being conducted.

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Imperialist War Impends In Europe; Hull Reiterates Aim To Dominate World

NAVY FUNDS TO BE HIKED AGAIN

War Scare Used to Spur American Armaments Program

The extreme sharpening of the war crisis in Europe was seized upon by the Roosevelt administration last week to intensify its own rapid drive toward war.

First reaction was the announcement that the already-huge arms budget would be increased still further. Second was the speech of Secretary of State Cordell Hull to the National Press Club in which he unmistakably reiterated the intention of American imperialism to take its "rightful" place as arbiter of the world's destinies in the dark years that lie just ahead.

The naval budget has already skyrocketed to heights never before reached in the peacetime history of this country. From a mere \$290,000,000 in 1934, the regular budget was increased this year to a billion, augmented by an extraordinary appropriation of \$1,121,000,000.

New Increases In View

This is still not the end. Representative Rayburn, New Deal House leader, announced last week that "Congress may be asked within the next few months to authorize an outlay for defense greater than the pending naval measure."

The army, too, is scheduled to get more money. Although its regular appropriation for the coming year was over half a billion dollars, Roosevelt announced that he will ask for more money to expand the army further.

What is all this arming for? This question is being asked more and more loudly by workers and liberals. Secretary of State Hull's speech to the National Press Club in Washington was the most detailed New Deal justification of its armaments and war policies.

The main theme of his speech was that the New Deal policies aimed to ensure peace—peace for the United States, peace for Asia, peace for Europe. "The primary objectives of our foreign policy are the maintenance of the peace of our country."

Rejects Isolation

How are the armaments going to be used in order to maintain "peace"? "Not by isolation, says Hull. "Isolation is not a means to security; it is a fruitful source of insecurity."

On an international scale, isolationism would destroy the armed might that backs up American imperialism everywhere that it battles its rivals for control.

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THE ONLY ROAD TO PEACE

The mounting series of "incidents" in Europe, set in train by Hitler's seizure of Austria, brings home to every worker the imminence of the war peril. Decaying capitalism is preparing to destroy humanity in a new world war.

How are the workers to act in face of this terrible threat? The false leaders of the working class, with the Stalinists in the van, are trying to persuade the workers to line up behind the "democratic" capitalist governments, against the fascist "aggressors."

Last War Led To Fascism

The workers have nothing to gain and everything to lose by aligning themselves with the war camps of "democratic" capitalism. They did that in the last World War, with the tragic consequences so evident today. They fought for "freedom and democracy." Capitalist "democracy" produced—Fascism.

Defend "freedom" by aiding imperialism to conduct its robber wars? But what real freedom do the workers in the "democratic" countries have when their wages are slashed below the subsistence level, when they are out of work, starving and homeless?

The emancipation of the working class is the task of the workers themselves. It can be accomplished only in irreconcilable opposition to the exploiters in every country, "democratic" as well as fascist. The workers have no fatherland until they have created one by overthrowing their exploiters and taking power. For the workers the enemy is in their own country—not across the frontier. For the workers of America, too, the enemy is right here. It is the capitalist class.

The Enemy Is Here

Rightly the American workers want to fight war and fascism. This cannot be done by supporting American imperialism in a war against "aggressor" nations.

If the American imperialists are led to believe they will have the support of the workers for war—war will be brought that much nearer. Working class opposition to war, the class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the socialist revolution, is the only road to peace.

People's Front Leads Spanish Working Class Toward Fascist Abyss

Only the Repression of the Revolutionary Mass Movement of the Workers Has Made Franco's Sweeping Victories Possible

Having entrenched themselves in a temporary, localized government victory at Teruel advantageous—as a weapon with which to club Hitler and Mussolini, as well as the recalcitrant Franco, into agreement to an armistice. And so December and January saw a fleeting Loyalist victory at Teruel, after the entire Aragon front, manned by anarchists and P.O.U.M. militants, had been consistently sabotaged by the government.

The sudden upheavals which placed Halifax at the head of the British foreign office and Blum at the head of the French government, fired Franco with new spirit and aggressiveness.

Bombardments Continue

The unprecedented bombardments of Barcelona and other key coastal cities continue to take their bloody toll. The military deadlock which has gripped the Spanish civil war for many months is at an end. The scales have tipped far over toward the fascist side, and for the first time wholesale disaster and rout of the government forces seem to be in sight.

It strikes the observer with added force that the destinies of Loyalists swerve curiously with the ever-shifting foreign policies of their "democratic" allies. The blueprints of the Spanish civil war are drawn with meticulous detail in the diplomatic ante-chambers of London and Paris. Delbos and Eden, with their policy of jockeying for position with the fascist powers, found

HITLER SPEEDS HIS WAR PLANS

U.S.S.R.'s Isolation Is Deepened; Poland's Appetite Whetted

Sparks from the forge of imperialist war are flying thicker and faster with each passing day. For the second time within a single generation Europe is becoming the center of a world war conflagration.

Hitler's seizure of Austria, bringing in its train a series of events in the developing war situation, represents much more than a territorial acquisition. Taken in its world setting, it was a move on the chessboard of imperialist rivalry in which the final disposition of the pawns will determine the line-up of the hostile camps.

New War Moves

The Austrian coup gave fresh heart to the fascist forces in Spain. With additional aid from Mussolini, Franco's armies are now driving forward to swallow all that remains of Republican Spain. Hitler's bold move also sharpened the appetite of the Polish bourgeoisie, which, hungry for expansion, has brought tiny Lithuania under its virtual domination. This move, carried out with Hitler's connivance, provided Poland and Germany with a supplementary strategic position against the Soviet Union.

Nazification of Czechoslovakia is now only a matter of time. For Hitler's plans envisage the absorption of Czechoslovakia into Germany's war economy and, finally, the dismemberment of that country for the benefit of Germany, Poland, and Hungary. Whether Hitler tries to appease Britain with a new Berchtesgaden agreement with the Czech Schuschnigg, or essays an early military attack, the last vassal of France in Central Europe is lost. And the Czech bourgeoisie, around whose head the Stalinists have woven a halo of democracy and progressiveness, will be obliged to serve under the Swastika as Hitler's auxiliaries against the Soviet Union.

France Paralyzed

Imperialist France, paralyzed by social crisis, watches helplessly the move of Germany's "iron chancellor" while feverishly building up its war machine. French imperialism, now that Hitler has finished smashing the system of Versailles, has lost its dominant position on the European continent. Diplomatically it tags along behind Great Britain.

But the British lion is no longer the arbiter of Europe's fate. This role is now filled by the Wilhelmstrasse. Floundering around in search of a new axis for its foreign policy, Britain, too, builds up its imperialist war machine at an

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CALIFORNIA YPSLS PICKET ELEANOR

LOS ANGELES—Four youths were arrested for distributing literature of the Socialist Workers Party and Young People's Socialist League to the thousands that appeared at the Shrine Auditorium March 18 to hear Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt lecture on "The Problems of Youth." The leaflets presented the real plight of the young generation and exposed Roosevelt's drive for war.

Two members of the Young Communist League were arrested a few minutes later for trying to give out circulars to the same crowd.

Police, present to see that the First Lady of the Land should not be embarrassed, arrested the six youngsters, four of whom spent the night in jail. All were scheduled to stand trial March 25.

Next Week! AN 8-PAGE ANTI-WAR ISSUE!

Next week falls the 21st anniversary of this country's entry into the last war "to make the world safe for democracy." It comes on the eve of a new war which the same fakers are telling us is to make the same world safe against the Fascism which the war for democracy produced.

Attention all branches and locals! Call in all Literature Agents! Send in increased bundle orders at once to the National Office. Also inform us with equal speed of the number of extra copies of one four-page anti-war supplement that you will want for special distributions.

# 10,000 Ohio Gum Miners Mass To Protest Wage Slashes

## Boss Offensive Arouses Akron

### Washington Acts Behind Scenes To Spike Union Vote

AKRON.—In a surprise announcement at the end of a mass meeting of 10,000 rubber workers held March 19 to protest against proposed wage-cuts, L. L. Callahan, president of the Goodrich local of the United Rubber Workers of America, stated that the union had reversed its previous decision to take a vote on the question of Goodrich management's demands.

The federal government, moving swiftly behind the scenes through the Department of Labor, succeeded in having the vote delayed, pending "further investigation" of Goodrich's financial position and a decision by the National Labor Relations Board on the union's petition to prevent the company from further decentralization.

### Rubber Barons Active

For the past few weeks the interest of the entire population of Akron has been centered on the developments at Goodrich. Business men's groups by the score have been mobilized by the rubber barons and the Chamber of Commerce to bring pressure to bear on the Goodrich union workers who were to vote on the wage-cut proposals. The labor movement has responded wholeheartedly through meetings and the radio to answer the lying propaganda of the bosses and their stooges. Seldom, if ever, outside of an actual strike situation, have the class lines been drawn so clearly.

With one sweep, then, the Goodrich local executive board's vote-delaying decision postpones the settlement for an indefinite period, at the eleventh hour, without previous warning. Militants in the unions have every reason to fear that the company will in the meantime redouble its efforts at intimidation, and that the union's stated policy of "co-operating with our government in all its endeavors" will produce apathy and fatalistic resignation amongst the workers.

Since the Goodrich local enjoys sole bargaining rights with the company under the Wagner Act, and the vote on whether to accept or reject wage-cuts and hour-stretch was to be conducted by it amongst its members only, the bosses' attack has included demands that the voting be supervised by some other agency than the union, and that non-union workers be permitted to vote. The union has previously answered these reactionary restrictions correctly; it remains to be seen whether it will put up a fight in the future against possible government supervision of the vote.

### Stalinists Prepare Ground

The road to last-minute government intervention was paved by the Stalinists. Every piece of union propaganda contained the reference to "labor's friend Roosevelt"; the main slogan of the mass demonstration was: "Don't Let the President Down—Fight Wage Cuts." This constant playing up of Roosevelt is calculated to enable his administration or its agencies to enter into a conflict, if it comes, for the purpose of averting a clash that might prove embarrassing to them.

The Goodrich workers in the coming weeks will face a real test. Every militant knows that the life of the union is at stake, that the company will attempt to wear down resistance to the wage-cut regardless of 100 Roosevelt, and that the maintenance of the anti-wage cut sentiment can be accomplished only by redoubled efforts on the union's part.

## MARXIST SCHOOL

Wed. March 30 7 P. M. - C. I. O. A. F. L. Conflict. - Bill Morgan.  
8:45 P. M. - The Struggles in the Russian Communist Party - 1923-1937 - Joe Carter.

Other courses being held are: Elementary Socialism, Monday, 7 P. M. Hal Draper, instructor; Marxist Economics, Tuesday, 7 P. M., J. G. Wright; Principles of Revolutionary Socialism, Tuesday, 8:45 P. M., Maurice Spector. Classes are held at 116 University Place.

## Minneapolis Electrical Workers Vote To Strike

### Power Company Attacks In General Offensive Directed Against Labor In Mid-West

MINNEAPOLIS.—Power "to take all steps necessary, including the calling of a strike," against the Northern States Power Company, was voted to the General Executive Board by 1,200 members of Electrical Workers Local 292 at a special meeting held March 15.

The meeting, called after the power company broke off relations with the union, crushingly refuted company claims that the union was divided, for only 12 members voted to withhold strike power from the Board.

### Strike Won Agreement

As the result of the most militant strike ever conducted against a big electric utility company, the union wrested an agreement a year ago last February. The International has termed the agreement the most advantageous in force anywhere in the country. The contract covers 1,200 men in the Minneapolis local and 2,300 others in outlying divisions are covered by similar agreements.

Minneapolis labor, vanguard of progressive unionism, is now confronted by a general offensive of the bosses. Desperation induced by the economic crisis, as well as an assault against all militant unions in preparation for the coming war, lies behind this offensive. The teamsters, spearhead of the labor movement of the Northwest, are confronted by open and systematic persecution by Mayor Leach, who is the direct instigator of a "financial accounting" suit filed by five renegades from the union, who aim to secure an order from the court paralyzing the operation of the union. Leach and the bosses backing him—he is a candidate for governor in the fall elections—are also sponsoring an "independent" teamsters organization.

### Relations Severed

As part of this general offensive, the power company suddenly struck at the electrical union on Tuesday, March 6, breaking off all relations with the union. With a brazenness seldom equaled in this area, the company informed International Representative W. B. Petty, two days later, that the company would not renew relations with the union until the union removed from office Assistant Business Manager H. A. Schultz and Business Representative William Heigel, the two union negotiators who have been dealing with the company.

It looked for a day or two as if the company was going to get help in doing serious damage to the union. For the International's representative, Petty, proceeded to arrange for an election at which the power company employees would vote whether or not they wished to retain the union representatives, Heigel and Schultz.

The General Executive Board unanimously opposed the election. The Board pointed out to Petty that the election meant bending to the demand of the company for the removal of Heigel and Schultz, and that bosses always demand the removal of representatives they cannot budge," the Emergency Bulletin of Local 292 reports. "The General Executive Board also demonstrated that such an election can in no way benefit the union. If the company were able to terrorize the men into voting the removal of Heigel and Schultz, it would wreck the union, because the precedent thereby established would henceforth give the company the last word in the union.

### Dangerous Concession

"Winning the election would be an empty victory, for the company would still have to be forced to retreat from its demand for the removal of Heigel and Schultz. The very holding of an election would be a dangerous concession to company pressure, and could only encourage the company to make further arbitrary demands."

Despite the unanimous opposition of the union leadership, however, Petty insisted on going forward with the election. But within twenty-four hours, he called off the election and left town, and the union got down to the business of bringing the company to terms.

This significant victory for militant unionism is explainable by both local and national factors:

1. The union is led by outstanding militants, under whom the union has flourished, and the

membership has learned to assert itself. The unanimous position of the Executive Board was backed up by delegation after delegation from the ranks, who informed Petty in no uncertain terms that the reactionary election he proposed would never be held. A call to arms against the company, published in the thousands in the form of an Emergency Bulletin, rallied the membership to a program of struggle. Refusing to cooperate in the proposed election, the board instead called the special membership meeting.

2. The union undoubtedly has the backing of the whole Minneapolis labor movement. Any attempt by the International to violate the autonomy of the local would have encountered the indignation of the most progressive section of the A. F. of L. in the country.

3. The International is engaged in the East in a sharp struggle with the C. I. O. electrical workers' union. One of the chief weapons of the International has been the example of the Minneapolis union, which is a real industrial union. Bureaucratic usurpation of the rights of the Minneapolis local would destroy the International's standing among utility workers in particular and mass industry electrical workers in general. The day of arbitrarily lifting charters is gone for the time being.

4. The Minneapolis local has maintained good relations with the International as far as possible without giving up its autonomy and militant program. This fact is known to scores of I. B. E. W. locals, and any attack on the local would lead to a national scandal in the union.

## Crucible Steel Workers Out On Strike In N. J.

### Picket Squads Evidence Fighting Spirit Of Strike Committee

HARRISON, N. J. — Two thousand steel workers at the Harrison and Jersey City plants of the Crucible Steel Company plants are now in their third week of strike against an attempted lock-out by the company which violated an agreement settling a sit-down strike Jan. 19.

The strike was provoked by a lock-out of three departments at the Harrison plant and by a lay-off of the bulk of the working staff at the Jersey City plant.

### Strikers' Demands

Demands of the strikers include: the closed shop, sole collective bargaining rights, 62½ cents per hour minimum, more flexible seniority rights, elimination of the stagger system, and the right of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee locals to negotiate supplementary agreements in the plants.

The company attack is part of a plan of assault in all steel. This was evidenced by the emergence of Deservine, Liberty League attorney and counsel for the Sun Oil and Sun Ship Companies, as negotiations representative for the company. The Midland plant of Crucible in Pennsylvania also has been locked out as part of this drive.

### Militant Leadership

Happiest sign in the strike is the militant class struggle policy being pursued by the rank and file strike committee. Flying squads of pickets from Jersey City have joined the Harrison mass picket lines which top the thousand mark. Squads from the whole body of strikers have helped Waterman Fountain Pen Company strikers in Newark on that picket line. The same squads have become contact agents for S. W. O. C. to bolster morale at the Murgot steel plant, also in Newark, where bosses have refused to negotiate a new agreement and a struggle looms.

The sound militancy of the rank and file policy has had further good results. Workers of the Standard Gas Equipment Company, Jersey City, under the influence of the Crucible strike, have quit an independent union and organized under the C. I. O.

Delegates from plants throughout Hudson County have contact-

## Roosevelt War Aims Denounced At New York Anti-War Meeting

NEW YORK.—At an enthusiastic mass rally against war and in commemoration of the Paris Commune held at Manhattan Plaza on March 18, nearly 700 Socialist Workers Party members and sympathizers cheered the revolutionary program and pledged themselves to fight war and fascism by fighting to overthrow capitalism.

The speakers appeared against a background of red banners and slogans: "No support to the United States government in any war," "Against collective security, the mask of imperialism," "Build the Socialist Workers Party and fight against imperialist war." A large chorus sang revolutionary songs and the entire gathering joined at the close of the meeting in the singing of the "Internationale" and thunderous cheers for the Fourth International.

James Burnham spoke on the relation of the People's Front to war, tracing the history of popular frontism, its bankruptcy before the advance of fascism, and its transition to governments of National Union. "No one believes

now," he said, "that the government of Negrin is the government of victory. No one believes that the People's Front will stop war."

James Rorty, introduced by the chairman, Neil Harrison, as an intellectual who had been against the last war, described the Hippodrome meeting of the "Keep America out of war Committee" as "a lot of people gathered under the banner of 'War, what for?' and marching in every direction." "I listened painfully," he stated, "for three hours and I did not hear a kind word for socialism, except maybe from Bert Wolfe and he was not quite sure about it. I did not hear anybody say a harsh word for capitalism..." "If you are going to march against war, you will have to know the people with whom you are marching and the objective towards which you are marching," he declared.

Representing the Y. P. S. L., Nathan Gould spoke on the lessons of the Paris Commune, to which the victory of the Russian Revolution was so largely indebted.

Analysing the imperialist ri-

valries that are leading to the coming war, the main speaker of the evening, Maurice Spector, pointed out the impossibility of isolation or neutrality for the United States. He placed the responsibility for the rise of fascism on the "socialist" leaders who betrayed the revolution in the last war and castigated the betrayal by the Stalinist and reformist leaders who today place reliance on bourgeois democracy, and no longer even threaten revolutionary action against war.

"There is," he said, "no democratic war against fascism... The issue today is between fascism and socialism." He was applauded time and again for such statements as: "It is the historic mission of the S. W. P. to stand up before the workers of the United States and say that we will not relinquish for a moment that propaganda which we have carried on ever since the last war... We are pledged to wage the only war which serves the workers' interests, the class war against all imperialist governments, the class war against the American government."

## Bankruptcy Of Roosevelt's Reform Program Laid Bare By Gov't Acts

By DAVID COWLES

The fraud of Roosevelt reform has been worn threadbare. All pretense of New Deal concessions to labor has been dropped. The truth that the government is the "executive committee" of the capitalist class is jutting out boldly.

These facts are now public knowledge: On March 1, 1938, the New York World-Telegram reported "President Roosevelt has declared a quiet amistice on new reforms." Within two weeks even the Republican Mark Sullivan, whose custom it is to cry "Communism!" whenever Roosevelt smiles in order to show his teeth to the workers, conceded the truth of this statement. He added further that "the largest cause of the New Deal let-down is the business recession. That is the denial of all their promises of abundance."

### Never Reached It

Nevertheless, it would be false to say that the New Dealers have abandoned reform. They could not abandon what they never reached. The fact is that they at no time did more than promise reforms. Even if they wanted to, they could do no more. They could not deliver reforms. For the basic premise of reform is that capitalism is progressive and on the upswing, that it makes sufficient profits to enable it to toss some crumbs of concessions to the workers. However, American capitalism has been declining since 1929. Its markets are contracting, and its profits as a whole have never reached the former peak. Even in the depressed recovery that followed the depression of 1933 capitalism could not tolerate reforms.

All that the Roosevelt liberals could do was to stall off the workers with reformist phraseology and promises of abundance, dangerous before them the illusion that such abundance could be attained under capitalism. But the current depression, sharper than any in American history, has punctured the balloon of reform. Previously, when the New Dealers could not "deliver the goods," they at least were able to hand out promises. Now they can no longer do even this. The depression is "the denial of all their promises of abundance."

### Consider Their Actions

The thorough bankruptcy of reformism comes out vividly if we consider the actions of the New Dealers instead of the promises. For convenience sake, we shall deal with the present session of Congress and the action of Congress and the New Dealers on major items of reform.

When the special session began the rank and file strike committee and strikers asking for aid in the organization of their shops and plants.

The rank-and-file strike committee is being assisted by Edward H. Kaempf, S.W.O.C. Northern New Jersey organizer, whose leadership, buttressed by rank-and-file support, made a fighting organization of the Harrison and Jersey City locals, particularly the Harrison local which in one period had slumped in membership from 1,400 to less than 300. The local recently won a sit-down strike.

on November 15, 1937, the first bill that aroused debate was the anti-lynching bill. The bill was almost as old as the New Deal itself. It had been proposed by reformers who hoped to use the Federal government to stop the wave of lynchings that was flaring up in the South against negroes, and especially against negro sharecroppers who were organizing.

The bill provided that where a state government failed to stop a lynching, or failed to punish lynchers, the officers and officials responsible would be subject to a fine of \$5,000 and imprisonment for no more than five years, or both. Where a public official conspired with the lynchers, he was subject to from five to 25 years imprisonment. At the same time, the state where the lynching took place was to pay to the family of the lynched person from two to ten thousand dollars.

### Need Admitted

The Senate committee which heard testimony on the bill said "evidence was presented demonstrating to the committee's satisfaction the continuing and increasing need for Federal legislation of this character." It reported further that "during the months from January 30 to June 8, 1934, when public opinion in favor of legislation to curb the practice of lynching was particularly articulate, no lynchings occurred. During the first week in June, 1934, word was generally circulated that the enactment of the proposed measure had been abandoned. On June 8 there was a lynching in Mississippi, followed in rapid succession by two lynchings in Alabama, one in Texas, one in Tennessee, one in Louisiana, a third in Mississippi, a third in Alabama, one in Georgia and one in Florida..." A continuation of the practice of lynching, coupled with a complete failure of those States involved to apprehend and punish the participants of these crimes, supports the need for Federal legislation.

Despite the wave of lynchings that greeted the shelving of the bill, it remained shelved.

### Nature Of Boss Justice

This fact sheds a floodlight on the whole nature of capitalist government and capitalist justice. It shows, also, the role of liberalism and reform in the period of declining capitalism.

## 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  
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Southern lynchings are not just accidental. They are part of the entire social and economic system of cutting down the political rights and economic standards of workers, sharecroppers and tenants. Lynching was part of the systematic planter terror against the negroes designed to deprive them of the political equality supposedly won them by the Civil War. Lynching is still the weapon with which capital terrorizes southern labor into subjection.

Those who make laws in the southern state legislatures and those who run the state governments do both in the interests of southern capital. The representatives of southern capital sit in Washington among the New Deal Democrats and hold the balance of power in Congress. Had the anti-lynching bill passed, it would have fined and imprisoned the very men whose representatives sat in Congress as part of the New Deal. Needless to say, the New Dealers protected their own—the Southern Democrats who inspire, condone, or take part in lynchings. The New Dealers shelved the anti-lynching bill.

### Family Affair

This close cooperation between lynchers, Democrats in state office, and Democrats in Federal office was convincing proof that the "progressive" New Deal administration represented lynch justice against the Southern workers. The 14th Amendment did give negroes the guarantee: "Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." But the guarantee was a paper guarantee. The very New Dealers who are sworn to uphold their own constitution, break it in practice. They permit lynchings in the states and condone them in Congress.

The liberal reformers aid lynchings by giving the workers false hopes and illusions: false hopes that Congress may pass the anti-lynching bill; illusions that such a bill, even if it were passed, would not be as much a fraud as the Fourteenth Amendment. They take the workers' minds off the only real guarantee against lynching: mass organizations of negro and white workers, permanently based on a militant program of economic demands.

## NEW YORK

HOUSEWARMING AT OUR NEW Headquarters, 75 St. Marks Place, Saturdays, April 2, Swing Bands, entertainment, East Side Branch, S.W.P., 8:30-10:30.

## LOS ANGELES

ANTI WAR MEETING, East Side H. ROSEN and D. STEVENS, speakers, Friday, April 1, 8 P.M. at Folk Shule, 420 N. 50th Street. Admision: Boyle Heights Branch, S.W.P. and East Side Branches, Y.P.S.L. Admision 10 cents.

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## Hull Reiterates War Aims; To Increase Navy Budget

(Continued from page 1)

"It would mean that our security would be menaced in proportion as other nations came to believe that... we did not intend to afford protection to our legitimate national interests abroad, but, on the contrary, intended to abandon them at the first sign of danger." If American imperialism did not have the army and navy to back its fight for foreign spoils, it "would necessarily shrink and shrivel." American capitalism, already in sharp decline, would be destroying one-tenth of its production and more than one-tenth of its profits.

### The Real Reason

Isolation would not only destroy American imperialism but if capitalism continued it would mean the wholesale destruction of the living standards of the American people. "Thrown back upon our own resources, we would find it necessary to reorganize our entire social and economic structure. The process of adaptation to a more or less self-contained existence would mean less production and at higher costs, lower living standards, regimentation in every phase of life, economic distress to wage earners and farmers, and to their families, and the dele, on an ever-increasing scale." Although Hull does not mention it, this would also increase the pressure upon the workers and farmers to throw off the weighty burden of a declining capitalism through revolution.

The New Deal policy is to escape from the dangers which isolation has for American imperialism and to defend American imperialism from competitors. The method is:

"Where this and other nations have common interests and common objectives, we should not hesitate to exchange information and confer with the governments of such other nations and, in dealing with the problems confronting each alike, to proceed along parallel lines." Against the Japanese invasion of America's imperialist interests in China, the New Deal proposes collective action i.e. "parallel action" with Great Britain. The enormously expanded navy would back up American imperialism against Japan with arms.

Both isolation and collective security propose to keep "peace"

within the framework of capitalism. But both mean war: isolation will bring it by weakening American imperialism in the face of its rivals; collective security will bring it by strengthening American imperialism in order to destroy its rivals. The New Deal has chosen collective security and it is piling up vast armaments to prepare for the fast-approaching showdown-war.

## La Guardia Cuts Relief Ten Percent

(Continued from page 1)

The Stalinist leadership of the Workers Alliance have been forced to move. While trailing along with "Baby-starver" La Guardia in the taxation dispute with Albany, they mumble quietly: "Nevertheless, we do not condone the ten per cent cut."

Under the hammer blows of the Progressive Group in the Alliance, they were compelled to agree to a demonstration at City Hall and a "sit-in" strike at the bureau. Whether these pussy-footers will follow up their promises by militant action against the LaGuardia cut remains to be seen.

The cut went into effect at once on all new relief cases. Beginning March 26, all unemployed will receive 10 per cent less.

### Demonstration Proposed

March 26 was the day proposed for a demonstration at City Hall. But at this writing no definite arrangements had been made. The Progressives in the Alliance are pushing for immediate action. In face of the rising anger of the membership, it will be difficult for the Alliance leadership to continue playing the role of taxation experts and acting as La Guardia's political shock-troopers in the dispute with Lechner.

The ten per cent cut is here. The place to stop it is at City Hall. The time to stop it is now!

## Appeal Army

The fourth week of the Appeal drive ends with a showing that demonstrates the need for more determined efforts on the part of the entire party membership during the last month of the drive. Our press run has been increased by 2,000, due mostly to the efforts of local New York in distributing the Appeal at important meetings and demonstrations. The actual increase of bundle orders and subs shows the weak spots in the drive:

### Increase for Four Weeks

Local	Bundle Increase	Sub Increase
California	2	2
Los Angeles, Calif.	1	1
San Francisco, Calif.	1	1
Connecticut	1	1
Chicago, Ill.	30	13
Indiana	1	1
Baltimore, Md.	10	3
Boston, Mass.	50	3
Lynn, Mass.	1	1
Detroit, Mich.	4	4
Minnesota	2	2
Minneapolis, Minn.	11	3
St. Paul, Minn.	10	3
Clayton, Mo.	10	4
St. Louis, Mo.	10	3
New Jersey	3	3
Newark, N. J.	25	7
Rochester, N. Y.	15	2
New York City	100	48
Akron, O.	15	1
Toledo, O.	1	1
Quakertown, Pa.	5	5
Pittsburgh, Pa.	10	10
Philadelphia, Pa.	25	3

Newcastle, Pa.	1
Reading, Pa.	5
Canada	10
England	61
Total	379
	114

We feel sure that the next four weeks will show better results. It should be an easy job to sell the Appeal, particularly in view of recent developments in Europe. Our anti-war campaign, now in full swing, has already found thousands of sympathetic ears. Utilize the Socialist Appeal in connection with the anti-war campaign, supplementing all party activity with effective sale and distribution.

We wish to take this opportunity to thank the comrades who have complied with the request for back numbers—Volume 1, No. 5 and Volume 1, No. 9. We still need more of both these numbers. Dig them up from your archives and send them in as soon as possible.

We're still getting promises of bigger bundle orders. Herbert Kimmel in Sullivan, Indiana, writes: "I expect to increase my regular bundle order in a short while... and hope to pick up some more subs. The Special Supplement on the Moscow Trials was a humdinger. Hope you have more like it." We will have more like it if we put this drive across!

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# NEW BOSSES' WAR THREATENS EUROPE

(Continued from page 1)

accelerated pace. War advances in seven-league boots. The question being asked is no longer "if—but when?"

The ruling class of Czechoslovakia, alive to the power of "Greater Germany," is driven to seek a compromise with Hitler which inevitably will include the rupture of the Czech-Soviet alliance.

## U.S.S.R. In Peril

Thus the Stalin government is about to lose its single "democratic" ally in Central Europe. When the French imperialists, too, desert Stalin—an event obviously not far distant—the stage will almost be set for the great holocaust of war which will be fought for redivision of the world and to settle the fate of the Soviet Union. Hitler hopes to have "democratic" France flanked by a fascist Spain before turning his bayonets eastward to the rich granaries of the Soviet Ukraine.

All the imperialist powers of Europe hope to settle their differences and difficulties at the expense of the Soviet Union. Britain, if an agreement can be reached with Hitler and with Mussolini will turn its attention to the Far East and endeavor to buy off the Japanese threat to British interests in South China, Malaya and Australia by giving Japan a free hand in Soviet Siberia.

Thanks to Stalin's policies, the Soviet Union stands in greater isolation and more imminent peril than ever before in its history. Its "democratic" capitalist allies are ready to desert it. The international working class movement, demoralized, disoriented and undermined by a decade of Stalinism, is less prepared than ever to defend the conquest of the October revolution.

## No Real Difference

Events themselves are proving in the most striking manner possible

# Spanish People's Front Leading To Fascist Precipice

(Continued from page 1)

shed crocodile tears over the now inevitable fascist victory in Spain, ill-clad, badly-equipped, hungry and desperate Loyalist Spain is forced steadily back toward the sea, to the grim tune of ruthless and unceasing aerial bombardments. The democracies, eager to appease their new fascist bed-fellows, have abandoned the Spanish pawn to defeat and reaction.

If one draws up a balance-sheet of the whole civil war a grim picture appears. It is one of steady and unrelenting fascist advance, clouded and obscured by the unflinching optimism of Stalinist spokesmen and their popular-front allies in the government.

## Only Defeats

Despite the heroic stand of the anti-fascist militants at Madrid, Brunete, Teruel—local and temporary successes at best—the war has seen Franco systematically extend the territory under his control and the scope of his offensive operations. Malaga, Bilbao, Gijon, Oviedo, and now Teruel and the whole Aragon advance—who but the corrupt hacks and wilful falsifiers of the Stalinist-reformist poison press dare read anti-fascist victory into this terrible procession of defeats!

What frightful irony that the anti-fascist workers and peasants have been brought to the brink of disaster by... "the government of victory!" It was in the name of "unity in the face of the common enemy" that the popular front took over the reins of government, progressively suppressing and murdering revolutionists, dissidents, workers of the P.O.U.M. and the anarchist rank-and-file. In this it had the expert assistance of the Stalinists and their ever-vigilant G.P.U., whose private prisons and torture-chambers supplemented those of the Loyalist government.

It was with the excuse of "military victory first, social reform afterwards," that the estates seized by the peasants were returned to the great land-holders, that the factories and mines expropriated by the workers were turned back to their owners and placed under "government control," that the masses were consigned at the point of the machine-gun to hold down their demands and respect the sanctity of private property and foreign investments.

sible that the "democratic" capitalist powers and the fascist powers are all pursuing essentially the same aims. The "democratic" powers, victors in the last world war, strive to preserve their robber conquests against the fascist coveters of their spoils. Both camps are ready to plunge humanity into the horrors of a new world war.

The position of the American imperialists on war is no different from that of the other robber imperialisms. The answer of President ("I hate war") Roosevelt to the mounting European crisis is to enlarge the dimensions of the American armament program and prepare the scrapping of the Neutrality Act so that he may be freer to throw this country into the fast-approaching struggle between the imperialist titans for redivision of the world.

# SWP Militants Keep Fascists From East Side

(Continued from page 1)

marching back to the East Side headquarters at St. Mark's place in a double line two blocks long.

## Second Rally Broken Up

Later in the afternoon word came that the fascists were meeting in the neighborhood Y.M.C.A. Two S.W.P. members improvised a picket line at the Y.M.C.A. which was dispersed by the police. Mobilizing all available forces, the Y.P.S.L. marched to Third Street and Second Avenue and held another meeting to rally the anti-fascists to picket the Y.M.C.A. Members of the Communist Party broke up this meeting by starting fights on the outskirts and drowning out the speakers with shouts.

At eight o'clock in the evening an impromptu rally was held at the Lower East Side headquarters of the S.W.P. on Rivington Street, where participants in the day's demonstrations spoke.

## United Front Offer

When the fascist meeting was first announced, the Y.P.S.L. approached both the East Side unit of the Young Communist League, the Club Malraux, and the Y.C.L. central office for a united front demonstration, but were received with threats, "We don't make united fronts with fascists," and doors slammed in their faces. The sole activity of the Stalinists during the demonstration was the belated organization of the counter-meeting.

## Power Sacrificed

It was a terrible sacrifice for the workers and peasants to give the means of production back to the oppressors, to dissolve their organs of dual power, to submit to the re-establishment of bourgeois law and order and the increasingly heavy hand of governmental suppression.

It was no easy task for the masses, after having tasted power and liberation during the first days of the war, when with their own bare hands they built their own defense organs, established order and beat off the fascists, to slip again into the yoke of exploitation, to give up their democratically-controlled militias and organs of expression, to accept the old "discipline" and reactionary officers' corps in the army, the censorship of their press, the suppression of all independent thinkers as "agents of Franco's Fifth Column."

But at least they were promised that this "centralization," "nationalization," "discipline" and "concentration of power" would yield something to compensate for the deferment of reform: military victory.

## Lie Revealed

This gigantic lie, under whose cloak bourgeois reaction crept back into power and consolidated itself, now stands revealed in all its brazenness. The popular front government of "victory" has led—to one defeat after another, piling set-back on set-back and retreat upon retreat. There has been victory only for the landowners and capitalists, who ran for cover in the first days of the uprising. There has been victory only for the democratic imperialists who have sacrificed their Spanish "ally" on the altar of their own diplomatic games in preparation for new wars of conquest. Designed to ward off external reaction, the popular front has catapulted internal reaction back into power. That is the bitter lesson of the Spanish war.

By Leon Sedoff

# VOROSHILOV IS NEXT!

## THE BEST OF FRIENDS MAY PART

(The following was the last article written by comrade Leon Sedoff for the issue of the Bulletin of the Opposition which appeared a few days before his tragic death on Feb. 16.)

A series of symptoms, as well as fragmentary reports from the Soviet Union, have already indicated for some time that in the leading stratum a conflict is developing between the military apparatus and the G.P.U. After the military reforms of 1935, which greatly increased the specific gravity of the officers corps and linked it closely to the summits of the bureaucracy, the Army command felt more stable, stronger, and somewhat less dependent. But the decimation of the party apparatus by Stalin in 1936 could not fail to arouse uneasiness among the leaders of the Army. This uneasiness was dictated not by political considerations but by concern for the defense of the country which was being so dangerously sapped by the Stalinist purge.

Tukachevsky, Voroshilov, Gamarnik could not look on indifferently as the G.P.U. upset industry, especially that of armaments, by wholesale arrests, from government Commissars to qualified foremen. The Army command could not but offer resistance to this frenzied purge insofar as it began to affect the vital interest of defense. This resistance, probably quite strong from the beginning, necessarily became stronger as the G.P.U. began to decimate the Red Army itself. The arrests of generals as important as Schmidt, Kuzmitchov, Putna, Primakov, the heads of the political sections of the Caucasus, the Far East, etc., of their aides, their friends, were certainly regarded by the Army command as discrediting and disorganizing the army itself. The Army chiefs entered into conflict with the G.P.U. and this conflict was doubtless aggravated by various other issues where the interests of the Commissariat of War clashed with those of the G.P.U.

## Conflict Really With Stalin

Superficially, the struggle went on between the Army tops and G.P.U. Actually, it went on between the Army command and Stalin, although the generals probably did not realize this, at least at the outset. The subsequent course of events can only be explained, it seems to us, by the fact that Stalin held himself aloof in the first stages of the friction, giving an appearance of neutrality and that he even went probably, with his characteristic perfidy, egged the generals on. This attitude of Stalin's could only pour oil on the fire.

The struggle between the military and the G.P.U., i.e., the interests of the defense of the country as opposed to the arbitrary rule of the G.P.U., undoubtedly contributed to the cohesion of the former, the strengthening of their mutual confidence, and the resumption of their activity. Meanwhile Yagoda and several others among the most odious chiefs of the G.P.U. fell into disgrace. To Tukachevsky, Yakir, Gamarnik, perhaps even to Voroshilov, the victory of Yezhov-Stalin might have seemed like their own victory over Yagoda. But Stalin, having played neutral and set the trap, gave Yezhov the signal for action. The military apparatus was decimated, its leaders and thousands of officers linked to them were shot.

## "German Orientation"

(I do not stop here to consider the alleged German orientation of Tukachevsky and the others. This accusation, made out of whole cloth, has become a sort of ritual for Stalin when he suppresses his real or fancied enemies. In reality, to the extent that there exists a "German orientation" in the U.S.S.R., it is Stalin himself who embodies it. He is ready to support Hitler at any price in exchange for peace.)

If this explanation of the Tukachevsky affair, which seems to us to be only possible one, does not appear to offer anything essentially new, the most recent events shed new light on the personal role of Voroshilov. During the Tukachevsky affair, Voroshilov might have been supposed to be the accomplice of the Stalinist provocation, remaining for a time in the background and leaving the initiative to Tukachevsky, Gamarnik and the others. The whole past of Voroshilov, a mediocre man, lacking initiative and personally devoted to Stalin, offered support for this impression.

There was a serious fissure in 1929 in the relations between Stalin and Voroshilov, the latter (like Kalinin) displaying strong sympathy for the Right (Buk-



STALIN AND VOROSHILOV

harin-Rykov). It was only to save his own neck that he joined Stalin against the Right.

## Got Out In Time

Today there is reason to believe that Voroshilov himself was at the head of the alleged Tukachevsky plot. But as a member of the Political Bureau and closer to the center of political intrigue, and more experienced at the game of double-cross, Voroshilov sensed before the others where Stalin was heading. He had time to make an about-face at the last minute and so to save his life and his post by betraying his comrades.

This was only a postponement, however. Stalin is suspicious, bitter and vindictive. No one has ever succeeded in regaining his confidence once lost. If Stalin is in no haste to finish with Voroshilov, it is because he understands the disastrous impression it would make in the U.S.S.R. and in the world generally. It is quite probable that it is this consideration which determined the "grace" accorded to Voroshilov last June during the Tukachevsky affair. Faithful to his methods—slowly and gradually to prepare the mortal blow—Stalin began "encircling" Voroshilov soon after the Tukachevsky affair.

## The Military Councils

The first step was the establishment of the Military Councils, i.e., of the collective principle in the Army command, a principle so harmful in the military sphere. This reform was dictated only by political considerations. The Military Councils provided Stalin with the means of reinforcing his control over the High Command of the Red Army and at the same time of decentralizing to some extent the over-powerful military apparatus by weakening the position of Voroshilov at its summit.

The same purpose—decentralizing and weakening the war commissariat—was served by a recent innovation: Withdrawal of the naval forces from the war commissariat and the creation of an independent naval commissariat. The most privileged and qualified of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, the troops of the G.P.U. and the frontier guards, had already long since been removed from the sphere of authority of the war commissariat. Now the

# 2,000 March Behind Bier of Sedoff at Paris Rite

More than 2,000 workers marched through Paris on Feb. 20 behind the bier of Leon Sedoff, son and collaborator of Leon Trotsky, editor of the Bulletin of the Opposition, who died, a victim of Stalin's terror, on Feb. 16.

The Revolutionary Socialist Youth Guards, in uniform, formed a guard of honor around the bier. Besides the French organizations of the Fourth International (Workers International Party and Revolutionary Socialist Youth) there were delegations and representatives from the Russian, Belgian, German, Greek, Brazilian, Italian, and Lithuanian sections and groups. There were also special delegations from the International Aid, the Committee for Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, the Autonomous Socialist Youth, the Union Communiste, the Independent Labor Party, and several leading members of the Federation of Technicians and other unions of the General Confederation of Labor. The Seine Federation of the Socialist Party sent a special message of condolence and sympathy to the P.O.I. (Workers' Internationalist Party).

At the Pere Lachaise Cemetery, resting place of the heroes of the Paris Commune, the chorus of the Socialist Youth sang the Red funeral march and the sections of the P.O.I. massed their red flags around the burial vault while speakers paid their final tribute and re-dedicated themselves to the movement which Leon Sedoff served with such honor and for which he gave his life. Comrade Jean Rous spoke for the International Bureau of the movement for the Fourth International. Comrade Gerard for the Committee of Inquiry, Comrade Lessof for the Belgian Revolutionary Socialist Party, and Comrade Prau for the P.O.I. and the French Youth.

After the profoundly stirring ceremony at the final resting place of Sedoff, the procession marched to the Mur des Federes to pay homage there to the heroes of the Commune. A wreath was also placed upon the grave of the Roselli brothers, Italian anti-Fascists murdered by Mussolini's assassins.

# Trial Causes New Fissures In C. P. Ranks

## Stalin's Terror Repels Honest Proletarian Militants

(Continued from page 1)

Our "Open Letter" to members of the Communist Party, printed in last week's Socialist Appeal secured an immediate response. In one city we received an immediate request for 200 reprints of the "Open Letter" and the picture of the 1917 Leninist Central Committee of which Stalin now alone survives in power. These reprints are now available.

## Walls Cracking

Previously our special six-page issue on the Trial of the 21 elicited a lively response. From one important center we received a list of nearly 50 Stalinists to whom the paper was to be sent.

The monolithic walls of Stalinism are cracking! The real worker-revolutionists in the Stalinist ranks who want to fight against capitalist war, against the Stalinist reaction, against the deception of People's Frontism or the new, budding deception of the "Democratic Front" will find their way in increasing numbers into the ranks of the real revolutionary Marxist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the real revolutionary International, the Fourth International!

## Decision Not New

As for the decision to increase the naval forces, (adduced as a reason for the change), it is not new. This decision was made several years ago and has been energetically carried out. In 1935 the reporter of the military department to the Congress of Soviets, Tukachevsky, devoted a good part of his report to the necessity for creating a strong fleet. (Since then an important step forward has been taken, at least in connection with the submarine fleet.) But neither in 1935 nor later did anyone raise the question of forming a special, autonomous department.

It is not by chance that a Moscow observer reported that this decision was a surprise to everyone. One need only, to confirm this, thumb through the Soviet press, especially the organ of the Army. But even if this step was sound in itself, that would mean, we believe, only that in this particular instance objective interests coincided with Stalin's designs against Voroshilov. The flattering comments in the Red Star (organ of the Red Army) about Voroshilov are only a smokescreen to cover Stalin's flanking movement.

## Appointment of Mekhlis

The "encirclement" of Voroshilov is shown much more clearly in the appointment of Mekhlis, the probable successor to Voroshilov at the Defense Commissariat. By naming his horse a senator, Caligula wanted to humiliate the Senate. By appointing his lackey Mekhlis to the High Command, Stalin pursued less platonic aims. Former private secretary to Stalin, careerist without talent, specialist in lobby intrigues, executor of the basest designs of his master, Mekhlis' strength derives solely from Sta-

## Off the Press

### LEON SEDOFF

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by

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# Fund For Chinese Comrades Goes Up

Chicago came through with a sum of \$25 last week to boost to well over \$100 the fund being raised by the Socialist Workers Party to aid the Communist League of China. Bravo Chicago! The fund now stands as follows: Previously acknowledged \$87.71 Chicago Branch ..... 25.00 West Bronx Branch ..... .85 Boston Branch ..... 3.25 Toledo Branch ..... .50

TOTAL: \$117.31

Branches are requested to speed up the collection. It is imperative that a sum of at least \$200 be raised to assist the Fourth Internationalists in China, who are being vilified, hounded and framed up by the Stalinists,

# SOVIET UNION NOTES

Monstrousness Of Trials Matched By Acuteness Of Soviet Economic Crisis; Pravda Gives Picture Showing Scope of Breakdown

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

## Stalin Frame-ups Mask Bankruptcy of Regime

The inseparable connection between the Moscow frame-up trials and the external and internal difficulties of the Stalin regime stand fully revealed. Especially so with respect to the economic difficulties. When Stalin became the unquestioned ruler in the country (after he had smashed all opposition), and with the inception of planned economy under his direction, Soviet society entered into the phase of sensational trials. When Stalin's regime encountered difficulties, it found from the outset only one solution: ever more repressive measures, ever more monstrous trials whose primary intention is to supply scapegoats for the crimes and failures of the ruling clique, thus aiming to discredit any opposition in order better to destroy it. As the difficulties of the regime increased the trials became more and more monstrous.

Never before has Soviet economy been in such straits. For the third time in less than two months, the official "plan" figures for coal production have been slashed. In December, 1937 the control figures for coal production were set at 403.5 thousand tons per day. For the current month of March they have been fixed at 379.5 thousand tons as against 384.2 thousand tons for the end of February.

## Statistics Carefully Doctored

On the surface, this latest cut appears so slight as hardly to merit attention. We should bear in mind, however, that Stalin's statistics are carefully doctored to exaggerate all successes while minimizing all the failures. To understand the true significance of the cut one need only refer to the actual output of coal as officially reported in the press. The figures released for the first days in March admit a production below 350,000 tons a day as against a reported average daily output of some 360,000 tons for the previous month. This shows a drop of more than 10,000 tons, i.e., more than three times the drop in the control figures. If this figure is multiplied by the number of days in a month—not to mention the months in a year—it is obvious that there is a discrepancy of millions of tons between the current output and the requirements of the plan, as well as the current needs of industry as a whole. We need hardly comment on the disastrous effects on industry resulting from this continued drop in coal production.

Suffice it to say that proportionate drops for the first days of March have been reported in all key branches of industry (iron production—below 40,000 tons a day; steel—below 50,000, and so on).

Stalin finds it necessary to falsify his statistics just as he must continue with his efforts to frame-up the October revolution. As production drops, the control figures are slashed just the amount necessary to keep the ratio between the actual output and the "plan" figures in the neighborhood of 90 percent. The Soviet citizen, if he scans the official reports, can see for himself that the plan is still being fulfilled "90 percent" if not more, while in reality it is not being fulfilled at all. In point of fact, for at least the last two years, which cover precisely the period of the latest Moscow frame-ups, the plan has been "fulfilled" in reverse. Instead of making progress, industry has been sliding backwards at ever-increasing speed despite the enormous sums of money poured into equipment, new plants, etc. and despite the inhuman speed-up of the workers.

## Stalin Regime Wrecks Soviet Economy

This appalling condition only reflects how inimical to the existence of the Soviet Union the Stalinist regime has become. Stalinist methods have well-nigh wrecked the country's basic industrial equipment. In the reckless drive for records, under the monstrous bureaucratic regime, machines and workers have been driven to the breaking point. The result—a crisis, an ever-deepening crisis.

Stalin issues no direct information as to the condition of things in the sphere of goods for mass production. However, if only from his trials, sufficient "indirect" data can be obtained concerning the real living conditions of the masses, just how "merry and joyous" life really is: wages remain at very low levels and are often unpaid for long periods; the purchasing power of the ruble is extremely low, reflecting the scarcity of such necessities as butter, vegetable oil, salt, sugar, and even bread, to say nothing of tobacco. Among the masses—widespread discontent, ever sharpening, ever-aggravated by the looming reality of the war. Are we perhaps exaggerating the picture? That is the picture drawn by Pravda itself, in a leading article of March 6. It is well worth reprinting in full, but we confine ourselves only to the following three paragraphs:

## Pravda Paints A Revealing Picture

"The party and the Soviet government are improving, incessantly and from year to year, the material welfare of the toilers in the city and country. The filthy sum of the 'Right Trotskyite' block has done everything to worsen the material condition, if only of isolated layers of the toilers. The wrecker, spy and diversionist Grinko, has cynically testified in court that he and his henchmen tried to weaken the Soviet ruble; and that they held back the payment of wages to workers and employees. A practice was made of holding back wages in order to arouse dissatisfaction among the toilers. Today, in the light of the testimony of the defendants at the trial, both the lumber-worker in Archangel as well as the Sovkhoz worker in the Azov-Black Sea area—all those whose wages were frequently not paid in time during the past years but instead were maliciously held back, today they can all see for themselves who is responsible for it and why it was done. Holding back the wages of certain groups of workers and employees was a link in the chain of provocations of the Right-Trotskyite conspirators, sowing dissatisfaction among the toilers....

"The production of goods essential to the toilers is increasing without interruption in our country. Zelensky and his criminal gang, in pursuance of directives of the 'Right Trotskyite Bloc' strained with all their might to keep the shelves of the village cooperatives empty. They did everything to prevent and retard the flood of goods intended for the village to satisfy the wants of the peasants. Thus, in the first quarter of 1936 many regions in the Kursk province received no sugar for weeks. Regions in the Leningrad province were left for a long time without makhorka (low grade tobacco). In the summer of 1936 a number of rural border regions of White Russia received no bread for a long time....

## Everyone Can Now See

"Today when the masks have been torn off the Fascist degenerates who sit in the prisoner's dock, every man and woman in the collective farms, every working man and woman can see for themselves just who is responsible for the unsatisfactory functioning of the rural cooperatives, just who held back supplying the toilers with such goods as sugar, salt, Makhorka which are available in surplus quantities in our country. There they are—these beasts in human form, sitting in the prisoners' dock, who wanted to deprive the population of these necessities of life." (Pravda, March 6, 1938.)

allies once again of the infamous nations directly to the National Chiang Kai-shek. Non-party sym-Office of the S.W.P., 116 Univer pathizers are invited to send do-sity Place, New York City.

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Editor.

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Associate Editors.  
BOB BROWNE  
Business Manager.

**The McNaboe Bill**

The McNaboe bill—one of the most strikingly reactionary pieces of legislation ever passed by the New York State legislature—comes before Governor Lehman for signature this week. The bill provides that no person who believes in the overthrow of the existing state by force shall hold public office, any civil service or teaching position in the state. This bill, inspired by the hysterical opponents of the appointment of a New York "Communist" to a post in the office of the Manhattan Borough President, Stanley Isaacs, is not only a direct threat to the simplest civil liberties guaranteed by our "democratic" constitution. It is also a significant forerunner of the type of legislation we can expect in ever more stringent forms as the war draws nearer. Earl Browder hastened last week to jump into the breach with another of his fervent assurances that the Communist Party does not "advocate force and violence," that it "opposes the overthrow of American democracy," that it "supports American democracy," and that therefore by no stretch of the imagination "could it come under the terms of the criminal anarchy statute or any law patterned after that statute." Sooner or later the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution will realize that the Browners are vipers only in the bosom of the American labor movement, and will welcome them to the warmth of their own bosoms. Meanwhile, however, legislation like the McNaboe bill—despite Browder—is a threat to every free-thinking person and to labor. The utmost pressure should be exerted to force its veto. We urge all organizations, unions and individuals to write or wire Governor Lehman at Albany demanding that he veto the bill.

**The Travels of Kautsky**

Karl Kautsky, who in the years preceding the World War rose to world eminence as the leading theoretical exponent of Marxism, only to become a bitter enemy of the socialist revolution in the era of its triumph, has been forced to take refuge in the Netherlands from the fury of Nazism. One day before Hitler's occupation of Austria, Kautsky fled from Vienna to Prague, but with "democratic" Czechoslovakia facing the fate of Austria, he evidently concluded that Amsterdam would be safer. The fate of Kautsky, at the age of 83 an outcast and an exile from his native Austria, contains an instructive lesson for the working class. In 1914, casting overboard the principles of revolutionary internationalism to the development of which he had devoted a life-time, Kautsky prostituted himself in the service of German imperialism and called upon the German workers to fight and die for the "fatherland" of their exploiters and oppressors. To create a "theoretical" justification for his own baseness, he prostituted the principles of Marxism and earned the scorn of Lenin and his associates. When in 1917 the proletariat of Russia under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks turned the imperialist war into civil war against the Russian bourgeoisie, seized power and hastened the end of the imperialist slaughter, Kautsky occupied himself with denying the "legitimacy" of the revolution and denouncing the Bolsheviks. His "theoretical" labors from then on were devoted to showing the superiority of bourgeois democracy over revolution and proletarian dictatorship as a means of attaining socialism. In 1919, when the German workers rose to extend in their country the revolutionary victory won

by the Bolsheviks in Russia, Kautsky and the rest of the traitorous leaders of the German social-democracy, lined up with the German bourgeoisie against the workers and helped destroy the revolution. Shrinking in horror from revolutionary action, Kautsky and Company preferred the "democracy" of the Weimar constitution to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the ensuing years, the bankruptcy of German capitalism, already rotten-ripe for overthrow in 1919, led to the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy. The way was paved for Hitler—or the proletarian revolution. Thanks to the political degeneracy of the social-democracy, already matched by the degeneracy of the Communist Party, Hitler triumphed.

Kautsky fled to Austria rather than join his fellow traitors in bending the knee to Hitler, but learning nothing from experience, he continued to render obeisance at the altar of "democratic" capitalism. Today he stands exhibited before the world—a pitiful victim of his own base political illusions.

Let the workers learn from his example the clear and unmistakable lesson that in the era of the decline of capitalism the system of bourgeois democracy, if it is not overthrown by the workers and replaced by the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, leads not to socialism—but to fascism. And that those who support or preach support of bourgeois democracy as essential to the fight against fascism are false leaders who prepare only the defeat of the working class and its perpetual enslavement.

**Lamont to Dewey to Lamont**

The following exchange of telegrams more than speaks for itself:  
To PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY:  
"Surprised to see in the New York Times of March second that the Commission headed by you without waiting to hear one word of the testimony in present Moscow treason trials denounced these trials as frame-ups. This is precise opposite of experimental scientific methods advocated in your philosophy. Committee for Defense of Trotsky issued similar statement with Times printing sixteen signatures. Professor Boaz Goldenweiser, Leonard and Ferdinand Lundberg have publicly repudiated use of their names as unauthorized and several others are expected to do so. This leads me to ask if you support statement of Dewey Commission since you must bear responsibility in mind of public. Sorry to bother you but as chairman of organization you must necessarily expect constant involvement in these issues. Would appreciate a wire collect."  
—Corliss Lamont.

To CORLISS LAMONT:  
"Experimental method does not prevent use of intelligence and authentic knowledge previously obtained. On contrary, scientific method demands application of knowledge previously had by its use to judging related present and future conditions. Material given out by Committee of Inquiry has had my prior authorization. I accept full responsibility. No cause for worry."  
—John Dewey.

**Unity Against Fascism**

Hoping to benefit from demoralization among the workers resulting from the recent events in Europe, a group of Fascist organizations scheduled for last Sunday a meeting on New York's Lower East Side—a heavily proletarian and Jewish district. The answer of the East Side workers was fast and sharp. A demonstration begun by members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Y. P. S. L. swelled within a few minutes to a massed crowd of thousands. There was no mistaking the mood of these workers. Against the Fascist provocation, they were ready to struggle, and to struggle through direct action on the streets. Here was no Popular Front nor futile parliamentarism, but a dramatic class expression of the workers' strength. Most significantly, the young Stalinists of the neighborhood, until they were finally drawn away by their elders, joined shoulder to shoulder in the demonstration, drawn irresistibly by the united action of the workers. Here was a splendid object lesson in the kind of reply to make to Fascism at any and every stage of its development. The workers of the East Side should carry their beginning through to build a solid phalanx against all encroachments of the enemy.

**Hitler's Austria Coup Aided By Moscow Trial**

By LEON TROTSKY

There is tragic symbolism in the fact that the Moscow trial is ending under the fanfare announcing the entry of Hitler into Austria. The coincidence is not accidental. Berlin is of course perfectly informed about the demoralization which the Kremlin clique in its struggle for self-preservation carried into the army and the population of the country. Stalin did not move a finger last year when Japan seized two Russian islands on the Amur river: he was then busy executing the best Red generals. With all the more assurance during the new trial could Hitler send his troops into Austria.

No matter what one's attitude toward the defendants at the Moscow trials, no matter how one judges their conduct in the clutches of the G.P.U., all of them—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, Piatakov, Radek, Rykov, Bukharin, and many others—have by the whole course of their lives proved their disinterested devotion to the Russian people and their struggle for liberation. In executing them and thousands less known, but no less devoted to the cause of the toilers, Stalin continues to weaken the moral strength of the resistance of the country as a whole. Careerists without honor or conscience on whom he is more and more forced to base himself will betray the country in a difficult hour. On the contrary the so-called "Trotskyists," who serve the people, but not the bureaucracy, will occupy battle-positions in case of attack upon the U.S.S.R. as they have occupied them in the past.

**Vyshinsky—White Guard**

But what is all this to Vyshinsky, who, during the years of the revolution, hid himself in the camp of the Whites and joined the Bolsheviks only after their definitive victory, when the possibilities for careers were open? Vyshinsky demands nineteen heads and first of all the head of Bukharin, whom Lenin more than once called "the favorite of the party" and whom in his testament he named "the best theoretician of the party." How stormily the agents of the Communist International applauded Bukharin's speeches when he was still at his zenith! But no sooner had the Kremlin clique overthrown him than yesterday's "Bukharinists" deferentially bowed before the monstrous falsifications of Vyshinsky.

The accuser demands the head of Yagoda. Of all the defendants Yagoda alone undoubtedly deserves severe punishment, although—not at all for those crimes of which he has been accused. Vyshinsky compares Yagoda to the American gangster, Al Capone, and adds: "But Russia, thank God, is not America. No traitors could have made a more dangerous comparison! Al Capone was not the head of the Federal Agents in the United States. But Yagoda for more than ten years stood at the head of the G.P.U. and was Stalin's closest collaborator. According to Vyshinsky, Yagoda was the "organizer and inspirer of monstrous crimes." But all the arrests, exiles, and executions of the Oppositionists, including the trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev, were accomplished under the leadership of this Moscow Al Capone. Is it hot then obligatory to review again tens of thousands of repressions? Or did the actions of the secret "Trotskyist" Yagoda cease to be "monstrous crimes" when they were directed against Trotskyists? There is no possibility of disentangling from this skein the contradictions and lies.

**Gangster System Remains**

Vyshinsky demands the head of Levin and the other doctors of the Kremlin, who in place of prolonging life occupied themselves with hastening death. But if we are to believe the judicial investigation, they committed these crimes not for political or personal aims but from fear of

this same Yagoda. The head of the G.P.U., Stalin's majordomo, threatened the doctors with execution of their families if they did not poison the indicated patients, and so great was Yagoda's power that even the Kremlin's high-standing doctors did not dare to expose Capone but instead quietly executed his orders. Vyshinsky builds his accusations on these "confessions." It appears that Capone's power was unlimited in the Soviet Union. It is true that Yezhov has now taken his place. But where are the guarantees that he is any better? In the milieu of a totalitarian despotism, with public opinion strangled, with control completely absent, only the names of the gangsters change, but the system remains the same.

Vyshinsky spoke for five and a half hours, demanding nineteen executions—seventeen minutes for each head. For Rakovsky and Bessonov the magnanimous prosecutor demanded "only" twenty-five years in prison. Thus Rakovsky, having devoted his life for fifty years and his considerable personal fortune in the cause of the toilers, can hope to atone for his alleged crimes by his ninetieth birthday!

**Disbelief Universal**

The only consolation in the face of this terrible and at the same time buffoonish trial is the radical change in public opinion. The voice of the world press is completely unanimous. No one anywhere any more believes the accusers. All understand the real sense of the trial. There can be no doubt that the population of the U.S.S.R. also does not consist of the blind and the deaf. The organizers of the frame-up isolated themselves from all mankind. The present trial is one of the last convulsions in the political crisis in the U.S.S.R. The sooner the dictatorship of Al Capone is converted into the self-government of the workers and the peasants, the stronger will the U.S.S.R. stand before the threats of fascism from the outside as the inside. The hour of the regeneration of Soviet democracy will give a tremendous impetus to the progress of mankind and will thus sound the death knell for Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco.

March 12, 1938  
Coyoacan, D. F.

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In this statement we are utilizing exclusively official data taken from the Moscow Pravda.

The defendant Pletnev, professor of medicine, is now sixty-six years old. He was the Kremlin physician almost from the days of the October insurrection. He never concerned himself with politics. Lenin, Krupskaya (Lenin's wife), and all the officials of the Kremlin used his services. Pletnev enjoyed not a few distinctions. The Soviet press more than once lavished high praise upon him. But the situation suddenly changed in the middle of 1937: Pletnev was publicly accused of rape and sadism.

**Pravda's Accusation**

In Pravda of June 8, 1937, a long article appeared, describing in unusual detail the atrocious violation he allegedly committed upon a woman, "patient B." The article quoted a letter from Mrs. B. to Pletnev which included the following lines: "Be accused base criminal, for implanting in me an incurable disease and mutilating my body..." and so on. Pravda related that Pletnev, in view of Mrs. B.'s complaints, allegedly attempted to commit her to an insane asylum, and to her reproaches responded: "Get some poison and kill yourself." The article produced an all the more shocking impression since it was printed prior to any kind of trial of Pletnev. For one who knows the morals of the present Soviet bureaucracy, it is completely clear that such an article against a doctor of high standing could be printed in Pravda only with the consent of Stalin or upon his direct command. The

suspicion naturally arose even then that the affair was connected with a deep intrigue against Pletnev and that the mysterious "patient B." was in all probability a G.P.U. agent.

Immediately, that is, before any kind of trial, so-called "public opinion" was mobilized from an unseen center; to put it more precisely, the doctors at Moscow, Kiev, Tula, Sverdlovsk and so on were ordered to pass resolutions demanding the "most severe sentence upon this monster." The resolutions were, of course, published in Pravda. We have these numbers of Pravda at hand.

**Given Conditional Sentence**

On July 17 and 18, 1937, Pletnev's case was considered in closed session by a Moscow court. In the U.S.S.R. one is often given the death penalty for stealing a bag of flour. All the more probable was it to expect merciful sentence upon a physician-sadist who had implanted an "incurable disease" in and "mutilated" the body of a patient. Meanwhile in the same Pravda of July 19, the readers learned that Pletnev had been "conditionally sentenced to two years deprivation of freedom," that is to say, actually freed from any punishment. The sentence seemed as unexpected as earlier had seemed the accusation.

Within seven months we meet Pletnev as a defendant in the deliberate hastening of the deaths of Menzhinsky, Kuibishev and Maxim Gorky. Pletnev of course confesses his guilt. It seems that he committed these monstrous crimes "upon the order" of Yagoda, former head of the G.P.U. Why did he submit to Yagoda? Out of fear. The Kremlin doctor, knowing all members of the government, did not dare to report the criminal but became his submissive tool. Is this improbable? Such is the testimony. We hear nothing more about the sadist Pletnev. "Patient B" was not called to testify. She had completed her task prior to the trial. Sadism does not interest anyone any more. Now Pletnev, the physician since Czarist times, is found to be a terrorist agent of the "Trotskyist-Bukharinist bloc" under the direct leadership of Yagoda, former head of the G.P.U.

**The Metamorphosis**

Is it possible to doubt that between the two trials of Pletnev there exists a compact internal relationship? In order to attribute terrorist acts to the Trotskyites, it was necessary to invent them. With this objective, Yagoda, the executioner of the Trotskyists, was metamorphosed into an agent of the Trotskyists and a doctor was metamorphosed into a poisoner. The accusation of sadism was proclaimed with such deafening ballyhoo seven months ago in order to break the will of the old doctor, father of a family, and to make an obedient tool of him in the hands of the G.P.U. for the forthcoming political trial. Death threatened Pletnev when he was accused of ravishing "patient B." However, behind the scenes an agreement was reached as a result of which only a conditional sentence was meted out to Pletnev. Such was the price of his fantastic confessions at the trial of the twenty-one. Pletnev's case is especially instructive because here all the springs are bared to view.

March 10, 1938.  
Coyoacan, D. F.

P.S. The news has been widely spread through the press to the effect that Stalin supposedly was an agent - provocateur during Czarist days, and that he is now avenging himself upon his old enemies. I place no trust whatsoever in this gossip. From his youth Stalin was a revolutionist. All the facts about his life bear witness to this. To reconstruct his biography ex post facto means to ape the present Stalin, who from a revolutionist became a leader of the reactionary bureaucracy.

L. T.

**Aftermath of the Trials**

By JAMES BURNHAM

Time, in its current issue, observes that no daily or weekly journal in the entire world, outside of the press of the Communist International, believes the trial of the 21 was an honest affair.

Probably never before in history has any trial met with such immediate and universal rejection. Everyone, from the hitherto silent Populaire, organ of the French Socialist Party, to the New York Times, from Hearst to the Oswald Garrison Villard group of liberals, to Jack Altman and Jay Lovestone, is compelled to say that the charges in this trial are plainly and flatly false.

**Even the Stalinists**

The last week has shown that this recognition of the falsity of the trial of the 21 extends even further, goes right down into the ranks of the Stalinists themselves, in particular to the proletarian strata of the party.

Why is it that disbelief in the latest trial has been so much more widespread than in the case of the former two?

First, there is the character of the charges. Fantastic as were the charges in the earlier trials the last went far beyond them, into the realms of the madhouse. This is perhaps most obviously the case with "little" points which the trial featured: Trotsky's million dollars; Rakovsky's espionage negotiations with Lady Paget; Max Eastman as liaison officer with the British Intelligence Service....

**Makes Revolution Absurd**

Second, tracing the "crimes" back to 1918 is not merely a shameful libel on the Revolution (a point naturally of no concern to the Times or Altman or Villard) but it makes the course of the Revolution simply absurd. If only two of the leaders of the Revolution were reliable and the remainder all fascist traitors from the beginning, then the Revolution was a miracle that makes the Bible seem like a report of scientific experiments.

Third, the appearance of Yagoda among the defendants has a special importance. Everyone knows that Yagoda was the stage manager of the early trials, including the trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev. By the indictment of Yagoda, the whole system of trials stands self-indicted. Fourth, in this trial even more than in the others, there is absolutely no psychological basis for ascribing any motivation for the purported acts of the defendants.

**Confessions to Order**

Fifth, in this trial the relevance of Stalin's present political needs to the substance of the charges is too patent to be ignored. Great Britain and Poland suddenly appear among the "conspiring" nations. Every defendant "confesses" to just the difficulties in Soviet economy for which Stalin imperatively needs to find scapegoats.

In addition, the work of the International Commission of Inquiry, and the political analysis of the Fourth Internationalists, with reference to the first two trials, have consciously clarified ever wider circles of public opinion as to the real nature and meaning of the system of trials.

Lastly, it should be remarked that in many cases the changed attitude toward the new trial has nothing to do with the evidence, but comes rather from new doubts about the stability of the Stalin regime and the strength of Stalinism internationally. Many were willing to "go along with" the trials (though not really believing them) when they felt that Stalinism would last more or less forever. Now they begin to wonder whether the ship may not be sinking. And suddenly they become very concerned over the "truth"—which they themselves were often leaders in attempting to suppress.

**Disbelief Not Enough**

Merely not believing in the trials, is not the least identical with facing the full issue of the trials; and we have said from the beginning that no more crucial issue than that of the trials has ever faced mankind.

With the trials exposed before world public opinion, what is now being done by the newly-converted "friends of truth"? The past week or two are giving the answers.

As might be expected, the reformists, liberals, reactionaries, many of whom a year ago were busily making use of belief in the trials for their own purposes, facilitated the work of Moscow's falsifiers and hangmen?

You will, I hope, publish in the pages of The Nation this letter which comprises an essential element of my "philosophy."

LEON TROTSKY.  
Coyoacan, D. F.,  
March 13, 1938.

are now trying to exploit disbelief for those same purposes—after all, truth for them has never been anything more than a word to agitate with.

**They Come to Life**

The Villard group of liberals—most of whom were so very conveniently silent during the past two years—suddenly jumps into print in an effort to take the "leadership" in the unmaking of the new trial. Jack Altman—who less than a year ago devoted all of his (vain) political efforts to smashing the American Committee for the Defense of Trotsky and the International Commission of Inquiry so that the truth could not be known—calls a special Socialist Party meeting to "expose" the trial of the 21. The Lovestoneites, who defended the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial publicly, become, though without a word of explanation for their past, the "experts" on the trials. All these unprincipled weather-cocks want to jump on the band-wagon of changing mass opinion before it gets beyond their reach.

Two "reactions" among the new disbelievers may be traced to sources among the Stalinists themselves. So shattering have the trials exploded in the face of the Stalinists that they must now provide "theories" which can keep in line even those who disbelieve the trials.

**Smoke-Fire Theory**

On the one hand, we are told that even though the trials are not true "as they stand," nevertheless, "somebody is undoubtedly guilty of something," on the theory that "where there is so much smoke there must be some fire." Harold Denny, Times Moscow correspondent, the Nation and the New Republic, belong to this school.

With reference to this point of view: (1) In any frame-up, many statements included are true. Only one fact—whether or not the specific defendant is guilty of the specific crime with which he is charged—is relevant. Everything else alleged may be true, but still the trial would be a frame-up! (2) However, with the exception of Yagoda, there is not the slightest evidence that any of the leading defendants in any of the trials is guilty of any of the acts with which they are charged—or of any other crime for that matter. Neither physics nor jurisprudence bears out the "where there is so much smoke there must be some fire" theory. The smoke of a thousand similar trials will do nothing to prove the guilt of any defendants—they would be proof only of Stalin's needs and of the character of his regime. Even Yagoda, though guilty of plenty of crimes, was not guilty of some or even all of the specific crimes with which he was charged. Even Yagoda, the framer, was framed.

**For Straying Faithful**

On the other hand, we are asked to "submerge" the trial in "other more important issues"—Austria, Spain, the war; and to "forget about the trial." The Stalinist machine adopts this attitude sub rosa as one way of pulling back the straying faithful who have seen through the trial.

But: (1) There is no more important issue. And: (2) The trials are not accidents. They are an integral part of Stalinism, as integral to Stalinism as war is to capitalism. Really facing the issue of the trials means facing the issue of Stalinism in its entirety, and all of its policies. Whoever fails to do this, thereby fails to face the issue of the trials themselves, in spite of any self-congratulating "enlightenment" with respect to them.

**Socialism Attacked**

But above all, the collapse of public belief is being used by the whole swarm of reactionaries, liberals and reformists as the basis for a vicious attack upon the ideal of socialism and the methods of revolutionary Marxism. These people, whose record on the trials itself is the clearest possible demonstration of their corrupt opportunism and the utter bankruptcy of their own ideologies and methods, try to swing the mass revolt against the trials into a line of attack on revolutionary socialism, whose record again on the trials, alone of all currents in the world, stands up throughout to any and every examination.

No! The exposure of the falsity of the trials does not finish "the issue of the trials." The issue remains in all its burning actuality, and will remain to the very end. The working class will not grant certificates of political health to every charlatan merely because he now (after that half of the battle is nearly won in spite of him and his friends) finds it useful to "protest" and "expose" the trials.

**ILGWU Members Protest Trial To Soviet Envoy**

NEW YORK.—Vigorous protest against the trial and execution of the 21 Old Bolsheviks and Soviet officials was registered by dressmakers of Local 22, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in an effort—unavailing as it proved—to stay the hand of the bloody Moscow Bonaparte. In a petition signed by hundreds of members of the local and sent to Soviet Ambassador Alex-

ander Troyanovsky, demand was made for postponement of sentence on the 21 Moscow victims, coupled with a request that "the Soviet government permit authentic representatives of international labor to investigate and pass judgment on the amazing charges and confessions, which have caused such dismay and demoralization in the entire labor movement."

Among the signatories of the petition were Min Lurye, chairman of Local 22; Murray Gross, manager, complaint dept., Local 22; Max Bluestein, organization dept., Local 22; and Louis Nelson, manager, Local 55.

**April New International**

Living up to the high standard set in previous issues, the April New International, having among its contents a feature article by Leon Trotsky entitled "The Hue and Cry over Kronstadt" (a reply to critics on that historic issue), will make its appearance in a few days.

Other articles in the new issue are "The Record of the Great 'Democracies'" by Maurice Spector, "The Strike of Capital," by Dave Cowles, "The Jewish Question," by Jack Weber, and "India Today," by S. Stanley.

The "Editor's Comments" feature includes comments on Austria, Spain and the Moscow trial.

**Trotsky Explains to Kirchwey**

The following letter has been sent by Leon Trotsky to Freda Kirchwey, editor of The Nation, in response to a request that Trotsky write for that journal an article expounding his philosophy: Freda Kirchwey, Editor, The Nation.

In your letter of December 20, 1937, you propose that I give an article to The Nation expounding my "philosophy." My answer has been delayed through a series of circumstances which it is unnecessary to specify here.

During the Moscow trials, my name, the name of Leon Sedov,

my deceased son, and the names of my friends were, with the help of the "confessions" of the unfortunate victims of the G.P.U., branded and besmirched and the victims then shot. You occupied a position which if the best case could be classified as benevolent neutrality towards the calumniators, falsifiers and hangmen. Some of your close collaborators like the not unknown Louis Fischer came out as direct literary agents of Stalin, Vyshinsky, Yezhov. You, yourself, madam, left the Trotsky Defense Committee noisily when it appeared to you that the Commission headed by Dr. John Dewey was capable of

casting a shadow upon the chastity of the Soviet Themis.

Since you have now asked me to "expound my 'philosophy'" in The Nation you have obviously come to the conclusion that the accusations directed against me are false. Did you declare this openly? The Moscow frame-ups, however, did not fall from the heavens. Have you explained to your readers that you did not timely understand the meaning of the Moscow proceedings because you falsely appreciated the evolution of the Soviet bureaucracy during the whole last period? Have you demarcated yourself from merchants of lies such as Walter Duranty and Louis Fischer, who during a series of years systematically deceived American public opinion and thus