

# Stalinists Frantically Try To Offset The Findings Of The Dewey Commission

## STRAIN TO DIVERT WORLD ATTENTION FROM HISTORIC VERDICT EXONERATING TROTSKY

### Turn To Reactionary Sat. Eve. Post With Soviet Spy Story

By James Casey

The falsification mills of the Communist Party of America are working at high speed these days to counteract the blow dealt the Stalin regime and its worldwide frame-up organization (the Comintern) by the International Commission of Inquiry. Financial resources of the pilfering Kremlin bureaucracy are being utilized unsparingly for the dissemination of fabrications to divert world attention from the now historic verdict that proclaimed Leon Trotsky not guilty of the charges against him and the Moscow trials a gigantic fraud.

A paid hireling of a Stalinist trading agency suddenly emerges and, giving the name of "John Littlepage," writes glibly in the "Reactionary Saturday Evening Post" of "personal experiences with spies and wreckers in the Soviet Union." The "innocent" and, of course, "entirely unexpected" revelations are avidly picked up by and plastered over the front page of the Daily Worker. A nobody from nowhere arises to defame the names of old Bolshevik associates of Lenin, who were framed and murdered by the G.P.U. gunmen, and the whole Stalinist press flies into ecstasies over the nauseating performance.

#### Raise Spy Scare

At the same time a nationwide "spy scare" is raised. There are sly whispers and rumors of mysterious characters "making visits to Trotsky in Mexico" and Stalinist leaders strut among the rank-and-file, winking their eyes knowingly and pretending that they have the privilege or the capacity of independent thinking.

And from far off Paris, Stalin's deep student of Dostoevsky, Walter Duranty, vies for honors with Mike Gold out on Brighton Beach in typing out horror tales about spies and spies and more spies.

But while these puppets and others go through their paces, an order comes down from the C.P. Political Bureau to the districts and in turn, to the sections and

branches. All members are instructed to read Joseph Stalin's report to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., on "Trotskyism." It is hoped that by impregnating the members with the holy words from the lips of the "infallible leader," their minds will be rendered immune to any consideration of the simplest facts and to the distinction between proven truths and fairy-tale "confessions."

Since the aim of the Stalin report is so all-embracing and conclusive, it is worth determining whether it can stand the test of political dissection. The report, delivered on March 3, 1937, is incorporated in a pamphlet ironically entitled "Mastering Bolshevism," and along with it is a concluding speech to the plenum which, due to space limitation, will not here be subjected to scrutiny.

#### Starts With Kirov

Stalin begins his report with a citation of the Kirov assassination and places the blame therefor upon the "Trotskyite-Zinoviev center." He warns party members to beware of spies and discusses, in three of four paragraphs, the relations among bourgeois states. This done, he enters into verbal combat with "Trotskyism."

At the outset Stalin offers the premise that "Trotskyists" do not represent a political trend, but instead are an "unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers acting on instructions of intelligence service of foreign states."

There upon Stalin asks, "What is a political trend?" and proceeds to answer:

"A political trend in the working class is a group or party which has its own definite political face, platform and program which does not and cannot hide its views from the working class but, on the contrary, openly and honestly carries on propaganda for its views in full view of the working class; does not fear to demonstrate its real aims and tasks to the working class but, on the contrary, goes to the working class with open visor to convince it of the correctness of its views." (P. 14, "Mastering Bolshevism.")

Having given this definition of a political trend and after re-

peating his characterization of "Trotskyism," Stalin launches an attack on Kamenev and Zinoviev, who are supposed to have taken orders from Trotsky "in a plot to assassinate Kirov" and commit sundry "other crimes." Says Stalin of these "Trotskyite" defendants, who were charged with being murderers "without a political trend":

#### Verbal Gymnastics

"If you remember, Kamenev and Zinoviev at the trial in 1936 strenuously denied that they had any political platform. It was fully possible for them to develop their political platform at the trial. But they did not do so, declaring they had no political platform. There can be no doubt that both of them were lying when they denied they had a political platform. Even the blind can now see that they had their political platform. But why did they deny the existence of any political platform? Because they were afraid to disclose their real political face, they were afraid to demonstrate their real platform for the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R., fearing that such a platform would arouse revulsion in the working class." (pp. 15, 16.)

Consider now the propositions set down by Stalin: "A political trend," he says, "openly carries on propaganda for its views in full view of the working class, etc." Reading such words, any one not familiar with life under the Stalin regime might well imagine that the entrenched bureaucracy permits the political opposition to publish its own newspapers, conduct public meetings and discuss its platform with workers in shops, mines, mills, without the peril of imprisonment or the firing squad.

What could be farther from the truth than any such assumption and, therefore, what could be more misleading than Stalin's crafty statement about challenging the opposition to present its platform "in full view of the working class"?

#### Lies Complacently

Complacently Stalin asserts that those with a political trend "cannot hide their views from the working class." And, he adds, "Trotskyism" represents no political trend. Yet, by a weird process of reasoning he proceeds to argue that in the Kamenev-Zinoviev trial, "the Trotskyite murderers not only represented a political trend" which he first set out to prove "did not exist," but they also managed to hide from view their platform which, he had declared, "could not be hidden."

Nor is Stalin satisfied to stop there. He heaps confusion upon confusion. Why did Kamenev and Zinoviev conceal their "Trotskyite" platform? he asks. They did it, Stalin answers, because

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# Severity Of The Crisis Is Shown In Statistics Of Unemployment

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March on Wall Street for a Saturday afternoon—when the Stock Exchange is empty and the bankers are enjoying their week-end. In this march it is making the unemployed act as a "mob" with which to threaten those bankers who refuse to submit to New Deal "controls." The warning is clear that if they do not support the New Deal, the next march will take place during business hours and the action will not be so harmless. In this way the Stalinists act as Roosevelt's agents among the unemployed. Their theory also hides the truth that the New Deal program of planned scarcity is not progressive but utterly reactionary and that it destroys the abundance inherent in modern industry and agriculture in order to saddle the workers with higher prices and to aid capital with higher profits. It also hides the truth that the present deep crisis has occurred amidst the "controls" of the New Deal.

#### Capitalism Means Crisis

All this propaganda, because it hides the decline of American capitalism, is part of the ideological struggle to suppress the workers. For the conclusion is unassailable: American capitalism is on the decline. Removing "Wall Street" to Main Street or any other street will not bring prosperity. Keeping the New Deal cannot restore prosperity. Destroying the New Deal cannot restore prosperity. Good capitalism, bad capitalism; controlled capitalism or uncontrolled capitalism; capitalism in any form cannot restore prosperity. The destruction of the myth that capitalism can restore prosperity precedes and accompanies class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism itself. And the best evidence to destroy this myth is found in the government statistics themselves.

Prosperity for workers means more and regular employment. Employment is the source of wages and purchasing power for the great mass of workers who have not yet been reduced to relief. Where weekly wages remain the same, a change in employment means a proportionate change in the purchasing power of the workers. What has happened to employment?

Judged by the number of workers employed, the working-class has never recovered from the depression following the crash of 1929. If we leave out of reckoning all casual workers and the relief projects, the estimated total of non-agricultural wage-

earners and salaried employees working on an average each month of 1929 was 28,962,000 compared with a monthly average for 1936 of 25,789,000, a decline in employment of about eleven per cent.

#### Depressed Recovery

However, this does not give a sufficiently accurate picture because it includes persons who are not really wage-workers. The total figure on employment in manufacturing industries, steam railroads and thirteen other non-manufacturing industries shows more accurately how the wage-workers fared because this figure excludes salaried employees in most cases. Comparison between 1929 and 1936 shows a much greater drop. In 1929, employment in these industries was 16,801,000. It fell 34 per cent by 1936, and in 1936 it had "recovered" from the depression but it was still about seventeen per cent below that of 1929. The recovery in employment was a depressed recovery, which never reached the former level. The New Deal, despite its loud claims, could not restore employment—could not restore prosperity to the workers.

In an article on "Non-Agricultural Employment in the United States 1929-1936" the Labor Information Bulletin of June 1937 compares employment in March 1929 and March 1937. A comparison between the two months brings out clearly the extent to which depressed recovery persisted in the field of employment. The total number employed in non-agricultural industries in March 1929 was 28,220,000 but in March 1937 it was 26,854,000, a drop of five per cent.

Not all industries contributed equally to this drop. Manufacture was only a little below its 1929 employment. The greatest losses were suffered by workers in the heavy industries, such as building construction, transportation, mining and public utilities. Employment in transportation dropped from 2,422,000 to 1,837,000, a loss of twenty-two per cent, and in building construction, from 1,363,000 to 958,000 a drop of almost thirty per cent. The losses in employment in these industries began under the "unregulated" capitalism of Hoover, were not made up under the "controlled" capitalism of Roosevelt, and will never be made up so long as capitalism exists. For capitalism is on the decline and one of the tokens is the falling off in employment.

The decline of employment in the heavy goods industries was not offset by increased employment in the distribution and ser-

vice industries. Employment in March, 1937 was 12,716,000 as compared with 12,653,000 in March, 1929, an increase of one-half of one per cent. But this was entirely due to a ten per cent increase in the number employed in government, education, and professional services. If we leave out this figure, we get a loss of employment in the distribution and service industries of about three per cent. The parasitic "new middle" class employed in finance suffered a disproportionately deep cut in employment of over eleven per cent.

The only increase in employment in private industry was in the number of proprietors and self-employed. The number in 1929 was 4,082,000 and in 1937 it rose to 4,241,000, an increase of over four per cent. The increase is accounted for in the main by unemployed who scraped together a few cents in order to support themselves by means of some "business" of their own. Where they did not go bankrupt, they earned not much more than an employed worker. In Chicago, for instance, according to an article on family income in the Survey of Current Business of December 1937, the yearly salary of the average worker was \$1,556, while that of the average independent business man was only \$1,795.

However, had as they are, the figures given for March 1937 are in all cases preliminary ones and reflect the optimism of the writer rather than the cold reality. The revised figures would doubtless show even greater declines. For instance, the preliminary figures on employment in manufacturing industries in March 1929 and March 1937 show a decline of a mere thirty-two thousand. But the revised figures given at a later date show that employment was 1,201,000 lower in March 1937 than in 1929, a drop of twelve per cent.

If nothing else had changed, the decline in employment between March 1929 and March 1937 would have meant a sharp cut in the purchasing power of the workers, a drastic lowering of their standards of living. But at the same time that employment fell there was an increase in the population of about six millions. These represented a surplus population which cannot be used in production, persons who have no source of purchasing power themselves, and who depend for consumption upon the wages of other workers. In short, capitalism has disinherited them from production and made them an additional burden upon the living standards of the workers. This burden will increase during the coming years.

Despite the tendency for the population growth rate to drop, there will still be added about a million people each year.

# Moscow Killings Split French Civil Rights Group

## SEVERAL MOST INFLUENTIAL LEADERS LEAVE, INCLUDING KARL MARX'S GRAND DAUGHTER

### Rebel Over Stalinist Control of Central Committee

No publicity whatever has as yet been given in this country to the crisis within the famous French liberal organization, the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme ("League for the Rights of Man"). This crisis has already resulted in the resignation from the Central Committee of the League of a substantial and influential minority, including Magdeleine Paz (grand daughter of Marx), Gaston Bergery (formerly a brilliant parliamentary spokesman of the left Radical Socialists and now leader of the "Frontist Party"), Georges Pioch, Michel Alexandre, Felicien Chal-laye, and others.

The Ligue des Droits de l'Homme is in some respects comparable to the Civil Liberties Union in this country. It has, however, an immeasurably greater power and influence, and its membership has for a generation included almost all of the outstanding writers, intellectuals and liberals of France, as well as many representatives of the labor movement.

The League's origin dates back to the Dreyfus affair, when it was organized to carry on the systematic defense of Dreyfus against the frame-up. Like all such organizations, without any firm social or ideological foundation, it succumbed to the social-patriotism of the War. But in spite of this it continued in its own way at least a partial defense of civil and human rights, and in the years subsequent to the War recovered something of its standing.

#### Trials Cause Crisis

The present crisis in the League has been precipitated by the approach of the new War, and even more specifically by the Moscow Trials. In the past period the Stalinists, working hand in hand with open chauvinists, have gained control of the Central Committee, and have been utilizing the League and its publications in their international manner to cover up the crimes of Stalinism and to win the masses to social-patriotic support of the coming war.

The issue of the Moscow Trials brought the far too long delayed ferment to a head. The non-Stalinist minority of the Central

Committee resigned. On November 30th the minority held a mass meeting in Paris to explain the resignations to the League membership. Bergery reviewed the record of the League in acting as a cover for Stalinist social-patriotism. Magdeleine Paz reviewed the course of the League with respect to the Moscow Trials.

In observing the analogies with similar organizations and individuals in this country, it is of particular interest to notice that both Bergery and Magdeleine Paz, as they must, condemn the League not merely for what it has done, but far more sharply for what it has not done: namely, for its shameful and hypocritical failure to speak out in the name of the principles of truth and justice in whose name it professes to exist.

#### Condemns Frame-Ups

The following quotations are taken from the speech of Magdeleine Paz:

"As for myself, I have come to tell you: 'There came a time in the world, a moment in human history, when, stronger perhaps than ever before, truth, liberty, justice and humanity cried out for help with a single voice, and when less perhaps than ever before did men answer.'"

"The tragedy is summed up in a single phrase: 'The Moscow Trial.'"

"What, then, is the Moscow Trial? 'Let us stick rigidly to the facts:'"

"Following secret interrogations, sixteen men appeared on the 19th of August, 1936, before the military tribunal of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. Deprived of defense counsel, with no witness or evidence to or proof of the crimes of which they were accused (which were chiefly intentions to commit crimes), they made complete confessions, were condemned to death with no right of appeal, and were immediately executed."

"These are the brute facts, taken from the official communications and the official record of the Trial: no defense counsel, no material proofs, no right of appeal, execution. No one can get away from these facts, and the prosecution itself does not try to get away from them."

"Carry these brute facts over into the mind of a member of (Continued on page 3)

# PRESENT WAR IN FAR EAST AND THE TASKS OF OUR PARTY

## Text Of Resolution Adopted By SWP Convention

The war in the Far East between China and Japan lays bare some of the principal symptoms of the crisis of world capitalism in its final, most highly developed, imperialist stage, and opens up perspectives of great revolutionary development in a decisive part of the globe. On the one hand, Japan, weakest link in the chain of world imperialism, is seeking to overcome the maladies of its decline by a war of colonial conquest. On the other hand, by their invasion of China, the Japanese imperialists have provoked a defensive campaign which, despite its initial weakness and inadequacy under the leadership of the Kuomintang, assumes the character of a war for national liberation. At the same time, in pursuing their predatory aims in China, the Japanese imperialists have accentuated the inter-imperialist antagonisms which are forcing mankind to the brink of a new world war.

Revolutionary Marxists have always drawn a sharp line of distinction between imperialist wars and wars of national liberation. In the case of the former, our policy is one of revolutionary defeatism in all the warring countries as the only means of advancing the international socialist revolution. In the case of the latter, we unconditionally support the oppressed country against the imperialist oppressor, since every blow struck against imperialism, whether on a national or international scale, serves the interests of the international proletariat, and at the same time facilitates the revolutionary advance of the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. In accordance with this conception, it is the duty of our party to aid China's defense against Japanese imperialism in every way possible.

China, a semi-colonial country, because of its importance as a

great market and field for capitalist investment, has become an arena of struggle between the big imperialist powers. Japan's aim is to forestall her rivals and to make of China her own exclusive colony. The Chinese national bourgeoisie, due to historic belatedness and ties of mutual interest with imperialism, proves incapable of conducting, with energy and consistency, China's struggle against Japan in the only way that is possible: namely, by mobilizing and arming the masses and drawing them

### A Revolutionary Party Needed

China's liberating struggle against imperialism can be carried to a successful conclusion only by the exploited masses of that country, united under the leadership of a revolutionary Marxist party, and aided by the exploited and oppressed of all other countries. But in order to be able to build a revolutionary party which will have the support of the overwhelming masses, the revolutionary vanguard in China is obliged to participate actively in the struggle now—at a time when the leadership is in the hands of the bourgeois Kuomintang and its Stalinist allies. A revolutionary party and a revolutionary mass movement cannot be conjured up out of thin air. The Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists can bring them to life only by a tireless and self-sacrificing participation in the war against Japan, in the course of which they explain events to the soldiers and civilian masses, expose the weakness and treachery of the bourgeoisie and its government, and mobilize the masses for independent revolutionary action. Our party does not hold aloof from the trade unions because they are dominated by a reactionary bureaucracy which frequently betrays the workers. With such a policy,

into the war. The Chinese bourgeoisie and its government fear the masses more than they do imperialism. This explains the weakness of China's defensive campaign and the comparative ease with which Japan has been able to win a series of important military victories. It also explains the capitulatory mood of the Chinese bourgeoisie and its government, which, dismayed by a succession of military defeats, would like to lay down its arms and come to terms with the Japanese imperialists.

our party would condemn itself to a sterile sectarian existence. Similarly in China: If the Bolshevik-Leninists were to stand aside from the war struggle on the ground that the Kuomintang leadership is reactionary, treacherous and ineffectual, they would condemn themselves to complete isolation from the masses. The workers and soldiers would turn a deaf ear to their criticism of the Kuomintang's conduct of the war, and all hope for building a revolutionary party and a revolutionary mass movement would be lost.

Support of and active participation in China's struggle while it remains under Kuomintang leadership does not, however, require the Chinese revolutionists to lower their own banner, renounce their own independent revolutionary program, merge themselves in a politically amorphous "People's Front," abdicate the right of criticizing the Kuomintang's conduct of the war. This is the line of the Stalinist traitors. Political self-renunciation of this kind not only fails to advance China's struggle but prepares in advance its betrayal and defeat. The Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists keep aloft the revolutionary class struggle banner of the Fourth Interna-

tional while taking part in the war, in the front lines and at the rear. They seek to effect the mobilization of the Chinese masses around independent revolutionary slogans corresponding to each given stage of the struggle and to the life interests of the masses themselves. Thereby they advance the indissolubly united tasks of the class struggle and the national war against imperialism.

Japanese imperialism, by its predatory invasion of China, threatens the position of all its rivals in the Pacific, including the United States. The present actual interests of American imperialism in China are relatively small, both in comparison with British and French interests and with American interests in Latin America. Trade with China accounts for only 3 per cent of America's total foreign trade, while American investments in China amount to less than 200,000,000, which is only one-tenth

### U. S. Seeks World Domination

Recognizing that ultimately Japan can only be stopped by war, which was the sense of Roosevelt's Chicago speech, American imperialism and all its agencies seek to unite the working class of this country for support of the coming armed struggle. The aim of this struggle will be to establish American domination of the Pacific as a stage toward world domination. With variations, the different shades of bourgeois opinion all sing the same song: "Preparedness." The active war preparations of the Washington government, including arrangements for "parallel" action with Britain in the Far East, are shrouded in a smoke screen of pacifist propaganda in order to render easier the mobilization of the masses for war in defense of "freedom and democracy" and the "independence of

of American interests in Mexico. But it is the historic or future imperialist interests of the United States, rather than the immediate stake involved, which determine the Far Eastern policy of the Washington government. If Japan's aims in China should be realized, this would signify not only the loss of the present stake, but the closing of the door to future American trade and investments in that country. More, it might also mean the loss of America's lucrative trade with Japan, since Japan hopes through the conquest of China to achieve a considerable degree of economic self-sufficiency. The Washington government is alive to these perils. Recurrent breakdowns in American economy, occurring at shorter intervals, serve warning that American capitalism, throttled by the national frontiers, must extend its markets and investments abroad or resign itself to permanent decay.

weak nations"—in reality, to establish the position of the United States as the world's greatest imperialist power. In the work of dragging proletarian consciousness, the Stalinists and the reformists of every stripe, including the trade union bureaucrats, play an important role, with the Stalinists in the van. The latter, newest exponents of twentieth-century social patriotism, sow base illusions concerning the "peaceful character" of American imperialism and call upon the imperialist government in Washington to help save China from Japan in the name of "collective security." They brazenly offer services as recruiting sergeants in the war which the American imperialists are preparing to undertake against "military-fascist" Japan. When American imperialism

intervenes in the Far Eastern struggle, it will do so, not in order to save China for China's sake, but in order to preserve and extend its own predatory interests in China and the Far East. With these aims, the working class of America has nothing in common, while the Chinese masses would be just as badly off as the slaves of Wall Street as they would be as the colonial slaves of imperialist Japan. In such a war, the only policy which can possibly serve the interests of the American workers and the Chinese masses will be the policy of revolutionary defeatism. Our party, at the head of the working class, will seek to convert the imperialist war into civil war for the overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the establishment of workers' power. Only a workers'

### Boycott Alone Is Insufficient

The campaign for a consumers' boycott of Japanese goods, sponsored by the Stalinists, pacifists and trade union bureaucrats, is becoming an instrument of chauvinist propaganda. The boycott is a characteristically petty bourgeois, and by itself an extremely ineffectual, weapon against Japanese imperialism. The present consumers' boycott receives tacit support from the Roosevelt government in line with its war mobilization plans. If the boycott remains the sole form of popular action against Japanese imperialism, it can only play into the hands of the imperialist war-mongers and become a point of support for "national unity" and class collaboration. In order to combat this danger and to assure the effective-

### How Our Party Must Aid China

Specifically, in order to aid China's progressive struggle against Japanese imperialism it

government in this or any other country can serve the interests of the workers and at the same time befriend and help the masses of China and other oppressed countries.

The American working class is not yet prepared to take over power. It can, however, invoke its own class sanctions against imperialist Japan and in this way bring effective aid to China's struggle. Our party has the duty to point out to the workers their close community of interests with the struggling Chinese masses and to carry on an agitation for the application of working class sanctions. Such action by the American workers will advance the class struggle in this country, promote international working class solidarity, and further the cause of the world-wide socialist revolution.

1. To propandize the progressive character of the Chinese

war among the widest layers of the workers and to build a strong sentiment of working-class solidarity with the exploited Chinese masses in their struggle against Japanese imperialism. In this connection, we condemn the criminal attitude of all the ultra-left sectarians who stubbornly refuse to recognize the difference between a predatory, imperialist war and a war of national liberation. Their attitude, which has nothing in common with revolutionary Marxism, can only give aid and comfort to the Japanese imperialists.

2. To carry on a tireless campaign in the trade unions, through the medium of the party nuclei, for the invocation of working-class sanctions against the Japanese imperialists. These sanctions should take the form of:

- (a) Refusal of maritime workers to sail vessels transporting cargoes to or from Japan.
- (b) Refusal by longshoremen to load or unload cargoes destined for or coming from Japan.
- (c) Refusal by workers in industry to use materials, either crude or partly processed, that have been made in Japan.
- 3. To extend to the Communist League of China (Chinese section of the Fourth International) the fullest material and moral aid in order thereby to assist our Chinese comrades in discharging the great revolutionary responsibilities which have fallen upon them.
- 4. To unmask the predatory aims and war preparations of American imperialism.
- 5. To conduct an agitation for the withdrawal of American warships and forces from China, where they are stationed solely to protect the interests of the American imperialists, and to link this up with a nation-wide campaign against the growing danger of world imperialist war.