

### Smoke Screen Laid To Hide Frame-Up

(Continued from page 2) they feared the reaction of the masses. But if the "Trotskyite" platform is so "repulsive" to the masses, why doesn't Stalin permit its publication in the Izvestia and Pravda and allow the opposition, once and for all, to lose any support it might yet claim? With ever more pugnacity, Stalin plods his way to an onslaught on Piatakov and Radek, but here, too, he comes away with tattered colors.

At the trial in 1937, Piatakov, Radek and Sokolnikov took a different line," says Stalin. "They did not deny that the Trotskyites and Zinovievites had a political platform. They admitted they had a political platform, recognized and unfolded it in their testimony. But they unfolded it not to call on the working class, not to call on the people to support the Trotskyite platform, but in order to curse it and brand it an anti-people's and anti-proletarian platform." (p. 16.)

Non-Existent Program! Is Stalin here, by any chance, unwittingly revealing a secret? Piatakov, Radek, et al were abashed at the manner in which Kamenev and Zinoviev behaved at the first trial. The "confessions" of the latter pair, while "freely" given and amply self-degrading, still lacked the touch of realism and, in fact, aroused the suspicions of a large body of world opinion as to their real worth. Consequently, Radek and Piatakov, Stalin himself points out, were determined to correct any untoward impressions. Hence, according to Stalin, they presented the "Trotskyite" political platform which, Stalin emphasized, "did not exist." Why did they do that? This, Stalin is also ready to answer. Radek and Piatakov presented the "Trotskyite" platform "in order to curse themselves" and to bring upon themselves "the curses of the people."

They Hid It "Naturally the Trotskyites could not hide such a platform from the people, from the working class. And they hid it not only from the working class, but also from the Trotskyite rank and file, and not only from the Trotskyite rank and file but even from the leading group of the Trotskyites consisting of a small handful of thirty or forty people. When Radek and Piatakov asked Trotsky's permission to call a small conference, thirty or forty people, to inform them of the platform, Trotsky forbade them, saying it was inexpedient to talk of the real nature of the platform even to a small group of Trotskyites, as such an operation might cause a split." (p. 17.) Were the foregoing not from the lips of Stalin himself, one might mistake his words for a satire upon the charges of "Trotskyism" printed daily in the Izvestia, Pravda, the Daily Worker and other Stalinist publications.

Accomplish Impossible Having decried "Trotskyism" as gangsterism without a political trend, Stalin reasserts, after some "thought" and with as

much zest, that "Trotskyism" has a political platform which involves the restoration of capitalism. And, although a political trend cannot hide its views from the working class, to use Stalin's own phrase, "Trotskyism" succeeded in accomplishing, again according to Stalin, what could not possibly be accomplished. The "Trotskyites" hid their views from the rank and file of the "Trotskyites" and from the "Trotskyite" leadership. Alas, the "Trotskyite" platform was a secret of secrets, Stalin will have you believe, shielded from the whole world and known only to Trotsky's three most intimate confidants, namely, one dead man, one prisoner in an isolator, and Comrade Stalin, himself. Stalin doesn't elucidate how he happened to learn of the horrid secrets that Trotsky concealed even from the "Trotskyite" leadership. Certainly Stalin cannot mean to suggest, at this late date, that he, too, like Radek, was in communication with Trotsky, through a Romm, or that like Piatakov he managed to fly to visit Trotsky in Oslo or Berlin, with nary a soul knowing of said flight!

What is far more important than the question of how Stalin came upon Trotsky's dark secrets are the implications of his amazing statement. Again—Why? Ever since the first Moscow trial, scores of old Bolshevik leaders and thousands of revolutionary workers have been imprisoned or shot on charges of "having taken orders from Trotsky" or carrying out "Trotsky's program." But if Leon Trotsky had never discussed his platform with any of them and if his views were positively hidden from them all, why were they imprisoned or executed for carrying out his orders? Will Joseph Stalin attempt to answer Joseph Stalin?

Moreover, how could Trotsky be responsible for any alleged crimes if, again as Stalin reveals, Trotsky had never divulged to any of the thousands of defendants his program, his aims, his hidden secrets? Trotsky, says Stalin, didn't want any of his followers to know of his platform "for fear of a split." Notwithstanding this information, Stalin winds up by charging that instead of a handful of "Trotskyites splitting up," thousands and more thousands were zealously carrying through a program "that Trotsky revealed only to Radek, Piatakov" and... Stalin!

And there Stalin ends his analysis of "Trotskyism" and goes on to discuss ways and means "to combat it." This report, designed to justify the extermination of the organizers and supporters of the October Revolution, will live to confound its author. It may safely be said that this self-indicting "document" submitted to Stalin's Central Committee will be read in years to come as the beginning of Stalin's own confessions.

### Rank And File Rebel In California SWOC

(Continued from page 1) cratic union has been taken." The calling of the rump session came as a result of the continued refusal to follow any sort of democratic procedure. A few weeks previously the delegates from Lodge 1414, the largest steel lodge in the area, were provoked to walk out of a District Policy Conference by the dictatorial procedure of stifling discussion. The issue involved was whether the Conference should support the policy of permitting negotiations with U.S. Steel to be handled solely by the bureaucracy.

Union Boss Roars This week the explosion occurred on an attempt to rule out of order a delegate from the Bethlehem lodge who tried to give voice to wide-spread dissatisfaction, and who ultimately moved that the chairman of the conference should be elected from the floor. Banging his gavel and bellowing, Dalrymple brazenly declared that he was running the whole thing as he saw fit on full authority from his S.W.O.C. superiors, and that anyone who tried to do anything about it would suffer severe consequences. In answer to this threat a number of delegates called for the rump session.

Delegates from Bethlehem, National Supply, Columbia Steel (U.S. Steel) and other lodges assailed the bureaucratic methods and lack of cooperation of the organizing staff and of Dalrymple particularly. Several of the delegates, acting as stooges for the bureaucrats attempted to dull the edge of the delegates' resentment. The leading Stalinist in the S.W.O.C. of the area sat through the whole rump meeting without saying a word, betraying by his silence the extent to which his kind have compromised themselves by deals with the bureaucracy.

### Extradition of Beal Up To Massachusetts

(Continued from page 1) a challenge to the liberals. It is no secret that, under pressure of the Communist Party, most so-called liberals, especially Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, have shamefully ignored the Beal case. Such an attitude is a blighting, revolting disgrace, for it simply means that any worker who is a critic of the blood-stained bureaucracy in the Soviet Union forfeits his claim for support of labor and progressives and may be framed up, persecuted and imprisoned by reaction in the United States with impunity.

In Days Gone By We point out that before the International Labor Defense became Stalinized, the only question it asked was: Is this worker a victim of capitalist class persecution? If the answer was in the affirmative, the I.L.D. defended him regardless of his political views, even if they happened to be antagonistic to the views of the Communist Party. The most striking case of this splendid spirit of class solidarity was the attitude of the I.L.D. and even of the Communist Party more than ten years ago in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case. These two anarchist workers not only hated capitalism, but were intransigent opponents and avowed critics of the whole Soviet regime, of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, of the whole Bolshevik movement. This did not stand in the way of the most ardent campaign against their persecutors conducted by the I.L.D. at that time. Against the background of this fact, the scabbing attitude of the Daily Worker, the Stalinists in general and the "liberals" under their sway, is even more loathsome.

### Bureaucrats Prepare Sell-Out Of All Gains Made By Automobile Workers

(Continued from page 1) of the agreement and a just cause for immediate suspension or cancellation thereof by the company." In a statement to the press, Homer Martin declared that the vote on this decision in the GEB was unanimous. In other words, both the Martin-Frankenstein-Lovestone fraction and the Mortimer-Reuther (CP-SP) fraction are parties to this shameful agreement.

What It Means What is the meaning of this "guarantee"? 1. G. M. now has the legal right to fire any militant worker from its plants. All that is necessary is the pretext. The "right of appeal through the grievance procedure" affords precious little protection. Seven months ago, six union men were fired from the Fisher Body Plant at Pontiac... "for cause." Their case made the rounds of the grievance procedure and even of an "impartial" arbitrator. The men are still out of work.

2. The job of every shop steward and committee man is placed in jeopardy. "Deliberate reduction in rate of production below standards" can easily be used as the formula to frame any steward the company is out to "get." With no union backing, the shop stewards will show great reluctance to continue functioning. The right arm of the UAW, its shop steward system, will be tied up in a sling.

3. Knudsen of G. M. will indirectly be able to determine who is and who is not to be a member of the UAW. What else is the meaning of the section, "The union shall take effective disciplinary action against the member or members of the union responsible therefor"? Any militant worker fired by the company for defending his union is to be expelled from the UAW. It seems that Martin and Knudsen have a common interest in getting rid of the militants, the fighters and the rebels.

### Big Business Called To Washington Confab

(Continued from page 1) even more evident before the Housing Act finishes its course through Congress. On the day before this action was taken, Roosevelt issued a carefully prepared statement on union responsibility, and the necessity for full publication of all union financial reports. This move would be unintelligible in itself, particularly since for many years the financial reports of most unions have been available to anyone interested, in far greater detail and clarity than the reports of, for example, the big corporations. But this statement is only one small part of a major propaganda campaign that has been launched. The entire press of the country is carrying article after article insisting that the Wagner Act must be modified to permit appeals by employers as well as by unions; that unions must be held legally responsible for all alleged breaches of contract; that wildcat strikes must be outlawed and punished; that sympathetic and general strikes must be outlawed; that secondary boycotts must be forbidden.

The courts, without waiting for legislation, are already carrying this campaign into action, as is shown by the New York decision outlawing secondary boycotts, and the Illinois decision against the Progressive Miners (dealt with elsewhere in this issue). Either in this or the next session, determined efforts will unquestionably be made in Congress to embody these and other strike-breaking and union-weakening conceptions in Federal law.

Power Vested In Martin What is this principle that Martin is establishing? Between conventions, democratic rights for the rank and file, control of its leadership, power to examine, revise or reject agreements can be suspended. All power is vested in the GEB, or in Martin, who functions in its name between quarterly meetings of the GEB. And no appeal is possible until the next convention, August, 1939!

This bureaucratic policy, if continued, will place the union at the mercy of the employers without fear of a kickback from the membership. That's precisely the reason why no new G. M. workers' conference has been held or is likely to be called.

New Anti-Labor Move In connection with the unprecedented Naval Appropriations Bill, a third important move came to light during this past week. Under present regulations, the Government is required to allot a substantial percentage of all naval building and repair work to Government-operated naval yards, where hour and wage conditions are on the whole considerably better than in private yards. The Walsh-Healy Act, furthermore, though there are ways of getting around it, compels a certain level of labor standards to be written into contracts with private industry. Using the rearmament program as an excuse, both of these requirements are now about to be thrown overboard.

What this means is, as in the case of the housing situation, that the big steel companies (which control also the major shipbuilding concerns) will be able to utilize the rearmament to regain the profits which the private market no longer offers them in sufficient quantity; and will be able to do so without too much interference by the Government in their labor policy. Rearmament, making ready to advance American imperialism on a world scale, thus in the meanwhile serves as a subsidy to American heavy industry.

Not Accidental There is some reason to suspect that the present direction of Administration policy may have more than an accidental connection with the fact that the new union contracts in Auto and Steel are up for consideration during the next couple of months. A lower wage scale and especially additional restrictions in the new contracts on the unions' freedom of action are certainly objects to be sought after by General Motors, Chrysler, and U.S. Steel. Roosevelt, in his own New Deal manner, is preparing the ground for such changes. Even the White House Conferences themselves, with their stress on national unity and "cooperation" of all the various interests, do their part. For if the auto and steel unions insist too much on their "rights," and object too strenuously when the companies demand that the workers should pay for the slump, they will be blamed for sabotaging the united efforts of the nation to meet the threatening crisis. After all, everyone must sacrifice, and everyone must pull together. The President himself has said so!

Akron Branch Plans To Widen Mass Work AKRON.—The Akron branch of the Socialist Workers Party got off to a flying start last week by formulating plans to intensify mass work and to concretize other convention decisions. Officers were elected to guide the activity. Bernard Donaldson is secretary. A treasurer, literature agent, agit-prop director and trade union fraction secretaries were also elected. An attempt will be made to widen the circulation of the Socialist Appeal by distributing it at union halls and workers meetings. Open educational meetings have begun which are devoted to a study of American capitalism today.

### SOVIET UNION NOTES

Drive Against Foreigners Proceeds—Another G.P.U. Mystery — Troyanovsky Engages N. Y. Times On "Illiteracy"

BY JOHN G. WRIGHT

### Drive Against Foreigners Intensified.

The lag in Soviet industry had led to the belief that foreign specialists might be recalled, but thus far there has been nothing to indicate any change in the attitude toward foreigners. Expulsion of Czechoslovak citizens has assumed such proportions that the Czechoslovak legation had to convert part of its quarters into a dormitory for travellers in transit. The Paris press reports that about 60 Czechs have been recently placed under arrest. The number of Germans arrested has reached 500, according to the same sources. In the latter part of 1937, 3,000 Greeks, most of them naturalized Soviet citizens, were arrested. At Moscow, 48 technicians were recently placed under arrest in a single house. Their wives and children, numbering about 100, were ordered to prepare for departure to an unknown destination. On Dec. 28, the police came in trucks and took them away. It seems to have become an established practice to send relatives of arrested persons to regions far distant from the big cities. Their apartments, incidentally, are not placed at the disposition of the public, despite the acute housing shortage, but remain in the hands of the G.P.U., which thus provides for its own members.

### Another Mystery?

Everyone in any way connected with recording the death of Ordjonikidze, Commissar of Heavy Industry who allegedly died at his home on Feb. 18, 1937, has either disappeared or been arrested. According to reports as yet unconfirmed, the purge reached inside the Kremlin walls and carried off two of the leading physicians in charge of the Kremlin hospitals: Drs. Levine (director of the hospital), Mertz, and a third unnamed. These doctors had signed the statement issued by G. N. Kaminsky, then Commissar of Health, on Ordjonikidze's death. Kaminsky was removed from his post in March. Prof. Pietnev, who reputedly refused to sign the statement, is believed to be under arrest. Ordjonikidze was stated to have died of heart failure due to overstrain. There was a delay of almost twenty-four hours between the time of his death and the public announcement of it.

### The Membership "Drive" of the C.P.S.U.

As an integral part of his Second Five Year Plan, Stalin ordered a new purge in the party. On December 10, 1932, the Central Committee decreed the "cleansing," and at the same time closed the membership books. Three years later (on December 25, 1935) the Central Committee voted in favor of reopening the lists, and accepting applications of new candidates and members. However, it was only one year later on November 1, 1936 that official instruction to this effect was forthcoming. The party had apparently been made "safe" for new members—after a purge of four years' duration which was followed by a "check-up of documents" and the "issuance of new books," and climaxed by the Moscow frame-ups and the blood purge of unprecedented proportions. The most conservative estimate of the number of party members involved in this entire (five-year) operation would be in the neighborhood of a million.

In its leading article for December 22, 1937, Pravda sums up the achievements for this period as follows: "Rigid individual selection has helped the party for the past year to fill its ranks with thousands of advanced workers, kolkhozniki, and the best people from among the Soviet intelligentsia. In the various enterprises in Moscow and Leningrad, the basic party organizations have added to their ranks a considerable number of new communists from among the best Stakhanovists, men known to the whole country. All told, since the reopening of applications into the party, there have been accepted, according to preliminary figures, 46,289 individuals as candidates, and 51,675 as members of the C.P.S.U. Of this number, the district and city committees have approved 27,785 as candidates and 33,720 as party members."

But while apparently expressing satisfaction with the general state of affairs, Pravda goes on to comment sadly that in many party organizations "membership books are still closed, in point of fact!"

Since its leading editorial on the progress of the membership drive, Pravda has filled its columns with "danger signals." The Railway and Stalin District Committees in Rostov-on-Don had not taken in a single new member for ten months. The Voroshilovsk party organization (embracing the largest chemical plants in the country) had accepted only seven applicants as candidates and the same number as members in a period of 9 months (Pravda, Dec. 29). The Sevastopol party organization had accepted for the past half-year only fourteen men, among them three workers. The total number of sympathizers had "even" declined in the same period. (Pravda, Jan. 2.) In the entire Archangel province, the number of sympathizers had increased by only 260. In certain regions there was a decrease. The number of acceptances had been decreasing from month to month and "in the last two months only seven were accepted in the entire province." (Pravda, Jan. 3.)

The explanation for this "lag" is simple enough: Every new applicant must be recommended by two party members in good standing. And prospective sponsors, mindful of what has happened in the past, are evidently very loth to incur the risk of recommending anybody at all—for fear that they might be sponsoring an "enemy of the people."

### Bungle-Troyanovsky vs. The N. Y. Times and Stalin's Pravda—On Illiteracy.

Ambassador Troyanovsky has engaged the editors of the N. Y. Times in a spirited discussion on the "level of illiteracy" in the U.S.S.R. The editorial commentator of the Times has had the temerity to estimate that the number of illiterate persons in the Soviet Union composes "perhaps 25%" of the population. Troyanovsky thereupon charges that this is part of a campaign of defamation against Stalin carried on by the champion of "obscurant Tsarist autocracy" who poses as a commentator for the said Times. (N. Y. Times, Sunday, Jan. 16.) Unbeknown to the contending parties (and to itself), Pravda has added a significant item to the discussion. On Jan. 3rd, a special correspondent of Pravda, one Khodakov sent a wire dispatch from the thriving city of Osh, which has a silk plant employing more than 1,000 women. According to this correspondent, the women workers in this silk plant "become indignant when they talk about the work in the domain of liquidating illiteracy." And apparently with good reason. For, continues Khodakov, "they have been attending the study circles (of the society for liquidating illiteracy) for two and three years but the instruction is so poor that the women have not yet learned how to read." The conclusion which Pravda's correspondent draws might prove illuminating, especially to Troyanovsky. Here it is: "It is quite self-evident that in the Soviet and party apparatus of the city of Osh there still remains a goodly number of alien and enemy elements." (Pravda, Jan. 3, 1937.) All of which leads us to conclude that Troyanovsky bungled again. Quite obviously, it was his duty not to challenge the estimate of the N. Y. Times but rather to point out that the large number of illiterates was due to "Trotskyite-Boukharinite-Fascist" wrecking, sabotage, etc. etc.

## SPECIAL OFFER

For a very limited time, in view of the very limited supply, the Socialist Appeal offers with each yearly subscription a cloth bound copy of Behind the Moscow Trial by Max Shachtman. This invaluable book is the inside story of the trial and execution of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov and their associates—the most sensational trial of our epoch, destined to rank in history with the Dreyfus, Sacco and Vanzetti, Tom Mooney and Reichstag Fire trials. The book deals with the political background and significance of the trial and provides concrete proof of how and why the frame-up, called the "greatest in history," was planned and perpetrated. The book itself sells for \$1.00. We offer a full year's subscription to the Socialist Appeal (\$2.00) plus the book for the price of the subscription alone. Take advantage of this opportunity to get a full year's subscription to the only revolutionary Marxist newspaper published in the United States and with it a book which in itself is worth many times the price of a subscription. Use the blank below, enclosing 15 cents additional for postage, and don't delay because the books won't last long. Socialist Appeal, 116 University Place, New York City. Date Enclosed find \$2.15 for which please send me a cloth-bound copy of "Behind the Moscow Trial" and a one-year subscription to the Socialist Appeal. Name Address City

### Court Ruling Is Blow To Labor

(Continued from page 1) and industrial rulers. Federal Judge Wham declares that his decision does not violate the right to strike; it is only directed against those who, engaging in a conspiracy to inflict violent injury upon an employer or upon his property or business and in furtherance of the object of the conspiracy do, by violent and other unlawful conduct, inflict injury upon the property or business of such employer, or by such unlawful means do obstruct its business or prevent it from conducting its business.... He concludes then that a union, its members and sympathizers will

### Green Heads Show

Leading the flag waving, tub-thumping parade of patriots was William Green, motivator of the boycott. Even more criminal

all be held liable for money damages. Who is to determine the legality of a strike? Who is to determine how and why violence arose in any given strike?

### Bosses Provoke Violence

It is common knowledge that the traditional policy of the boss class is to provoke violence in all strikes by the employment of thugs, stool-pigeons, deputy sheriffs, and others of the same stripe, in order thereby to obtain legal refuge for strike-breaking. Judges are notoriously anti-labor. It is they who will determine whether a strike is legal or not, whether violence attends a strike and how this violence is caused. But instead of openly finding against the right to strike and the right to unionization, they will find conspiracy against business as the motive for strikes and seek to cripple the unions by returning verdicts in money damages for the companies. A strike will not be rendered illegal as such, but will be held illegal on conspiratorial grounds. Workers will go to jail, union officials will be incarcerated for failure to pay judgments to companies so suing a union or group of strikers. How does it operate in the case of the PMA? While the union

### Green Joins With Legion and DAR In Patriotic Anti-Japanese Display

Aid Boycott Proposed By Chamber of Commerce To Protect Profits of U. S. Industry EAST LIVERPOOL, O. — A good example of a bad way to conduct an anti-Japanese boycott was given here recently when the Brotherhood of Organized Potters (A.F. of L.) united with the American Legion and Chamber of Commerce to hike the profits of the pottery manufacturers.

With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict, the union intensified its anti-Japanese boycott which had been carried on for many years under the slogan of "Keep Jobs for American Workers." The highly publicized burning of \$100,000 worth of Japanese goods was merely a logical extension of their chauvinistic campaign. The merchants voluntarily donated the goods which had been standing idle on their shelves.

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