

How The Third Big Frameup Trial Exposed Stalin's Gangster Regime

By Joseph Hansen

(Thirteenth in a series on the Moscow Trials and their significance.)

If it is possible to reach an absurdity in mud-slinging, lies, slander, bloodshed and horror, Stalin achieved it in the frame-up trial of Bukharin, Rykov, Rakovsky, Krestinsky, Yagoda, and the others on March 2-13, 1938.

In the dock of victims sat no less than eight former Soviet ministers, not counting Trotsky who was exiled in Mexico. "After the death of Lenin," Trotsky told the press, "Rykov was the official head of the government for more than five years. From 1918 Bukharin was the editor of the central organ of the Party, Pravda, and from 1926 the official head of the Communist International. Later, after his fall into disfavor, he became the editor of Ivestia. Rakovsky was the head of the Ukrainian government and later ambassador to London and Paris. Krestinsky, the predecessor of Stalin as secretary of the Central Committee of the party, was afterward ambassador to Berlin for several years. For almost all of the last ten years Yagoda stood at the head of the GPU as Stalin's most trusted henchman and cooked up the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial in its entirety. In the list of the accused there are no fewer than six former members of the Central government. Of the nine people who were members of the Political Bureau during Lenin's lifetime, i.e., actual rulers of the fate of the USSR, there remains only one unaccused, Stalin."



BUKHARIN

the kind pale before it." Vyshinsky continued: "It is now clear why there are interruptions of supplies here and there, why, with our riches and abundance of products, there is a shortage first of one thing, then of another. It is these traitors who are responsible for it." With those words Vyshinsky revealed the real purpose of the frame-up — to divert public wrath over breakdowns and shortages away from the Stalin regime to the scapegoats in the dock.

TO DIVERT PUBLIC WRATH

Operating on the theory that if you throw enough mud some is bound to stick, Vyshinsky accused the victims of having poisoned the great author Maxim Gorky, who died in 1936. Yagoda confessed to this crime. Coming directly after the long investigation of the Dewey Commission into the first two trials, this new lurid trial served only to underline the Commission's findings that the defendants were victims of a frame-up. It was not necessary to launch an extensive investigation into this trial. No one took it as genuine. The only ones who tried to defend it were the pen prostitutes on Stalin's payroll or Wall Street diplomats given the official assignment of pandering to Stalin.

SAME FRAME-UP PATTERN

The trial developed along the same basic pattern as the previous frame-ups. In the dock sat well known Bolsheviks who had capitulated to Stalin. The only difference between them and previous Stalinists in the dock was the fact — that except Rakovsky — they had capitulated earlier, had been with Stalin longer, and had had even less to do with Trotskyism than previous defendants. Bukharin, for instance, had been with Stalin throughout the fight against the Left Opposition. As in the previous trials, the frame-up juts out at every point in the "confessions" of the victims.

When Bukharin made his final plea, he denied so many specific

SUMMARIES AT NUREMBERG SILENT ON MOSCOW TRIALS

The Nuremberg trial of Nazi leaders is entering the last lap without a single word so far on their alleged connections with the old Bolsheviks shot by Stalin in the Moscow Trials on the charge of being agents of Hitler.

Despite the demand by Natalia Trotsky that her attorney be permitted to cross-examine Hess and the others on Stalin's slanderous accusation Trotsky had made a "deal" with them, the court has maintained a rigid silence.

The U. S. Prosecutor, Robert H. Jackson, summed up July 26. He ran through the whole calendar of Nazi crimes. But not once did he mention the Moscow Trials.

The British Prosecutor, Sir Hartley W. Shawcross, followed Jackson with a demand to execute the Nazis as "common murderers." But in his 8-hour speech he too failed to say a word about the Moscow Trials. Then General Roman Rudenko, the Stalinist Prosecutor, on July 29 summed up the Kremlin's case. He used "the strongest language yet heard in the court" as he denounced the Nazi leaders. And he took up the prisoners one by one to give an "exhaustive description of his part in the conspiracy." But the Stalinist spokesman likewise failed to so much as hint about the infamous charges leveled by Vyshinsky against the Bolsheviks in the Moscow Trials.

There is only one reason for the silence throughout the nine months of the Nuremberg Trial. The Moscow Trials were so thoroughly exploded that Stalin decided it was politically advisable not to mention them at Nuremberg. Better to keep quiet about the frameups rather than have the crimes of the Kremlin dragged once more into the light of day!

charges that he blew the frame-up skyhigh. He spoke with wry irony: "I further consider myself responsible both politically and legally for wrecking activities, although I personally do not remember having given directions about wrecking activities." Bukharin declared he had not plotted as charged, and that he had never even heard of some of the defendants until he read their names in the indictment.

SHOT AFTER "CONFESSION"

In explaining "how I came to realize the necessity of capitulating to the investigating authorities and to you, Citizens Judges," after a year in prison, Bukharin declared: "One must be a Trotskyist not to lay down one's arms." After he had laid down his arms and "confessed" the glory of Stalin, Bukharin naturally was led out and shot.

Rakovsky, an old man, who had devoted his entire life to the cause of the working class, said bitterly: "What would it matter for the substance of the case if I should attempt to establish here before you the fact that I learned of many of the crimes and of the most appalling crimes of the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites' here in Court, and that it was here that I first met some of the participants? ... Like a galley-slave fettered to his galley, I am fettered to the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites' ..."

The Stalinist Judge sentenced Rakovsky to 20 years in prison. He has disappeared since then, but his words remain in the official court record, forever condemning the Stalin regime: "The question which arises ... is ...

ters" mentioned in previous trials.

Bessonov's "confession" was proved a lie in short order. The Norwegian newspaper Dagbladet checked up with the Norwegian authorities. From September to December 19, Trotsky had been held incommunicado by the Norwegian police. They had censored every item directed to Trotsky, even holding up the manuscript of his book, The Revolution Betrayed. On December 19, the Norwegian police put him on a tanker and a police officer accompanied the exile and his wife Natalia to Mexico. This officer who was chief of police by the time of the Bukharin trial, declared Trotsky could not possibly have received any communication from Bessonov or replied to it.

That didn't save Bessonov. He got a sentence of 15 years.

The worst blunder of all in the frame-up was the "confession" of Krestinsky that "Trotsky came to Merano (Italy) about October 10 (1933) together with Sedov" for a conspirative meeting. This error in the GPU frameup was on par with the one about meeting Sedov in the non-existent Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen, or flying to Oslo in an airplane that never landed.

The Dewey Commission had already established that Trotsky was near the border of Spain on October 9 under the surveillance of the French police. Apparently the GPU got mixed up in its geography and thought the Pyrenees were between France and Italy. So the GPU claimed Trotsky was in Italy precisely at the time Trotsky was at least 600 miles away as the crow flies!

Proof of this brazen and stupid lie of course did not save Krestinsky. Stalin had him shot.

And the Daily Worker blindly and stupidly repeated the GPU lie. Harry Gannes spoke learnedly about how Trotsky's living at that time in the Pyrenees "brought him near to the Franco-Italian border."

Just as the previous trials had

Mussolini Thanked Stalin For Trials

Benito Mussolini was greatly pleased with the Moscow frame-up trials. The fascist dictator was only too happy to see Lenin's comrades slaughtered. At the time of the Bukharin trial, Mussolini, in the columns of Popolo d'Italia, compared Stalin's methods with those of the Italian fascist regime:

"Stalin does not resort to castor oil to punish Communist leaders who are so stupid or criminal as still to believe in Communism. Stalin is unable to understand the subtle irony involved in the laxative system of castor oil. He makes a clean sweep by means of systems which were born in the steppes of Genghis Khan ... Stalin renders a commendable service to Fascism."

gone back years to re-write history so the GPU went back in this trial. They returned to 1918 and claimed that Trotsky, the head of the Red Army, was in a plot with Bukharin to do away with Lenin!

This charge was leveled by Vyshinsky who was fighting with the White Guards against the Soviet Union at that time.

Vyshinsky even went back to 1909 to try and make out that Bukharin had always been a plotter. Yet Lenin in his last testament in December 1922 had called Bukharin the party's "best theoretician" and "the favorite of the whole party."

The Bukharin trial was another indication of how thoroughly Stalin was undermining the defense of the Soviet Union. As the last members of Lenin's general staff of revolution walked off the stage of the frame-up trial to face Stalin's executioners, Hitler's legions poured into Austria. The Nazi war machine was already inching toward the borders of the Soviet Union.

Judge Denies Civil Rights In Frameup Trial Of 25 Negroes

Circuit Court Judge Joe M. Ingram, presiding over the frame-up of 25 Negroes in Lawrenceburg, Tennessee, is brazenly denying their civil rights even before the trial begins. On August 15, he nine times ruled out defense mo-

oath or whether they would give equal weight to the testimony of white and Negro witnesses. While propping up the anti-Negro prosecutor, Judge Ingram insolently orders the defense attorneys to "hurry up with the questioning." He wants no time wasted in making an "example" of these Negroes who dared defend their homes and lives.

Attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, defending the 25 accused men against an attempted mass legal lynching, were forced to use one of their 200 peremptory challenges to remove Vandiver from the lists. Every such challenge is precious, for in Lawrenceburg, anti-Negro prejudice is running rampant. The white ruling class is determined to "see to it" that a "hanging jury" is chosen.

NEGRO BARRED

District Attorney Bumpus used his own first peremptory challenge to remove a Negro, J. E. Collier, from the jury list. Only 15 Negroes are on the panel of over 300 from whom the jury is to be drawn. Furthermore, Bumpus was forced to admit under questioning, that "never had he known a Negro to serve on a petit jury" in this Jim-Crow county, although 700 Negroes are citizens.

Judge Ingram has refused the men every constitutional guarantee of a fair trial. He has barred the defense attorneys from asking prospective jurors whether they would believe a Negro under

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."
—KARL MARX

The Government and the Lynch Mobs

We are demanding that the government take action to prosecute the lynchers and the high government officials who incite the lynchers. And we will continue to make the demand until either the government acts or is driven out of office in disgrace.

But that does not mean we have any illusions about the government. In fact, I think the great majority of the Negro people in this country has a pretty good idea about what kind of government is seated in Washington. They know that they cannot depend on it to act in the interests of the fight against Judge Lynch and Jim Crow.

If they didn't know it before, they certainly know it after the events of the last month.

Lynchings, floggings, beatings, mass terrorism — you hardly ever open up a newspaper without reading of some atrocity in Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana. Occasionally, maybe once a week, you read the statement of some official who is "shocked" and "deplores" the situation. Investigations are promised; generally they don't take place; when they do take place, 99 times out of 100 they are whitewash jobs like Dewey's investigation of the Freepoint murders in Long Island, N. Y.

In a few states action to ban the Ku Klux Klan is taken or is being discussed. But in no case are measures put forward by federal or local officials to cope with the activities of organizations like the Ku Klux Klan under a new name. In no case are the known Ku Klux leaders actually punished for their crimes and appeals for lynch action.

MISERABLE JOKE

What a miserable joke it is to talk about curbing the Ku Klux Klan when a swine like Bilbo can get up on the floor of the U.S. Senate and incite race hatred! When he can hold campaign meetings calling openly for mob action against Negroes exercising their democratic right to vote! When he can speak on a national broadcast and blantly boast that he has been and always will be a member of the Ku Klux Klan!

Any government that was really interested in protecting the rights of the Negro people would begin by cleaning up its own house. Any government that doesn't clean its own house first stands convicted of hypocrisy and deceit.

We demand that the government act against the lynchers, but we don't place a nickel's worth of confidence in a government whose officials' hands are red with the blood of murdered Negroes. If we placed our hopes or reliance in such a government,

"1. Set up a broad committee composed of representatives of the unions, Negro and veteran organizations. This committee should conduct its own investigation of the lynchings at the scene of the crimes. It should offer a huge reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the lynchers.

"2. Set up Defense Guards to protect the lives and homes of Negroes and other minorities in danger of attacks by the minorities.

"Either we will get the support of the labor movement along the lines indicated in that program, or else the Negro people in this country will undergo the same fate as the Jewish people in Germany.

I intend to return to further discussion of this question in a future issue of this paper.



WILLIAM BOHANNON

then the fight for Negro equality would be doomed.

That is why we members of the Socialist Workers Party place our main emphasis on the mobilization of the labor movement for the struggle to halt lynching. The white workers are the real allies of the Negro people; their interests are our interests; and without their support we can never be successful.

If you read the statement of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party printed in The Militant two weeks ago, then you know what we are aiming at. We urge the unions to demand action of Truman, prosecution of the Bilbos and immediate reconvening of Congress to enact anti-lynching legislation. More than that, we call on the unions to:

"1. Set up a broad committee composed of representatives of the unions, Negro and veteran organizations. This committee should conduct its own investigation of the lynchings at the scene of the crimes. It should offer a huge reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the lynchers.

"2. Set up Defense Guards to protect the lives and homes of Negroes and other minorities in danger of attacks by the minorities.

"Either we will get the support of the labor movement along the lines indicated in that program, or else the Negro people in this country will undergo the same fate as the Jewish people in Germany.

I intend to return to further discussion of this question in a future issue of this paper.

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers At these Local Activities of The Socialist Workers Party



Trotsky Memorial

THE MILITANT invites all its readers and friends to attend the memorial meetings in the following cities under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party.

Grid of memorial events for Newark, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Baltimore, and New Haven, listing speakers like Alan Kohlman, Joseph Hansen, William Kitt, Max Geldman, and L. Morris.



Diary Of A Steel Worker

Our Comrade - Leon Trotsky

By Theodore Kovalesky

The Old Man turned his back. The assassin caught his breath and struck...



To speak of Leon Trotsky, brothers, is to speak of you and me. For he lived and fought for us.

We sweat in steel plants; we are smeared with the filth of our jobs; the hot fatigue of our toil may dull our brains.

Trotsky believed in us. (We are American, Russian, French, German, English, Italian, Japanese...)

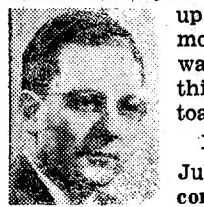
In 1905 the Russian workers rose against the Czar's cruel despotism. But the time was not yet ripe.

He fought on. His confidence pulsed with his heartbeats. World War I blazed in Europe.

Selling Water In A Bread Wrapper

By Joseph Hansen

Have you noticed lately how water collects in the toaster when you put in a slice of bakery bread?



If you'll read page 8,741 of the July 11, 1946, Congressional Record you'll discover the real reason for those beads of water in your toaster.

The 1942 inquiry of the Federal Trade Commission reveals some interesting figures on how the price pyramids in a loaf of bread.

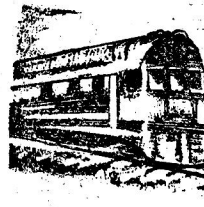
Next the terminal elevators leveled .08 cents a loaf. The mills listed costs at .32 cents and added .11 cents for "profits."

The stepped-up dividends from this profitable little operation were pocketed by the food trust, naturally.

Fresh Winds Blow In Rail Unions

By Henry Adams

The "reward your friends and punish your enemies" school of labor politics has dominated the political action of railway labor organizations for half a century.



It is all the more noteworthy then to find, stirring within this creaking machinery, the basic political discussion reported in the just-published proceedings of the convention of the Minnesota State Legislative Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engine Drivers.

For the first time in years, every one of the 28 lodges of the BLF&E in the state sent delegates.

of the veteran" were quick to come to the General's aid. Representative Rankin, who breathes anti-labor and anti-Negro fire everytime he opens his mouth...

Veterans Exploited As Cheap Labor

By Alvin Royce

It used to be said in the Army that "when a general chews out a colonel, then the privates had better duck."



Previously, a veteran who is learning was entitled to the amount an employer paid him as an apprentice plus his subsistence, up to the amount that a skilled worker earns in the particular occupation.

Officials charged with administering the program in New Jersey have already admitted that "the new standards will encourage employers to exploit veterans as a source of cheap labor."

Bradley's solution was a bill that would limit the total earnings of veterans on this program to \$200 a month for married men and \$175 for men without dependents.

Candidate Explains Position Of SWP To New Jersey Women Voters League

NEWARK, N. J., Aug. 17—George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from New Jersey, today submitted the following answers to questions on foreign and domestic policy asked of Congressional candidates by the Voters' Service of the League of Women Voters of New Jersey:

ATOMIC ENERGY

QUESTION: 1. If an international authority with power to control atomic energy (such as the one outlined in the Baruch report) can be established under the United Nations, would you favor a gradual transfer to it of our technical knowledge about the atomic bomb?

ANSWER: The Socialist Workers Party's main concern in atomic energy is seeing that it is used not for war, but for the peaceful development of the productive forces and medical research.

But Trotsky's world organization, still lived. The Fourth International lives and grows. And it is here that the Old Man's confidence in the working class flames brightest.

TARIFF

QUESTION: 2 (a). What should be the position of this country regarding lowered U. S. tariffs as our contribution toward removing restrictions on the flow of international trade?

ANSWER: We support abolition of all capitalist restrictions on international trade, including the tariff. The tariff is only one of the obstacles to the free exchange of commodities on a world scale.

FOOD

QUESTION: 2 (b). What should be the position of this country regarding shipment of food to famine areas for

the duration of the famine emergency? ANSWER: We strongly favor shipment of food to famine areas. To insure that distribution of such food is not used as a political weapon by Washington...

COLONIES

QUESTION: 2 (c). What should be the position of this country regarding placing mandated territories (including our own Pacific Island bases) under trusteeship of the United Nations?

ANSWER: We are opposed. "Trusteeship" and "mandates" are just fancy names to cover up foul imperialist policies.

PRODUCTION

QUESTION: 3. What measures do you believe will maintain production and employment in this country at their present high levels?

ANSWER: Nationalization of the basic industries under the control of committees democratically elected by the workers in those industries.

HOUSING QUESTION: 4. What is your position on (a) Government housing for lowest income groups, including programs for slum clearance? (b) Federal encouragement of housing for middle income groups? ANSWER: We vigorously support legis-

ation toward this end. We favor taking the 18 billion dollars a year now being spent for military preparations and using it to finance such a housing program.

PRICE RISES

QUESTION: 4 (c). What is your position on measures to check inflation?

ANSWER: To protect the working people

against rising prices, we advocate the sliding scale of wages, an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living.

To effectively control prices, we advocate consumers committees - composed of housewives, workers, farmers, small businessmen - empowered to fix and police prices.

To combat profiteering, we advocate nationalization of the food industries, which have been exporting price rises, and their operations under workers' control.

Meet The SWP Candidates

Grace Carlson Candidate for U. S. Senate From Minnesota



The daughter of an Irish-American railroad worker, Grace Carlson was born in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1906. After receiving her Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota in 1933...

In 1940, she resigned from the Minnesota Education Department and ran as SWP candidate for U. S. Senator on a militant anti-war platform.

ran for Mayor of St. Paul on the SWP ticket, and, although already convicted and sentenced to prison, she received 3 per cent of the total vote cast.

After the appeal of the 18 was denied, Grace Carlson was taken to the Federal Penitentiary for Women at Alderson, West Virginia, to serve her sentence.

For many years she has been active in labor defense work, and is, at present, a member of the National Committee of the Workers Defense League.

As one of its regular columnists, Grace Carlson has become known to thousands of readers of The Militant in Minnesota, as well as in other parts of the country.

Joseph Hansen Candidate for U. S. Senate From New York State



Joseph Hansen was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1910. His earliest memories are of the stern struggle for existence in the Nevada mining towns.

A few years later he learned what child labor is like under the hot western sun in the Utah beet fields.

He first heard about socialism from the stories in the capitalist press about the victories of Trotsky's Red Army.

During the depression, Hansen learned that only a highly disciplined, revolutionary party can

accomplish the great goals of socialism. He set out to determine the correct party to join.

He ruled out the Socialist Party as an empty shell. For a year he studied the press and writings of the Stalinists and Trotskyists.

Next week: William E. Bohannon and Daniel Roberts

New Friends Won To SWP In Seattle Election Campaign

By Clara Kaye

WASHINGTON SWP CAMPAIGN MANAGER

SEATTLE, Wash., Aug. 17—The Socialist Workers Party's election campaign is winning new friends for the party in Seattle. Many workers who formerly were only mildly interested in the SWP are today definitely sympathetic to it.

A typical example of this increased interest was the Election Social held last Saturday night. Negro and white workers came together to eat, dance and discuss.

Roberts explained how the platform of the SWP defends the workers' income against inflation and depression; how it guarantees full employment, job security, and adequate housing for all workers and veterans; how it insists on full equality for minorities.

NO OTHER ROAD

After his speech, one of the listeners objected to the program, saying it was fine in theory but would never be adopted by enough people to be put into practice.

He was immediately answered by several Negro friends of the SWP who stated that this pro-

Our Program:

- 1. Defend labor's standard of living! A sliding scale of wages—an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living! Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging! Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
- 2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans! For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment! Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control! Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
- 3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strikebreaking! No restrictions on the right to strike and picket! No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
- 4. Build an independent labor party!
- 5. Tax the rich, not the poor! Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- 6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!
- 7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
- 8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!
- 9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war. Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace! Against capitalist conscription! Abolish the officer caste system! Full democratic rights in the armed forces! Trade union wages for the armed forces! Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
- 10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands! For the complete independence of the colonial peoples! Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
- 11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 116 University Place New York 3, New York

- I would like: To join the Socialist Workers Party. To obtain further information about your organization. To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

NAME _____ (Please Print) STREET _____ CITY _____ POSTAL ZONE _____ STATE _____