

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Stalin Stages New Frame-up

War Moves Speeded Up By Roosevelt

Prepare To Knit Latin
American States In
War Alliance

A favorable report by the House Military Affairs Committee on the notorious May Bill, revised version of the Sheppard-Hill Bill, and preparations on the floor of the House for speedy passage of the huge special Naval Appropriations, last week brought the Roosevelt war program to new heights. Overwhelming endorsement by Congress of the Naval Appropriations was freely predicted for the near future, with the authorized sum in all probability going far beyond the \$800,000,000 originally projected.

Thousands of telegrams from American Legion posts and other jingo organizations were pouring into Washington demanding passage of the Sheppard-Hill May Bill. In its present form this measure provides for universal conscription (draft) of all male citizens between the ages of 21 and 31, a proposal unprecedented in American peace-time history.

Military Dictatorship

Along with the draft section is included blanket authorization for a one hundred percent military dictatorship not merely for the time of the war, but as long as the "emergency" might last. A legal basis is given for the definition on all forms of labor and trade-union activity as treason.

The impact of the current crisis in European affairs served to bring out the fundamental identity of "collective security" and "isolation." Prime Minister Chamberlain's turn toward a deal with Mussolini served to dampen temporarily the enthusiasm of the "quarantine the aggressor" bloc of Congressmen; but this bloc joined as one with the Congressional isolationists to howl for still larger naval and military armament as the answer to the European events.

"Wings of Democracy"

The Administration is utilizing the European crisis as a springboard for re-emphasizing the fundamental plank in its imperialist policy: namely, undisputed U.S. domination over the entire two American continents.

Six of the gigantic new army bombers, by far the most powerful fighting planes in existence, roared their way down through Panama and Peru to play the star role at the inauguration of the new President of Argentina, Roberto Ortiz. The peoples of the Central and South American nations were being told in no uncertain terms just which side their bread is buttered on.

At the same time new short wave channels were granted to the General Electric Company and one of its subsidiaries for daily "non-commercial" broadcasts to South America, and plans were announced for direct U.S. Government broadcasts in the same direction. The sugared message of Roosevelt "neighborliness" thus enters into big-scale competition with the broadcasts from Germany, Italy and England.

Simultaneously, rumors were revived about the possibilities of a Pan-American military alliance. In spite of the fact that for years Secretary Hull has denied any thought of such a plan, last week

(Continued on page 3)

732 In Teachers Union Take Anti-War Stand

NEW YORK.—A referendum on affiliation to the American League for Peace and Democracy in Teachers Union, Local 5, resulted in victory for affiliation by a vote of 1,955 to 732. The vote was preceded by an intensive campaign by the majority group, favoring affiliation, and by the Independents, who are opposed.

The oppositional vote of 27 percent was the largest ever polled against the leadership since the present administration took control of the union. It showed the considerable growth in influence that the Independent group has enjoyed and also reflected a growing and increasingly intelligent appreciation of the real nature of "collective security" — the issue around which the referendum campaign was fought.

The Independents waged their fight against affiliation not on the basis of futile pacifist isolationism but upon a program of militant workers' action against the capitalist war-makers. In the course of the struggle the Independents also won a remarkable measure of union democracy from an administration that had to learn that it could not so easily railroad its policies through.

WPA Rolls Used For Recruiting Into U.S. Army

Military, Relief Agencies Cooperate To Put Men In Uniform

The Roosevelt Administration plans to use relief agencies as a channel for recruiting for the next war. This came out into the open February 25 when the New York Times reported that the U.S. army recruiting service had asked the up-state W.P.A. for lists of unmarried men on home or work relief, in order to get them to enlist for military service.

According to the report, the W.P.A. therefore sent out letters (Continued on page 2)

FDR Offers Meager Sop To Jobless

Hundreds of Thousands Will Starve As War Budget Mounts

The miserly proportions of the financial provisions made by the Roosevelt administration for relief of mounting unemployment, as compared with the inflated war budgets which Congress is being asked to vote, have been brought into prominence by the \$250,000,000 deficiency relief appropriation recommended by Roosevelt for the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30.

According to an estimate made by the administration, this deficiency appropriation, if passed, will enable the W.P.A. to employ an additional 2,500,000 people between now and the end of the fiscal year.

"Revolutionary" Criticism

The Stalinist-controlled National Executive Committee of the Workers Alliance has taken issue with Aubrey Williams, assistant W.P.A. administrator, on this figure and has declared that the appropriation is sufficient to give employment to an additional 2,900,000 people, or 400,000 more than the official estimate.

By this they intend to convey the idea that Williams is just holding out on the unemployed. This is in line with their general policy of directing their "revolutionary" criticism, not against the capitalist system and its political administration as a whole, but against the "bad" capitalists, the "economic royalists," and the "bad" administrators in Washington. As the twentieth-century exponents of reformism they outdo all the reformists of the classical schools.

It is not at all surprising to find the Stalinists completely silent on the fact that People's Champion Roosevelt first sent his \$250,000,000 appropriation request to Congress and only afterwards called "the people" (i.e. the N.E.C. of the Workers Alliance) into consultation. (Continued on page 2)

surpasses Lombardo Toledano

Trotsky Nails Fresh Attack On His Asylum

Answers Toledano's Move To Gag Him As New Trial Opens

On February 23, 1938, the C.T.M. (Mexican trade union federation dominated by a Stalinist clique under the leadership of Lombardo Toledano and Herman Laborde, secretary of the Mexican Communist Party) without any previous discussion adopted a resolution attacking Leon Trotsky and repeating all the slanders concocted by Stalin against the leaders of the October Revolution — slanders which were completely exploded and branded as sheer frame-up by the impartial Commission of Inquiry under the leadership of Dr. John Dewey. The following is the text of Comrade Trotsky's reply to this infamous resolution.

—Ed.

By Leon Trotsky

COYOACAN, D.F., Feb. 24.—Mr. Lombardo Toledano and his clique, after lengthy and assiduous preparation, have made a malicious attempt to deceive public opinion in this country. The "material" on which they based themselves at the February Convention of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Mexico (C.T.M.) does not represent anything new: it is the material of Yagoda, Yezhov, Vyshinsky, Stalin, and their international lackeys.

The twenty-first paragraph of the verdict states: "We find the Prosecutor fantastically falsified Trotsky's role before, during, and after the October revolution." It is exactly this "fantastic falsification" which lies at the root of the slanders of Mr. Toledano, and his helpers.

Real Views Available

My real politics are accessible to all. They are set forth in my books and articles. As in October, 1917, I defend the interests and rights of the workers and peasants in the U.S.S.R. — against the new, insatiable and tyrannical (Continued on page 3)



NIKOLAI BUKHARIN

Last Surviving Old Bolsheviks Facing Death

Bukharin, Rykov, Rakovsky, and Eighteen Others Tried on New Frame-up Charges of Treason and Murder

BUKHARIN WAS ALLY OF STALIN

BULLETIN

Nikolai Krestinsky, former first vice-commissar of Foreign Affairs, ripped the Stalin frame-up fabric wide open at the opening session of the Trial of 21 on Mar. 2, by repudiating his "confession" that he had engaged in espionage at the direct orders of Leon Trotsky.

To an astounded court, Krestinsky declared: "I am not guilty! I never was a spy!"

When Judge V. V. Ulrich reminded him that he had "confessed," Krestinsky repeated: "I am not guilty!"

GPU TRIES TO FRAME CHINESE BOLSHEVIKS

Chinese Comrades Spike Stalinist Charges Against Them

and his kind by several heads. The Commission, point by point, refuted all the accusations of Yagoda, Yezhov, Vyshinsky, Stalin, and their international lackeys. The twenty-first paragraph of the verdict states: "We find the Prosecutor fantastically falsified Trotsky's role before, during, and after the October revolution." It is exactly this "fantastic falsification" which lies at the root of the slanders of Mr. Toledano, and his helpers.

Tying in closely with the international campaign being conducted by the Stalinists against the revolutionists gathered under the banner of the Fourth International, a violent lynch drive, with provocation and slander as its instruments, is being waged against the Communist League of China (Bolshevik-Leninists) according to reports reaching here from our comrades in Shanghai.

Leading the campaign in China is Chen Shao-ying (known abroad as Wang-Ming), Chinese representative on the Executive Committee of the Communist International, who, under the protecting wing of the reactionary Kuomintang government at Hangzhou, where he arrived recently from Moscow, is calling for the (Continued on page 4)

Charges Go Back to 1921!

The accusations against the 21, who have been sentenced in advance by the Stalinist machine, exceed by far anything that has yet been witnessed. The defendants are not only charged with the murder of Kirov, but with having assassinated Maxim Gorky, V. Kuibyshev, and V. K. Menzhinsky, ex-chief of the G.P.U.

As if this were not sufficiently fantastic, the announcement of the trial includes the charge that Leon Trotsky has been a spy of one foreign power since 1921 and of another one since 1926, and that Bukharin, Trotsky and others conspired as early as 1918, that is, immediately after the revolution, to overturn the Soviet Government by murdering Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov!

Stalin in Desperation

The very wording of the charges reveals that, in his determination to cover up the flagrant contradictions in the previous trials, to rid himself of all possible critics and opponents, to terrorize the population as a whole, and to distract attention from the utter collapse of his entire course in foreign policy. Stalin has become supremely desperate and mad. For no person in his right mind, who has the slightest knowledge of the Russian Revolution, can place the outrageously absurd accusations that are levelled at the defendants.

That Stalin has again succeeded in extorting confessions from his prisoners, confessions written for them in advance, goes without saying. Otherwise, he would never risk the explosion of his frame-up system that would follow if the men were brought into a public court.

But whatever the prisoners feel themselves compelled to repeat by heart in court, nothing in the world can make the charges stick.

Ex-Ally of Stalin

The only association between the Bukharin-Rykov group and any other, was not with Trotsky, but with Stalin. Between 1928 and 1929, Bukharin, Rykov, Stalin and Voroshilov marched arm in arm in a relentless crusade against Trotsky and his supporters. At the end of that period, during which the four and their associates mutually defended each other, Bukharin-Rykov-Tomsky were opened up on by the Stalin machine, which threatened them with expulsion unless they capitulated, which they finally did.

The right wing faction of Bukharin was restored to important Soviet and party positions and simply resumed their previous campaign against "Trotskyism." (Continued on page 4)

Last of Lenin's Colleagues Face Doom

N. I. BUKHARIN

came illegally to the United States in 1916, where he edited the *Novy Mir*.

After the February revolution made his way to Moscow through Japan and Siberia.

"All his qualities make Bukharin one of the best beloved personalities of the Russian revolution." (Small Encyclopedia.)

Referred to by Lenin in his Testament as "the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the party," and the "favorite of the whole party." 1919-1926: head of the Communist International.

After his capitulation to Stalin, was sent on European tour by Stalin. Delivered speeches in Paris. At approximately the same time, Rakovsky was sent to Japan. These trips will undoubtedly be used in the trial to establish links between the defendants and foreign enemies.

Bukharin was one of the committee of 30 which drafted the Stalin Constitution.

A. I. RYKOV

Born 1881. "One of the most eminent members of the Bolshevik party." Participant in revolution-

ary movement since 1900. Arrested in March, 1901. Went to Geneva in 1902, immediately sent back to Russia for underground work. Participated in 1905 revolution, member of Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

1906: exiled to Siberia, escaped to Moscow. 1907: arrested and exiled to Taganrog. Went abroad, returning to Russia in Summer of 1909. Arrested almost immediately, escaped, arrested (performance repeated many times over). Exiled in Narym when February revolution broke. Member of Presidium of Moscow Soviet shortly after. Member of First Council of People's Commissars as Commissar of the Interior.

February 1918: Lenin's deputy in Council of People's Commissars and Council of Labor and Defense. Lenin's successor as chairman of Council of People's Commissars. Member of Politburo since 1919. One of most highly honored personages in the Soviet Union.

C. G. RAKOVSKY

Born 1873. Old revolutionist. 1889: participated in revolutionary movement in Bulgaria. 1890:

served until 1916. Active participant in October revolution in Petrograd. 1920: appointed to post in Cheka, became head of G.P.U. under Stalin. Organizer of Zinoviev-Kamenev trial.

C. F. GRINKO

Born 1890. Participated in revolutionary movement (with the Social-Revolutionists) at age of 16. Expelled from university in 1913 for participating in student strike. Drafted into the army, where he remained until 1917.

Spent 1914-1917 at the front, where he was promoted to rank of officer. After October revolution worked in the Ukraine as member of the Borthosty (left wing of the Ukrainian S.R.'s), which fused in 1920 with the C.P.S.U.

1919-1926: worked in Ukrainian Soviet government, occupying several important posts (member of All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Military Committee; People's Commissar of Education; chairman of Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars). 1926-1929: vice-chairman of Soviet State Planning Commiss-

sion, where as chairman of the Central Commission he guided the work on the drafting of the Five-Year Plan.

1929: deputy People's Commissar of Agriculture.

Rose with Stalin; appointed by latter to Commissariat of Finance, from which post he was removed during the recent purge.

N. N. KRESTINSKY

Born 1883: Old Bolshevik. Son of a high-school teacher. In revolutionary movement since 1902; joined party in 1903. Arrested several times and exiled. After February revolution, member of Ural provincial committee and of Ekaterinburg city committee. October 1917: elected Commissar of Finance. 1918 to end of 1922: served as People's Commissar of Finance. 1917-1921: member of Central Committee of party. 1919-1921: secretary of Central Executive Committee of the Soviets under Lenin. October 1921: made Soviet Ambassador to Berlin. 1922: participated in Hague Conference. Originally in Opposition. Capitulated to Stalin.

1922: opened up on by the Stalin machine, which threatened them with expulsion unless they capitulated, which they finally did.

The right wing faction of Bukharin was restored to important Soviet and party positions and simply resumed their previous campaign against "Trotskyism." (Continued on page 4)

Mass Meeting
FRIDAY, MARCH 4,
8 P. M.

PROTEST THE TRIAL OF 21!

Stuyvesant Casino, Second Ave. and Ninth Street

Speaker
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor, Socialist Appeal

S.W.P. Replies To Slander Of 'New Republic'

Ex-Liberal Organ Caught Lying In Issue of Bridges Ouster

The following letter was sent to the New Republic last week by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party:

To the Editor of the New Republic:

Your department of Washington Notes by T.R.B. in the New Republic of February 23, comments on the new attempt to deport Harry Bridges on the basis of affidavits by ex-members of the Communist Party purporting to connect Mr. Bridges with membership in that organization. Your correspondent adds: "The identity of these accusers has not been revealed, but it is understood they are former Stalinists who have turned Trotskyist."

Like all other informed people who have watched the recent evolution of the New Republic, I fully understand the design behind this deliberate attempt to besmirch a political tendency by reference to anonymous "Trotskyists." Since the New Republic gave its editorial blessing to the Moscow frame-up trials, it is only natural that you should extend the technique to the American scene. I am not naive enough to ask you to correct this statement in regard to the alleged "Trotskyists" who have allegedly become stool pigeons for the Department of Justice. I do challenge you to be more specific. Who are these "Trotskyists" to whom your correspondent refers? Give us the names!

Slander Retracted

Some weeks ago the Western Worker, California organ of the Communist Party, accused Harry Lundeberg, Secretary of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, of investigating the new deportation movement against Bridges. Mr. Lundeberg filed notice of a suit for libel. Thereupon the Western Worker promptly printed a front page retraction and apology. The frame-up and slander against this issue continues.

The medium has changed from the official Stalinist press to the New Republic and the indictment has been switched from Lundeberg to nameless "Trotskyists"; otherwise the game remains the same. No doubt the Western Worker's experience with Lundeberg has taught you caution in the use of names in connection with such foul accusations. But you will not be able to duck the issue by this contemptible device. You will still have to put up or shut up.

Beal Unmentioned

On the general question of stool-pigeonry it has been noticed that you have avoided all mention of the indecent campaign of the Communist Party to hustle Fred Beal back to North Carolina to serve a twenty-year prison term, imposed on him for his strike activity at Gastonia. The Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred Beal publicly stated that "active Communists, Art Shields and William F. Dunne, of the Communist Party's International Labor Defense Organization, have brought pressure to bear on Professor Albert Sprague Coolidge of Harvard University and Miss Jessica Henderson of Boston, the two guarantors of Beal's bail bond, urging them to withdraw their support of Beal, but have failed in that. Various members of the Non-Partisan Committee for the defense of Fred Beal have received messages seeking to intimidate them into abandoning the defense."

This is real stool-pigeonry without precedent in the entire history of the American labor movement. This is real news and the stool pigeons are named by a body of well-known and responsible people. Why does the New Republic keep maliciously silent about the Beal case and shield the despicable stool pigeons of the Communist Party who would deprive him of all defense while it manufactures an accusation against anonymous "Trotskyists" in the case of Bridges? The answer is clear to all who know what is going on: the ex-liberal New Republic has merely become an unofficial organ of the frame-up and stool-pigeon gang identified all over the world as Stalinists.

James P. Cannon,
National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party,
Feb. 22, 1938.

PROTEST STALIN'S TERROR!

Friday, March 4th, at 8 P. M.
SUYEVANT CASINO
Second Avenue and 9th Street

JERSEY JOBLESS WIN CONCESSIONS

NEWARK—Acting in conjunction with many C.I.O. and A.F. of L. unions, as well as the Workers' Alliance, the Trade Union Committee on Unemployment of Essex County has succeeded in winning many new concessions from local relief and W.P.A. authorities in Essex County.

Under the driving force of the progressives' program, the militants of the committee have been able to overcome the do-nothing respectable People's Front program of the Stalinists, and have developed a strong demand for more intensive activity in relief affairs.

The chief Stalinist in the committee has been revealed as a letter-writing, resolution-passing bureaucrat who has never at any time presented a clear-cut aggressive program for the unemployed. Under the driving force of the militants, he has been forced to make militant statements that are not at all becoming to the present program of the Stalinists.

The unemployed, however, are fast recognizing the consistent militants, and will not easily be fooled by words alone.

WPA Rolls Used For U. S. Army Recruits

Military, Relief Agencies Join Hands To Put Men In Uniform

(Continued from page 1)

To all local public welfare commissioners outside of New York City" asking them to cooperate with the army in its recruiting as "a means of reducing your relief rolls and costs."

This plan to squeeze the unemployed into the army was put into effect immediately in up-state New York. "Some district reporters... showed that local commissioners had already begun a system of direct communication with army officials on the recruiting of persons from relief."

The action was not limited to area "outside of New York City." The Times' own story states that "Col. L. B. Magruder, acting recruiting officer for the Second Corps Area, disclosed that representatives of the army, navy and other branches of the armed service had attended a meeting January 10, in the offices of Lieut.-Col. Breton B. Somervell, local Works Progress Administrator."

Beans Spilled

What was the outcome of the conference? Magruder, according to the Times' report, "came out of the conference with the conviction that persons who refused to accept military posts would be dropped from federal relief rolls." The next day, Col. Somervell contradicted him and insisted that no thought had been given to compelling able-bodied young W.P.A. employees to enlist on threat of severance from the relief rolls. In Washington, everybody played dumb. First the War Department spokesmen said... it was a "local matter." And, of course, "the W.P.A. authorities likewise tended to localize whatever was being done in the matter to the New York W.P.A. officials."

All this is merely a smoke-screen to cover up the beans which Col. Magruder has spilled.

It is not true that the recruiting of unemployed from the relief rolls is a "local matter." The Times' report shows that it is already going on in up-state New York. It is not true that the unemployed will not be compelled to join. Col. Magruder's "conviction" did not arise from thin air. The fact that the recruiting notices sent out by the army and navy proved completely ineffective, since not one person on relief joined the military service, shows that the army will have to compel them to join.

The truth is that all government activities are directed towards the coming war. The Civilian Conservation Corps are ready for war. The W.P.A. is doing considerable army work. Various states have already passed conscription laws in preparation for the coming war. And the work and relief rolls are to be used as the recruiting grounds of the first batch of soldiers for the war.

WANTED

Back Numbers of the Appeal
Vol. 1 - No. 5
Vol. 1 - No. 9

Comrades having copies of these issues which they do not need or which they are prepared to donate, please send them in immediately. They are needed to complete the office files.

Akron Teachers Fight Layoffs With Union Aid

Board Drops 38 In Face Of Militant Union Resistance

BY BLAKE LEAR

AKRON—For the first time in Akron history, school teachers dared speak up in defense of their jobs when the Akron Federation of Teachers opposed the Board of Education's plan for wholesale layoffs.

Although 38 teachers were laid off, this was achieved only by a secret rump session of the Board of Education after five weeks of battling during which the Teachers were supported by representatives from the Akron Industrial Union Council and the rubber locals.

The rump session was convened under the pressure of the Akron Beacon-Journal and the Chamber of Commerce, who fear the penetration of anti-layoff ideology into the rubber shops, the basic industry of Akron.

The Akron education system, one of the worst in the United States for cities of its size, is paying the price of a large bonded indebtedness for its boom growth. As a consequence there are no kindergartens, the first grade is on half time, half of the high schools run in two shifts and school is held in buildings long since condemned by the State Fire Warden.

By cutting the school year only three days, the proposal supported by the Federation, all 38 teachers could have been retained. In supporting this proposal, however, the Teachers stated that at best it was only a stop gap, and that a more fundamental revision of the system's finances through either a special election, legislation which would free money for the schools, or through further state aid, would have to be made.

The campaign of the Federation of Teachers was led by Chalmers K. Stewart, President, and Donald D. Burns, Corresponding Secretary, progressive leaders of the organization. They were elected in a recent election in which the progressives defeated a Stalinist-reactionary bloc.

MONEY FOR WAR NONE FOR RELIEF

Deficiency Appropriation Fails To Meet Most Pressing Needs

(Continued from page 1)

Official estimates disclose the fact that at least 3,000,000 men have lately lost their jobs, thus swelling the army of unemployed to 18 millions or more. The deficiency appropriation will take care of only 2,500,000, according to the same sources. Presumably the remaining 500,000 are to be allowed to starve. Or, if the Stalinist estimate is accepted and 2,900,000 get jobs, 100,000 will starve. At the same time, Roosevelt blandly asks for a naval appropriation of \$800,000,000 (now advanced to \$1,100,000,000) to be employed for mass slaughter in the coming war.

On the subject of Roosevelt's war budgets, the Stalinist managers of the Worker Alliance maintain a certain silence. Why? Because the war preparations of American imperialism meet with their approval, although, as yet, they do not dare say so quite openly and explicitly.

Militant Action Needed

Only the Progressive Group in the Workers Alliance, basing itself on the true interests of all the workers, employed and unemployed, draws attention to this crying contradiction: that while Roosevelt prepares to spend sums running into billions for the destruction of human life in the rapidly-approaching war for the aggrandisement and profit of the exploiters of the American workers, only paltry sums are asked to save human life, to save the unemployed victims of capitalism who are threatened with the loss of their homes, with privation and hunger, with disease, with death by slow starvation.

The Progressives seek to rally all workers for united assault upon capitalism—upon the system of hunger and war—with the battle-cry:

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO
THE SOCIALIST APPEAL

Spy Scare, Somewhat Too Neatly Timed, Rouses Jingo Newspapers

The capitalist press is being filled with the most sensational stories about the discovery of a big "Nazi spy ring" in the United States. Government agents have already apprehended two men and one woman—it is said that others are about to be added to the list—and charged them with military espionage in behalf of a foreign power. It is broadly intimated that the foreign power is none other than Germany.

The arrests are meat and drink to the jingoistic press, which has joined readily with the Roosevelt regime and its spokesmen to work up a frenzied war spirit on the basis of which the professional patriots hope to swing through without difficulty the biggest peace-time naval appropriations budget in American history.

Spurred by Washington

The Washington authorities, of course, are not behindhand in this drive. Quite the contrary. They spur it on with all the powers at their command. It is highly significant that while the State Department dilly-dallied and stammered, when it was not entirely silent, about the "Robinson-Rubens" case, which so plainly involves the whole G.P.U. machine in this country, a sharply different attitude has marked the behavior of Washington with respect to the alleged Nazi ring of spies.

We do not, to be sure, have any conclusive evidence about the crime of espionage with which the arrested persons are charged. Even if it were clearly demonstrated that they were guilty of the charge, we would beg to be excused from participating in the chauvinistic hysteria which the press is working up. We are not such gullible idiots as not to know what every government official throughout the world—and every informed person, for that matter—also knows. We refer to the well-established fact that every government in the world has an espionage service, whose agents are active in spying on every other government in the world, seeking to acquire for themselves, by bribery, theft and similar methods, the military and diplomatic secrets of the country to which they have been assigned.

By cutting the school year only three days, the proposal supported by the Federation was led by Chalmers K. Stewart, President, and Donald D. Burns, Corresponding Secretary, progressive leaders of the organization. They were elected in a recent election in which the progressives defeated a Stalinist-reactionary bloc.

Ohio-Michigan District Meets

SWP Organizations meet At Cleveland To Plan Building Drive

BY R. FERGUSON

CLEVELAND.—Gathering in Cleveland February 18, delegates from the branches in the Ohio-Detroit region met in their first convention to set up a district organization and to lay plans for a concerted Socialist Workers Party-building campaign in this industrial area.

Inspired by the decisions of the national convention, the delegates reported from the various branches the work done in the localities since then and outlined the prospects for future growth. Like a red thread through the reports ran the description of the Communist Party bureaucrats' difficulties in subduing the revolutionary reactions of militant workers in their party, and the possibilities this affords of attracting such workers to our ranks.

Work In Unions

Likewise the delegates' reports showed that all comrades who are eligible for membership in trade unions have joined them and are pursuing coordinated work therein. A great majority of the comrades in the district are trade unionists, members of C.I.O. and A.F. of L. unions ranging from auto, steel and rubber to office workers, teachers, retail employees, etc.

Militant Action Needed

A district committee representative of all the branches was erected to coordinate inter-branch activities by aiding in forming classes, conducting public forums, assisting in the organization of new party branches in hitherto unorganized communities, and facilitating the strengthening of the party in the unions by the exchange of experience and advice.

Clarke Field Organizer

George Clarke of Detroit was elected field organizer, and R. Ferguson secretary for the district. As the first concrete step in launching the new district organization, Comrade Clarke was sent on a speaking tour of all the branches to initiate a regular series of public forums. Concluding with the singing of the Internationale, the hall full of delegates, alternates and visitors left the convention knowing the party was on the right track in its struggle to win to its banner the decisive section of the working class in this industrial "Ruhr Valley" of America.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

What we do have, however, is some very suspicious evidence that all is not what it seems to be with this peculiar "Nazi spy ring." One of the prisoners says he was engaged in his job merely by sending a request to the German secret service in an envelope addressed to a German newspaper. How simple! Just like applying for a job advertised in the "Help Wanted" columns!

Some Peculiar Features

The origin of the discovery is also not without interest.... and surprise. The spy, we are told, simply calls up the Passport Bureau, says his name is "Mr. Weston, Under-Secretary of State," and asks for 50 blank passports. This is really a bit thick, as the English say. Can it be that Nazis are so much more stupid than they are said to be? It would seem that such a naive step would not be taken even by a spy who had come by his profession through a correspondence school course.

And when it is added that the 50 passports were for use by Nazi agents in traveling to the Soviet Union, and that there was found—how conveniently!—in one spy's pocket a picture very much like that of Mrs. Rubens-Robinson; and when it is borne in mind that "Mr. Weston" gave himself up to the government—excuse us! we meant "was apprehended by the government"—right on the eve of the announcement of the New Moscow Trial, we are tempted to believe that the whole affair hangs together just a little bit too well.

A Little Too Neat

In fact, if one of the agents of the G.P.U., disguised as a Nazi spy, had cooked up the whole business—and Heaven knows we could never, never suspect the spotless G.P.U. of doing anything so dirty!—it could not have fitted together more prettily.

Frankly, we await further developments—especially what Moscow may have to say—fortified against any "surprises" that certain gentlemen may have in mind. For after all, in concocting affairs of this type, what is there left to surprise anybody with?

Franklin D. Roosevelt

It is common knowledge that most of the supervisors on the Project are members of the C.P., and that failure to contribute to the pet Stalinist Leagues For or Against This or That, the drives to save peace and democracy, may be tantamount to dismissal. Many a non-Stalinist project worker was placed on the firing lists last June for political intransigence and independent thought. Red Pen is obviously laying down the line for the new wave of dismissals.

Twenty-three independents on the project, supported by many others, have just issued a signed leaflet answering the Stalinist charges and exposing their stool-pigeon character. Many C.P. members, disgusted but cowed by the threat to their jobs, have expressed their contempt for this slanderous campaign on the project.

Shortly after the pickets had held a mass meeting outside as the climax of a vigorous campaign led by the Y.P.S.L., the Board decided to ask the State Legislature to reverse the old law under which it had barred all aliens, including many young refugees from Fascist countries.

The rank and file committee conducting the strike is doing a job that would do credit to a seasoned labor organizer. They have maintained mass picket lines, organized effective flying squads to discourage back-to-work movements on the part of the company, and have arranged relief for the strikers.

In leaflets distributed throughout the city the Y.P.S.L. pointed out that the ruling was a prelude to an attack on all democratic rights similar to the anti-alien hysteria and purge during the World War, and called for an immediate struggle against the law. In a few days over 15,000 signatures were collected in a petition drive. Caught off guard, Young Communists in some schools attacked the campaign and in other schools supported it!

Having achieved a certain amount of success with the passage of the Board's recommendation to the Legislature, the campaign will be continued by the Y.P.S.L. until complete victory is secured. To this end the Y.P.S.L. now demands that the Legislature drop the old law and that in the meanwhile, the Board return to its former, looser interpretation of the law.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

MINNEAPOLIS

SOCIALIST PUBLIC FORUM: March 6: CARLOS HUDSON: "The Situation Inside the Farmer-Labor Party and the Coming War."

March 13: JAMES B. DUNNE: "Will the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. Merge?"

March 20: GRACE CARLSON: "What Will Happen to the Workers in the Next War?"

March 27: FELIX MORROW: "Is America Ripe for Revolution?"

Sundays, 3 P.M.: Socialist Workers Party Hall, 669 Second Ave., North. Admission 10 cents.

BOSTON

PUBLIC FORUM: March 6: GEORGE DAVIDSON: "War and the Workers."

New Trial Is Climax Of Two-Year Purge

The new trial now being staged in Moscow comes as a logical and revealing culmination to the long series of frame-ups which were inaugurated immediately after the assassination of Kirov.

Actually, there have already been seven trials since Dec. 1, 1934, the date of Kirov's murder, concerned directly with the assassination itself or directed against the Trotskies in general. As the charges progress and the list of victims mounts steadily, the truly vicious and totalitarian motivation behind these judicial farces becomes strikingly evident. It is worthwhile to outline the process as the frame-up system moved to its present "horrible climax."

The trials developed as follows: (1) the trial of Nikolayev and others, Dec. 28-29, 1934 (over a hundred defendants finally convicted and shot for the murder of Kirov); (2) the trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev, Jan. 15-16, 1935 (defendants found guilty of "moral responsibility" for the Kirov assassination and sentenced to prison); (3) trial of G.P.U.

Tries Again



ANDREY VISHINSKY

U. boss Medved and others, Jan. 23, 1935 (further convictions for Kirov murder, involving G.P.U. agents); (4) trial of Kamenev and others, July, 1935 (after Kamenev, unlike Zinoviev, refused to make further, more fantastic confessions); (5) trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev, Aug. 1936 (all sixteen defendants found guilty of terrorism, sabotage, and diversion; all executed); (6) the Novosibirsk trial, Nov. 19-22, 1936 (group of "Trotskyite wreckers" convicted of sabotage and shot); (7) trial of Pyatakov-Radek Jan. 23-30, 1937 (thirteen out of seventeen defendants executed for alliance with Hitler and Mikado and plans to re-establish capitalism, as well as the usual terrorism, sabotage, etc.).

Charges Grow as Trials Progress

Over a period of two years the charges expanded from moral complicity in the Kirov assassination to direct and purposive complicity; from terrorism against one man to terrorism against the whole bureaucracy; from sabotage and diversion as such to wrecking in the service of the espionage services of Germany and Japan, with the purpose of partitioning the country and overthrowing the workers' state. The roster of victims expanded from ex-Oppositionists, long since capitulated to the Stalin regime, until it embraced all those who had once harbored "deviationist" sentiments, and finally caught up in its all-inclusive fold some of Stalin's most faithful and ruthless henchmen. Alongside the recurrent judicial "trials," most of them held in strictest secrecy, coursed an ever wider and more bloody stream of peremptory blood-purges and executions without benefit of trial, until the whole generation of Old Bolsheviks, and many not so old, were carried away in its wake.

Only two of the trials had any semblance of being "publicly" staged: the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial of 1936 and the Pyatakov-Radek trial of 1937. In the first of these trials, the defendants, without exception, groveling as abjectly as they did, could discover themselves guilty of no cardinal crimes greater than those of terrorism and murder. In the second trial the startling accusation was made that not only the defendants then being tried, but all the previous ones long since convicted and executed, had conducted their nefarious activities as agents of German fascism and Japanese militarism, with the breathtaking aims of precipitating war, preparing the defeat of the U.S.S.R. and its dismemberment, with the ultimate purpose of establishing capitalist rule in the country. Throughout, the guiding spirit and prime mover of the maze of conspiracies was identified as Leon Trotsky, charged with having the

Liberals Ask Stay Of New Moscow Frameup

Calling upon the Stalin government to exhibit a "decent respect for the opinion of mankind," a group of prominent liberals, headed by Oswald Garrison Villard, Will Irwin and John Haynes Holmes, wired an appeal to the Soviet Government through Ambassador Troyanovsky on Feb. 23 asking postponement of the trial of 21 until a qualified international commission could attend the hearings.

"Nothing could be more harmful to the interests of the Soviet government itself," they wired, "than another trial that would further shake the faith of civilized mankind in Soviet justice."

A similar telegram sent by an equally prominent group following the announcement of the Radek-Piatakov trial in January, 1937, was never answered.

The American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, which supported the work of the Dewey Commission in its study of the previous Moscow trials, which it pronounced to be frameups, issued a statement declaring that the new trial of 21 was an effort "to cover the previous failures." The committee asked that wires of protest be sent to Ambassador Troyanovsky at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, demanding that the lives of the 21 be spared.

technical collaboration of his late son, Leon Sedoff.

Fantastic "Evidence"

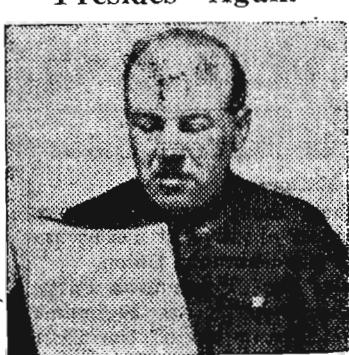
The records of these two trials, published in many languages throughout the world, are startling for their lack of documentary or factual proof. The testimony is unique in its general avoidance of concrete names, places and dates. Wherever the G.P.U. bunglers tried to base their fabrications crumbled to bits at the first test: Holtzman's story of his meeting with Trotsky and his son in Copenhagen (the ill-starred Hotel Bristol episode); Pyatakov's account of his airplane flight to Oslo; Romm's mysterious meeting with Trotsky in Paris, and the other products of over-zealous G.P.U. fantasists were crushingly refuted by minute and detailed documentation upon every related point.

The International Commission of Inquiry, headed by Dr. John Dewey, collated documentary materials from many parts of the world in the course of its lengthy investigation, and finally turned in vindication of Trotsky and Sedoff which was at the same time the most terrible indictment of Stalin's inquisitorial regime. Prof. Dewey and his associates found the entire "trial procedure flimsy and vicious;" on the basis of voluminous documents and extensive historic research, they agreed that Trotsky and Sedoff were innocent, and that the Moscow Trials were a frame-up.

Public Scepticism Increases

Public scepticism has grown simultaneously with the expansion of the charges to their present gigantic proportions. But there is no retreat for the terrible totalitarian steam-roller. To reinforce the crumbling trials of the past, new and more fantastic ones must be staged. To eliminate the last vestiges of opposition and of the October revolution, more and more staggering amalgams must be forged. The former Right Opposition, the Bukharinists, must now be linked to the "Trotskyite scum." Within this formula new airplane flights to Coyoacan must be in-

Presides Again

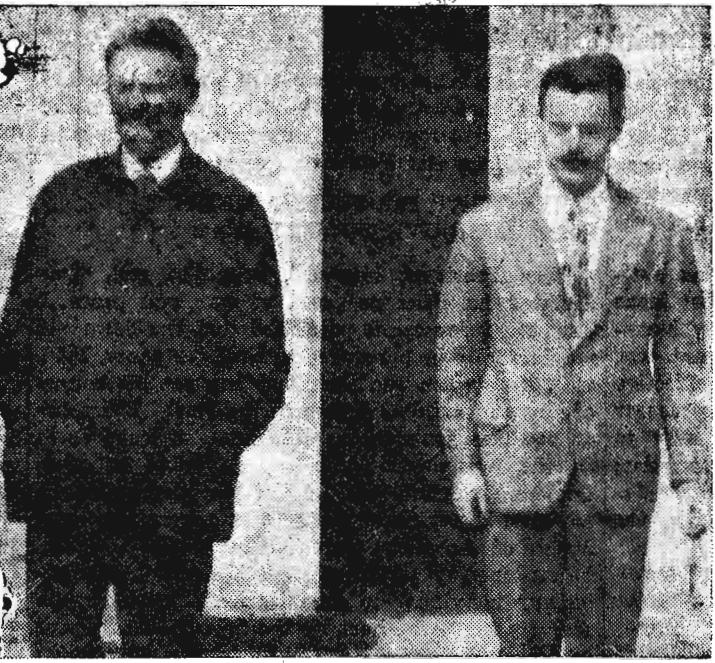


V. V. ULLRICH

vented, new Hotel Bristols must be uncovered in Mexico City, fresh links through the hapless Robinsons-Rubins or others like them, must be forged between Trotsky and the Hitler-Mikado team.

But the structure of the frameup, as it grows to its appalling proportions, develops ever more glaring cracks and fissures. The new trial, staged to bolster up the previous series of frame-ups, will inevitably bring them all tumbling down about Stalin's head.

Son, Friend, Fighter



Leon Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedoff, who died under mysterious circumstances in Paris on Feb. 16. In a memorial dedicated by him and Natalia Sedoff to the proletarian youth of the world, Trotsky reviews the career of young Leon, "son, friend and fighter," who devoted more than half of his 32 years to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The memorial, of which an excerpt appears in the current issue of *Challenge*, organ of the Young People's Socialist League, out this week, will shortly be published by the League as a pamphlet.

"Good-bye, Leon," it concludes. "We bequeath your irreproachable memory to the younger generation of the workers of the world. You will rightly live in the hearts of all those who work, suffer, and struggle for a better world. Revolutionary youth of all countries! Accept from us the memory of our Leon, adopt him as your son—he is worthy of it—and let him henceforth participate invisibly in your battles, since destiny has refused him the happiness of participating in your final victory."

Leon Sedoff Honored By 700 At New York Memorial Meeting

Shachtman, Erber Pay Final Tribute To Late Warrior



NATALIA TROTSKY

NEW YORK.—More than 700 revolutionary workers jammed the hall in Manhattan Plaza Sunday evening, February 27, to pay tribute to the memory of Leon Sedoff, Trotsky's son who died suddenly in Paris on Feb. 16. The meeting opened with the arrival of an honor guard of 150 members of the Young People's Socialist League who marched behind red banners from the City convention of the Y.P.S.L. to the hall.

Ernest Erber, National Chairman of the Y.P.S.L., paid tribute to Sedoff as a leader of the younger generation in the fight for the principles of Marx and Lenin. Excerpts from the moving memorial to his son written by Leon Trotsky, which will be issued in full in pamphlet form, were read by comrade Erber.

Life Reviewed

Max Shachtman, editor of the *Socialist Appeal*, reviewed Sedoff's life and services in the revolutionary movement to which he devoted his talent and energies from boyhood. Recounting the tragic fate visited on Trotsky's family by Stalin, he said the reactionary forces that hounded and reviled them cannot crush the proletarian revolution.

"We dedicate ourselves," he said, "to rescuing Sedoff's name from the foul slanders with which they have tried to besmirch it. We are pledged to avenge his death, but we disdain the methods of the gunmen. Ours are the methods of the class struggle."

Wire To Trotsky

Maurice Spector, of the editorial Board of the *New International* and formerly of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, stated that Leon Sedoff would take his place among the martyrs of the revolution, comparing Sedoff's struggle for the principles of Marx

and Lenin in a period of reaction, proletarian defeats, and persecution of revolutionaries to the courageous stand of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht during the last war.

The following telegram was sent by the meeting to Leon Trotsky: "Seven hundred revolutionaries, gathered in New York tonight to pay homage to that stainless young soldier of the world revolution, Leon Sedoff, share with you and his mother the deepest grief at his untimely departure from our ranks. Leon will live in the hearts of revolutionaries the whole world over."

VANGUARD FORUM

Public Lecture By CARLO TRESCA

SUBJECT: The G.P.U. in America

An exposure of the facts behind the Poyntz and Robinson cases.

Sunday, March 6, at 8:30 P. M.
Vanguard Hall, 22 W. 17th St.,
New York City
— Admission: 15 cents.

Trotsky Nails Fresh Attack On His Asylum

(Continued from page 1) al aristocracy. In Spain I defend those methods of struggle against Fascism which guaranteed the victory of the Soviets in the Civil War (1917-1920), and I oppose the ruinous methods of the Comintern which guaranteed the victory of Fascism in Germany, Austria and other countries, and which are laying the basis for the victory of General Franco. Throughout the world I defend those irreconcilable methods of struggle against imperialism which Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Karl Liebknecht, my old friends and companions-in-arms, applied; opposing the methods of the now thoroughly putrid Comintern which crawls on all fours before "democratic" imperialism, betraying the interests of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for the sake of caste privileges for the Soviet bureaucracy. Such are my views. I do not intend to change them. I carry full responsibility for them.

Several months ago this man asserted at a public meeting that I was plotting a general strike against the Mexican government in the interest of Fascism. In his turn, Mr. Labord—partly a helper of Toledano in slander, partly his master—asserted after this at a public manifestation that I was conspiring with "fascist generals." The answer to this "accusation" was a general contemptuous laugh. But it is impossible to embarrass these gentlemen. They cast these accusations aside only in order to present others immediately. If you throw enough mud, as the saying goes, some of it is bound to stick!

Odious Slanders

Messrs. Slanderers continue to build their game on the accusation that I am breaking my obligation about "non-interference" in the internal politics of Mexico. The importation of odious slanders from Moscow and their translation into Spanish these gentlemen identify... with the internal politics of Mexico. I announce: no one has ever demanded of me and I at no time promised anyone that I would renounce the right to defend my political honor from slanderers, and my ideas—from their opponents. I pledged the government of General Cárdenas that I would not interfere in the internal politics of this country according to the general understanding of the word "politics." This pledge I am fulfilling with absolute conscientiousness. But if on the streets of this capital someone should shove his hand into my pocket in order to steal my documents and letters, I would consider myself completely in the right to seize the criminal's hand. And let the owner of the hand not scream after this that I am interfering in the internal politics of Mexico! Lombardo Toledano tries to despoil something bigger, my political honor, and demands at that—O' demarsh, O' revolutionist!—that I be hindered by force from designating his actions and himself by those names which they deserve.

Mr. Lombardo Toledano and his clique are mistaken, however, if they think that they will succeed in executing the mission entrusted to them. Many much stronger than they have tried to accomplish this task before without success. The Czar taught me silence for four years in prison and twice exiled me to Siberia. Kaiser Wilhelm sentenced me to prison in contumacy because I did not wish to keep quiet in Switzerland during the war. The French allies of the Czar expelled me in 1916 from France for the same crime. King Alfonso XIII threw me into a Madrid prison in order to force me into silence. With the same objective, the British imperialists threw me into a Canadian concentration camp. The French revolutionaries, gathered in New York to pay homage to that stainless young soldier of the world revolution, Leon Sedoff, share with you and his mother the deepest grief at his untimely departure from our ranks. Leon will live in the hearts of revolutionaries the whole world over."

I have never concerned myself with the political program and public actions of Mr. Toledano, nor with his references to Lenin, which belong in the sphere of unintentional humor. Likewise, I now leave aside the question concerning the kind of machinations that made it possible for Toledano to palm off on the Trade Union Convention a decision upon a question about which the overwhelming majority had not the least conception. But it is completely clear that when Mr. Toledano with the help of forged material mobilizes the whole convention against me, a private individual, a political exile who has no relations whatever with the trade unions of Mexico, and does this with but a single aim—to force me into silence or to deprive me of the right of asylum—then Mr. Toledano acts not as a representative of the internal politics of Mexico but as an agent of the foreign politics of the G.P.U. Let him then carry the responsibility of this unworthy function!

Crawl To Stalin

If I had wished to remain silent about the crimes of the Stalin bureaucracy against the workers and peasants, they would have raised me high on their shield and the Messrs. Lombardo Toledano of the whole world would have crawled before me as they now crawl before the Kremlin clique. The Norwegian Social Democrats, older brothers in spirit to Toledano, discovered only one means with which to force me into silence about the G.P.U.: to throw me into prison. But through a book, my son, whom only death has now brought to silence, answered for me. Stalin, who understands this better than

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SOVIET UNION NOTES

Trial Defendants Include Last of Lenin's Colleagues — They Now Face Their Turn Before Firing Squad

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

(Continued from page 1)

A. P. ROSENGOLTZ

Born 1889. Old Bolshevik. Party member since 1905. Arrested in 1907. After February revolution, member of Presidium of Moscow Soviet, October 1917; member of Revolutionary Military Committee, 1918; member of Council of People's Commissars, 1918-1921; served on fronts during civil war; also member of Revolutionary Military Committees of 5th, 7th, 8th, 13th and 15th armies. 1922: member of Collegium of People's Commissariat of Finance, 1923-1924; placed in charge of Air Force, 1925-1927; attached to embassy in London. At XV congress of party, elected member of Central Committee. 1924-1931: secretary of Central Asiatic Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. From 1931 on: chairman of Centrososy (Soviet foreign trading organization). Elected candidate to C.C. at

burg; escaped; arrested again and sent back into exile, 1921; arrested and exiled to Narym; escaped in 1931. Caught and escaped again in 1934. Arrested in 1935, escaped in 1936. After February revolution, organizer of Moscow district committee of the party. Later Chairman of district committee, 1931-1934; secretary of Moscow committee, 1934-1935; secretary of Central Asiatic Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. From 1931 on: chairman of Centrososy (Soviet foreign trading organization). Elected candidate to C.C. at

Purger Purged



HENRY YAGODA

tenth party congress. Member of C.C. from the XI congress. Not an Oppositionist. Elected at XV congress to C.C.

M. CHERNOV

Former Commissar of Agriculture. Strong Stalin supporter. Not listed in any Soviet encyclopedia. Elected at VII Soviet Congress (1935) to C.C. of the Soviets. 1935: People's Commissar of Agriculture. Never an Oppositionist.

Of the doctors listed: Dr. L. V. Levin (head of the Kremlin hospital) signed the statement disputed by G. N. Kaminsky, then Commissar of Health, on the death of Ordjonikidze, Commissar of Heavy Industry who allegedly died at his home on Feb. 18, 1937. Prof. Pletnev was reputed to have refused to sign this statement. Pletnev and Levin were also among the physicians who signed the death certificate of Joffe, Oppositionist and former ambassador to Tokyo, Berlin and Peking, who committed suicide in 1927.

This leaves among the political "unknowns" the following: V. Kruchkov (identified as secretary to Gorky), B. B. Sharangovich (former secretary of the White Russian Communist Party), S. A. Bessonov (former secretary to the Soviet Embassy in Berlin), Dr. I. N. Kazakov, P. Zubarev, V. Maximov. (Note: There was an oppositionist named Bessonov who capitulated to Stalin. His relation to the accused Bessonov is not known to us.)

FDR Speeds His War Preparation

(Continued from page 1)

a prominent spokesman of the State Department casually remarked that it had long been a cherished dream of U. S. policy.

Thus the blue-print of Roosevelt imperialism comes more fully into the open. Fastening its stranglehold on the two Americas, it strengthens its long arm to keep open the market and investment fields of the Far East. Knowing with complete realism that its aims require war for their fulfillment, it forges the arms and the ideas which it hopes will bring out of that war the maximum of privilege and profits.

MAXIM LITVINOV

in civil war, on southern front, 1920-1921. During same period secretary of Yaroslav district committee of C.P.S.U. 1924-1927; secretary of the Central Committee of Uzbekistan, 1927-1931; secretary of North Caucasian regional committee. Elected candidate to C.C. at XV and XVI Congress. Never a Trotskite.

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BOB BROWNE
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Safeguard Trotsky's Asylum!

Once again the right of asylum for Leon Trotsky, great leader of the world revolutionary movement, is being threatened by the forces of reaction. The speech delivered last week by Lombardo Toledano, Stalin-inspired leader of the Mexican Confederation of Labor, was the opening gun in the newest campaign to drive Trotsky from his refuge in Mexico.

Toledano's provocative and contemptible speech preceded by but a few days the announcement of the trial of all remaining representatives of the leading cadres of Russian Bolshevism whom Stalin has at last decided to murder. The connection is all too obvious. Stalin will feel freer to go through with his latest frame-up trial if he knows that Trotsky is either interned, or—better yet—his voice stilled in death.

With Toledano's aid the Stalin murder gang hope to force President Cardenas to expel Trotsky from Mexico, thus, once more, making him easy prey for the assassins of the G.P.U. But they miscalculate. As in the past, all honest and enlightened men will rally to the defense of the exiled revolutionist against the counter-revolutionary Stalinists. The movement for his defense is already under way. Let us build a protective wall of iron solidarity around Leon Trotsky!

The hounding of Trotsky is not something new. Ever since 1929, when he was driven from the Soviet Union into exile in Turkey, the bloodhounds of the G.P.U. have been baying on his trail. In August, 1936, just as the infamous Zinoviev-Kamenev trial was getting under way, the Norwegian government, under pressure from Moscow, silenced him by internment.

Again today, with another infamous trial in progress, the frame-up managers in Moscow want Trotsky silenced. This, and this alone, is the explanation for Toledano's attack on the pre-eminent leader of the Fourth International. An aroused and indignant world movement, intent on defending Trotsky against his persecutors and traducers will defeat this newest scheme of the Moscow assassins.

That Letter

What none of the capitalist newspapers has taken the slightest notice of, much less emphasized, with regard to the Stalin letter to the young Kursk communist Ivanov, is its relation to the foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. From this standpoint, the letter is of singular importance.

For the past three years, the whole foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the strategy of the Third International, has been oriented towards a united front of all the "democratic" countries against the "fascist aggressors".

Only the other day, in a speech at the University of North Carolina, Soviet Ambassador Troyanovsky made a public appeal for an alliance among the United States, France, England and the Soviet Union—the four "great democracies"—for the preservation of the peace of the world.

With the Communist International, this took the form of the People's Front policy, which was aimed at bolstering up capitalism in the "democratic" countries as the price for its existing or prospective military alliance with the Soviet Union.

France was regarded as already a close ally of Moscow and defender of its territorial integrity; England and the United States were regarded as being on the very verge of becoming an ally.

In pursuance of the same line, the Soviet bureaucracy became the most sturdy and vociferous proponent of the discredited nest of pirates that sails under the flag of the League of Nations.

This whole marvelous combination, however, was based on hope and illusion and not on the realities of imperialist politics and the class struggle. For, in the past year especially, and most particularly in the past couple of months, it has become as plain as a pikestaff that the imperialist bandits of both the "democratic" and the fascist camps are much more interested in coming to an understanding among themselves, a settlement of their dispute for a time at least, than in defending the abstract ideals of "de-

mocracy" or the concrete boundary lines of the Soviet Union.

This trend reached a sensational climax in the Eden-Chamberlain dispute that followed upon the virtual annexation of Austria by Hitler. The great "democracies" proved very little concerned with outward political forms, and Chamberlain rushed to arrive at an accord with Italy as a preliminary to the achievement of a Four-Power Pact England, France, Germany and Italy.

And the Soviet Union? And collective security? And the independence and integrity of Ethiopia? They are all lost in the shuffle and bustle of the imperialist powers to improve their respective positions.

That explains why, in a political-programmatic document devoted to the question of the defense of the Soviet Union, Stalin has not one single word to say, not even a remote hint, about the standard formulae which have been daily repeated as slogans by the Stalinist party and diplomats for the past few years. Nothing about the League of Nations, the famous "pebble in the road of war." Nothing about collective security hitherto the loudest cry of the Stalinist patriots. Nothing about the united front of the "democracies" and nothing about the People's Front.

And the reason for this eloquent silence lies in the complete, patent and undisputable bankruptcy of Stalin's foreign policy.

England is ready to come to a settlement with Italy and Germany. The latter are not unwilling. Why and how is this possible? Because it would give England a release from Europe and enable her to concentrate all her forces against Japan's challenge to her domination of Asia. As for Germany, an agreement with England (and consequently with France, which plays no independent role on the continent and can play none) would mean that she could turn her full attention to the East, that is, against the Soviet Union.

The net result of the "statesmanlike", the "practical", the "realistic" policy of Stalin, has been to maneuver the Soviet Union into a more isolated and imperialist position than she has occupied for more than 15 years. And the Stalin letter is an implicit recognition of this sorry fact.

Does the letter herald a turn in policy? Yes, a forced one. Not towards revolutionary internationalism—Troyanovsky is 100% correct in ridiculing such an interpretation. Stalinism is incapable of a revolutionary line. But it means, in all likelihood, the beginning of the end for the pet slogans of the Stalinist People's Front. Already Walter Duranty, unoffical spokesman for the Kremlin, has announced that the "collective security" slogan is being discarded by Moscow.

What a cruel blow at Browder this will be, and what difficulties it would present to any man who did not, like him, have a flexible spinal column!

But whatever may be the exact nature of the turn, it is evident that Stalin has reached the end of a blind alley. The danger to the Soviet Union has been enormously enhanced. It can be saved from the accumulated threats to its existence only by the independent class action of the world proletariat. To organize this action—there lies the great task of the Fourth International.

Labor's "Friends"

Two "liberal" Congressmen—Representative John T. Bernard of Minnesota and Representative John M. Coffey of Washington—have resigned from the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal as a result of "revelations" concerning the frame-up leader of the Gastonia textile strike which appeared last week in that organ of truth and enlightenment, the Stalinist *Daily Worker*.

Both these gentlemen won their seats in Congress with the aid of labor votes, accorded them because of their supposed labor sympathies. They are prepared to play ball with any labor organization and to associate themselves with any labor cause which evidences a capacity to roll up working-class votes on election day. In the defense organization built to aid Beal in his fight for liberty against the labor-hating Bourbons of the South, they scented a chance for vote-catching.

Now along comes the Communist Party and its *Daily Worker*, proclaiming Beal an "enemy of the people" because he has engaged in honest criticism of the murderous Stalin dictatorship in the Soviet Union and its army of corrupt allies in this country. The two Congressmen promptly resign from the Beal Committee without making the slightest effort to verify the Stalinist accusations against Beal.

France was regarded as already a close ally of Moscow and defender of its territorial integrity; England and the United States were regarded as being on the very verge of becoming an ally. The accusation of murder in the case of Beal, Menzhinsky and Kuibyshev strains the wildest imagination beyond the breaking point. What earthly reason Beal, for example, who was a warm personal friend of Gorky, would have for murdering him, cannot be ascertained. Just the contrary, he would, if anything, go out of his way to preserve Gorky for he, like everybody else, knew that Gorky frequently intervened to restrain Stalin from too violent measures against all opponents, real and fancied.

It is impossible to find language to describe the charge that Trotsky was a foreign spy as early as 1921 and that he and Bukharin tried to assassinate Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov in 1918.

Early in 1918, when a lively discussion occurred in the country over the signing of the Brest

How Not To Fight War

— An Editorial Statement —

History has shown that in democratic imperialist nations the pre-war period is a time of the mushroom growth of pacifist sentiments and organizations. Indeed, as Lenin more than once pointed out, this development must be understood at bottom as an integral part of the war preparations themselves.

Confronted with widespread and genuine anti-war feelings among the masses, the pacifist ideas divert these feelings into channels entirely harmless to the imperialist interests. The anti-war spirit is blocked from finding its only effective outlet in an anti-capitalist direction. The masses are ideologically disarmed, and turned over to "peace leaders" who are simply the hypocritical fronts of imperialism. When the time comes for war, they are ripe for plucking by the war makers.

The present "Keep America out of War" movement is thus a significant and normal sign of the times. This movement has not yet, of course, taken final form; but it is already well enough characterized by what has happened up to now.

SPONSORS OF MEETING
SUDDENLY DISCOVER A "PROGRAM"

It was started by the Lovestoneites and the Altman-Thomas Socialists as a desperate effort to rehabilitate their hopelessly decaying political fortunes—though it is already getting out of their hands. Its origin was handled in the typical manner of "innocent" stooge organizations, reminiscent of the classic Stalinist maneuvers in this field. A miscellaneous group of writers, preachers and liberals was called together in Thomas' house to "talk over" what steps might be taken "against the war." A proposal was made to sponsor a public meeting in New York on March 6, at which individuals with various points of view would speak against the war and against collective security. A small committee was selected to handle "details."

The New York meeting was paralleled by meetings in arrangement for Philadelphia, Cleveland, and other cities. The modest sponsoring committee for a New York meeting finds itself part of a vague "national organization" which now talks about a "national congress." Under the guise of a "call" for the New York meeting, the sub-committee issues a political program for the sprouting organization, and calmly signs to this program the names of all those who had for one reason or another agreed to sponsor the meeting—somehow, in the great majority of cases, forgetting the one "detail" of consulting the sponsors about the call to which their names was signed.

FIND THEMSELVES FARTHER
RIGHT THAN AMERICAN LEAGUE

Ironically enough, in this way many individuals in the past noted for their principled opposition to the Stalinist American League against War and Fascism find themselves part of a setup distinguished from the American League in its early stages only by being much further to the right.

The "Keep America out of War" Committee, let it be clearly noticed, is in no sense whatever a United Front. It is a political bloc of various tendencies and individuals: Socialist, Lovestoneite, some anarchists, liberals, preachers, Quakers, writers of a dozen shades of opinion, a few labor bureaucrats. Like all such blocs it is based not upon a plan for joint specific actions (as would be the case with a united front) but upon a political pro-

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This program, however much it may reflect prevailing anti-war moods, is thoroughly deceptive and reactionary. To begin with, the central slogan, "Keep America out of War"—which is also used as the name for the organization—can be the source only of the gravest illusions. When taken in conjunction with the last statement in the call

"—We can keep America out of war if American citizens (sic) act at once!"—it is a blatant lie, and a gross deception of the very masses whose anti-war feelings the Committee aims to exploit.

INFER THAT ROOSEVELT MIGHT
FORSAKE DRIVE TOWARD WAR

"The President himself", says the call, "has declared no clear program of war and peace." Thus the inference is permitted that the President may actually be persuaded to head for peace. At a time when the President has set his course openly and ruthlessly toward the war! The reason for this sentence is, of course, to leave room in the organization for certain types of New Dealers (including the Ludlow-bloc Congressmen) who would not allow a direct attack on the chief leader of American imperialism.

Similarly, no direct and specific attack is made on any individual or organization! Evidently no feelings are to be hurt by the "Keep America out of War" movement! It will be one big happy family in search of Peace.

Throughout the document the words "our" and "we" are used in a manner to which no patriot could take exception: "...we do not need a bigger army or navy to protect our shores." This is quite in keeping with the addressing of the call "To the Citizens (our bolds) of New York." There is not a mention of "workers", classes, or the class struggle in the entire call. There is not a line about the struggle against capitalism, which, evidently, is presumed to have no connection with the struggle against war. And among the sponsors of this call are many who have in the past had harsh things to say about People's Frontism!

Among the programmatic planks is to be found the following: "5. American cooperation for international peace—but no alliance with any nation or group of nations for war..." This is inserted, apparently, to make room for "respectable" advocates of collective security who are uneasy about their present Stalinist company (at the time, by the way, when Stalin himself is preparing to throw collective security over).

This program corresponds accurately to the heterogeneous Lovestoneite-to-New Deal social composition of the movement. (It was not at all an accident that no one representing the revolutionary position of the Socialist Workers Party was asked to participate, and that the suggestion of one Committee member to invite an S. W. P. speaker for the public meeting was vigorously rejected.) The speakers list for the public meeting sums up neatly: Thomas and Wolfe for Socialists and Lovestoneites; Homer Martin as the "labor figure"—the same Martin who last week announced through the Scripps-Howard Press devotion to a war in "defense" of the United States; the New York Post columnist, Ernest L. Meyer; the retired liberal, Oswald Garrison Villard; the former liberal and present opponent of all "government interference in business," John T. Flynn; Senator LaFollette in person to represent the New Deal; and the inevitable retired general of all pacifist medleys—this time Major General Wm. C. Rivers. An appropriate crew to handle such a ship! For Thomas and Lovestone it is clear that defendants and patriots are their natural allies in the fight against war.

MOVEMENT IS BLOW AT
REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

One must speak the truth plainly on the issue of war. The "Keep America out of War" movement is in no respect a blow at the war and the war-makers. It is a blow at the revolutionary struggle against war. It is a device for the deception and disorientation of the people, above all of the workers. That is the truth.

The struggle against the war is the struggle against capitalism. The way to fight the war is to make the workers' revolution, and that is the only way to fight it. This is the truth; and whoever hides this truth is guilty of crime and treachery against the people. We propose to proclaim this truth from the rooftops, and to expose at every turn those who seek to manipulate the anti-war feelings of the masses in precisely the way to sell them out most hopelessly and tragically to the war-makers.

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