

Diplomats Expose Stalin Frame Ups

In Moving Appeal For Threatened Bolsheviks

(Continued from page 1)

posed the police measures used to extort false confessions from those tried and murdered, and added:

Victims Were Innocent

"Each new trial, each firing-squad, shook my conscience more deeply. I had sufficient information to know how these trials were staged, and to realize that innocent persons were perishing."

Both of the former Soviet officials have been members of the Communist Party of Russia virtually since the Revolution, and took this public step only because, in Krivitsky's words, "I believe it is my duty to bring all these to the knowledge of the international workers' organizations." Barmine and Krivitsky have made public the fact that their footsteps have been dogged by G.P.U. agents since their break with Stalinism, but that they are determined to rehabilitate the imprisoned and executed Russian revolutionists in the eyes of public opinion regardless of the danger or cost to themselves.

Ignace Reiss, former agent of the G.P.U., who took a similar step several months ago in denouncing the Moscow frame-ups, was murdered by G.P.U. assassins in Switzerland a few weeks ago. Remembering the fate of Reiss, Barmine has written in his statement: "I know the danger I incur, but I am obeying my conscience in breaking with this government."

Stalin Crisis Seen

Reiss, Barmine, Krivitsky—they are only the first! The Stalinist G.P.U. cannot forever keep old revolutionists terrorized into silence! The crack is widening, and foreshadows the final crisis in the Bonapartist regime of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy that is undermining all the conquests of the proletarian revolution in Russia.

The Socialist Appeal is fortunately able to print below the statement made by the courageous Russian officials. The first one, by Alexander Barmine, is addressed to the French Committee of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, with a copy sent to the Central Committee of the League for the Rights of Man in France: "Having just left the service of the government of the USSR, I consider it my duty to bring to your attention the following facts and to raise an indignant protest to you, in the name of humanity and the rights of man, against the crimes which are becoming more extensive every day.

"First secretary of the Legation of the USSR at Athens since December, 1935, then Charge d'Affaires of the USSR at Athens beginning in March, 1937, I have passed 19 years in the service of the Soviet Government, have belonged for 19 years to the Russian Communist Party, and fought for the Soviet regime and devoted all my strength to the Workers State.

Is Old Revolutionist

"I volunteered for the Red Army in 1919, was named six months later political commissar of a battalion and then of a regiment. For having distinguished myself under fire, I subsequently

went to the school of Red Army officers and held various commands on the Western front. After the offensive against Warsaw, the military council of the 16th Army named me to take courses at the Academy of the General Staff. In 1932 I was retired with rank of brigade commander. I functioned as Consul General in Persia from 1923 to 1925. I have belonged for 10 years to the ranks of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade and was, from 1929 to 1931, director-general of Imports in France and Italy, official agent of the USSR in Belgium in 1932, member of the governmental delegation in Poland in 1933, president of the central export trust of automobile and aviation products in 1934-35. Such were, in brief, my posts before my appointment to Greece. Whatever my functions, I have thought only of wholeheartedly serving the interests of my country and of socialism.

"The recent Moscow trials filled me with stupor and horror. It was impossible for me to accept the execution of the old leaders of the revolution, despite the confessions they lavishly made, confessions which only added to my disquiet while prolonging my last illusions.

Illusions Ended

"My profound attachment to the working class and to the Soviet people, my difficulty in believing in the possibility of crimes on the part of its leaders, led me at first, in all sincerity to do violence to myself and resign myself to the facts. I hoped, in making this effort, to serve still further the cause of Socialism. But the events of recent months (months which I spent in France on convalescence leave) have left me no further illusions. Startling trials prepared the wholesale extermination of the cadres of the Communist Party of the USSR, i.e., of militants who led the struggle in illegality, made the revolution, conducted the civil war, assured the victory of the first Workers State... covered today with slime and handed over to the executioner. It seemed to me then that a reactionary dictatorship had installed itself in my country.

"I saw disappear into prison—perhaps executed or suppressed—my chiefs and companions, all old Bolsheviks: the former ambassador and People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs Krestinsky; the chairman of the Society for Cultural Relations Abroad Arrosev, former vice-Commissar and Ankara ambassador Karakhan, said to be shot; Ambassador Yrunev, former commissar-general of the Red Army in 1918-19; Elivia, vice-commissar of Foreign Trade whose collaborator I had the honor to be; my friends and comrades (with whom I struggled and worked at different times during the last 20 years), Zuckerman and Fechner, directors at the Foreign Affairs Commissariat in Moscow; the Soviet ministers Asmus (Helsingfors), Podolsky (Kaunas), Ostrovsky, friend and protege of Voroshilov (Bucharest); Generals Guekker, Schmidt and Savitsky, heroes of the civil war and comrades of the Military Academy; finally the ambassadors Davtian, Karsky, Bogomolov, Rosenberg, Brodovsky, whom

I knew personally for a short time but of whose honesty and devotion I am deeply persuaded.

Face Death

"I would like to make the most pressing, most desperate appeal to public opinion in behalf of at least of those of them who are still perhaps living and against the false and ignoble accusations. I am thinking of my friends remaining at their posts in other countries of Europe, Asia or America, threatened daily with a similar fate and placed before the tragic dilemma: go back to certain death, or, renouncing seeing their country again, to risk the bullets of the agents of the Secret Police abroad, of those agents who quite recently still shadowed my every step.

"To remain in the service of Stalin's government would have been to doom myself to the worst demoralization and to assume my share of the responsibility for the crimes committed every day against the people of my country. It would have been to betray the cause of socialism to which I have devoted my entire life.

"I am obeying my conscience in breaking with this government. I am fully aware of the danger to which I expose myself in acting this way. I am signing my own death warrant and expose myself to the blows of paid killers. This consideration could not modify in any way my line of conduct.

Obeys Conscience

"I have sent my resignation to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs at Moscow and, renouncing the benefits of diplomatic immunity, I am today only a political refugee who place himself under the protection of the laws and opinion of the country which gives him hospitality. I have obeyed my conscience, sure in this way of having been more faithful than ever to the ideas which I have served all my life.

"May my choice help clarify opinion on a regime which denies in fact all Socialism, all humanity.

"With my salutations,
Alexander Barmine (Graff).
"Dec. 1, 1937."

Herewith we reproduce the letter sent by Walter Krivitsky to the French authorities, requesting the right of asylum. Krivitsky was not only recently entrusted by the Stalinist government with a special mission abroad, but had been previously decorated with the Order of the Red Flag and given a sword of honor. His letter to the French Minister of the Interior follows. Mr. Minister:

"The undersigned, Samuel Ginsburg, bearing in the USSR as a Soviet citizen the name of Walter Krivitsky, and the political pseudonym Walter, born June 28, 1899 at Podwoloczyska (Poland) has been a member of the CPSU since 1919.

Twice Decorated

"From 1919 to 1937 I was in the service of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, entrusted with missions of a political military and economic nature. I loyally and with absolute devotion fulfilled these missions, convinced that I was best serving my cause. My efforts were recognized many times. The State and the Party testified to their confidence in me. I was named to important posts and was twice decorated.

"For several years, however, I have followed with anxiety the policy of my government. But

Bureaus Restrict Rights Of Jobless Locals; WAA 'Purged'

By Neil Harrison

NEW YORK. — After ten months of unity the Alliance is completely in the grip of Stalinist leadership. Immediately after taking control of the Alliance, the Stalinists started a campaign of suspension and expulsion of militants who dared offer any criticism of their leadership. First, Clarence Roth was expelled on trumped-up charges. Then militants like Sol Berkowitz and Weinberg were suspended for daring to criticize the "leaders." Finally, leading workers such as George Aranoff and Ida Lipp were expelled. Hoodlums were sent into locals not under Stalinist control to take them over and, failing that, to disrupt them. Other locals were packed with Communist party members.

Relief Officials Take Advantage

In the meanwhile the Emergency Relief Bureau started cracking down on the unemployed and putting the Alliance in its place. New rules were put into force. First, clients were separated from delegates; the Stalinist leadership yielded at once. Then the size of the grievance committee from each local was cut down to five; on this the Stalinists yielded again. Then the Bureaus ruled that only one representative from a local could present grievances; and once more the Stalinists yielded. Finally the Bureaus ruled that the Alliance could come in with grievances only twice a week, Mondays and Fridays, irrespective of whether the case was an emergency or not. Through the accumulated "red tape" it now takes at least three weeks before a relief applicant can get on relief; one week before an appointment is made, one week before the investigator calls, one week before the check is issued. This, of course, saves the city hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The Stalinists continued to claim they were winning victory after victory, and if they deceived the rank and file, they did not for one minute deceive LaGuardia or the relief administration who cinched their advances with the plan to set up a central complaint bureau for each bo-

I was convinced that my work served the supreme interests of my workers fatherland and that it was too important to be abandoned whatever my personal opinions. The most recent political events in the USSR completely changed this situation. Faced by the physical suppression of all the old militants and all who, like myself, placed themselves from the beginning at the disposal of the Soviets, I understood that I could not continue to work with the Soviet Government.

"Faced with the choice of following all my old comrades to death, or of trying to save my life and those of my near ones, I decided not to hand myself over silently to the Stalinist terror which has nothing in common with the cause which is mine.

"I know that a price has been placed on my life. Assassination dogs me and will spare neither

rough, thus eliminating the Alliance locals from the bureau altogether.

Stalinist "Line"

Before the election of LaGuardia a "demonstration" was held at City Hall which had all the appearance of a funeral march. The main slogan raised was "food and rent must come down." Some progressive militants who shouted "down with the sales tax" were nearly beaten up by the Stalinists.

On WPA the line was that nothing should be done to embarrass Roosevelt. Thousands of dollars were raised for a march to Washington which was held after Congress adjourned. The campaign against the lay-offs inaugurated by the Stalinist leadership consisted of phoney "job marches," post card campaigns to the President and Congressmen, and marches to the Chamber of Commerce, the net result being that the government laid off from WPA their desired quota anyway. Now with further WPA dismissals in view, the Stalinists have brought in no concrete plan on how to fight this. Nothing must be done to embarrass the two white hopes of the People's Front, Roosevelt and LaGuardia.

Progressives Organize

A group of progressive militants, early seeing the trend that the Alliance was taking, started laying the groundwork for the formation of a progressive group around the general slogans of a democratic organization a militant fighting program, against the government administration responsible for WPA dismissals and the cutting of relief standards; against the disruption of the locals by Stalinists, against the anti-union signs put up by Mayor LaGuardia in the bureaus. ("It is not necessary to belong to any organization or pay any money to anyone to get on relief" is one of Mayor LaGuardia's "Fordisms" in every bureau).

The Progressive Group now numbers approximately 200 members and is supported by ten locals of the Alliance. The group has received considerable support from the rank and file formerly under Stalinist leadership.

my wife nor my child. I have often risked my life for my cause. But I do not want to die for nothing.

Aware of Danger

"I feel in solidarity with all the militant workers of the USSR, with the tens of thousands of imprisoned, deported, murdered, executed by the present rulers of a regime which they brought to power. In remaining abroad, I hope to have the possibility of rehabilitating the memory of these militants of the working class, treated as spies and agents of the Gestapo. It is also for them that I ask you to protect me, me and mine, to authorize me to remain in France until I will be able to go to another country to earn my living for me and mine in full independence and security.

"(Sgd) Samuel Ginsburg (Krivitsky)