

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Workers  
Of the World Unite!

For the  
Fourth International!

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AS THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Vol. II. - No. 5. 401

Saturday, January 29, 1938

5 Cents per Copy

## Boss Court Holds Beal On Old Score

### GASTONIA STRIKE LEADER MENACED

#### Fight On Against Extradition To N. Carolina

Fred Beal, leader of the famous Gastonia, North Carolina, textile strike, in 1929, has been arrested by the authorities in his home town, Lawrence, Mass. He is being held for extradition to North Carolina where he is still under a 20-year prison sentence under a frame-up conviction of conspiracy to slay Gastonia's police chief Aderholt.

The hearings on the extradition before the Governor of Massachusetts were scheduled to be held in the middle of this week, too late to be reported in the current issue of the Socialist Appeal.

Fred Beal is being defended by the Boston attorney George Roewer. The Boston Local of the Socialist Workers Party is vigorously behind Beal in this case, and the National Office of the Party in New York is preparing to cooperate in the launching of a national movement to prevent Beal from being extradited to the prison hell of anti-labor North Carolina and to fight for his earliest possible release if the extradition fight should be lost in Massachusetts.

#### Beal Union Leader

A New England textile worker from early youth, Beal became one of the most effective union organizers in that industry, participating in and later leading a number of dramatic labor struggles. A member of the Communist Party for several years, he went almost single-handed into the South and organized the sensational Gastonia strike in 1929.

The strike held firm for a long period of time under the most savage attacks of the mill-owners, their police officials and thugs, until the Union Hall was raided by a lynch mob. In the course of the firing, Police Chief Aderholt was shot. Beal and six other union officials were indicted for conspiracy to murder and railroaded to prison in an atmosphere of typical lynch-justice.

Together with the other defendants, Beal went to Russia in 1930, where his experiences under the rule of the bureaucracy, narrated in his recent autobiography, "Proletarian Journey," made him a confirmed opponent of the Stalin regime. Because he refused to be silent about the crimes of the ruling clique, he was left completely in the lurch by his former Stalinist leaders in Russia and in the United States, and, after his return to this country, left to fight the Gastonia frame-up single-handedly.

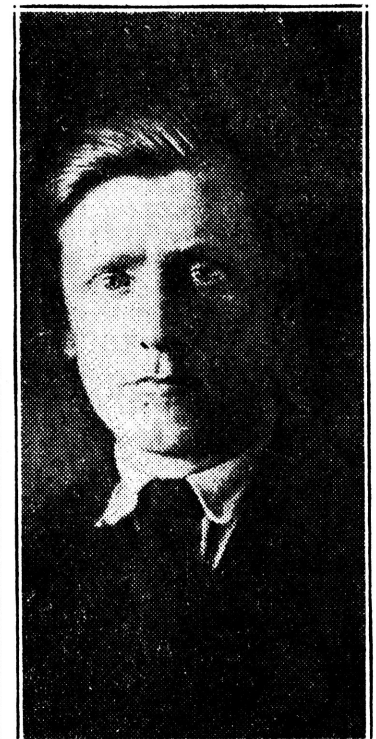
#### Frame-Up Is Frame-Up

The significance of that frame-up and of Beal's great work of labor organization in the South has not changed by a single jot. The fact that he is now threatened with imprisonment by the Southern Bourbons for labor activity, is not altered in the least by the fact that he is a sharp critic of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union.

In spite of the fact that he is now in crucial danger of losing his liberty for pro-labor activity, the International Labor Defense, Stalinist auxiliary, has not lifted a finger in his behalf. The Daily Worker, which a few years ago denounced the frame-up for what it was and is, now calls upon the workers to let the Southern reactionaries do to Beal what they want without interference from the labor movement.

At a time when a worker is being hurled through the prison gates, the Communist Party, instead of aligning itself with him against capitalist justice as is its elementary duty, is taking revenge on Beal for his opposition to its policies and facilitating his incarceration in a southern dungeon.

The Beal case is a bristling challenge to the entire labor movement. It is a labor case from beginning to end. It is also



FRED BEAL

## California SWOC Members Revolt Against Leaders

### REGISTER PROTEST IN RUMP MEETING

#### Say Lewis Appointees Are Bureaucrats

LOS ANGELES.—The first substantial revolt in the Los Angeles area against the dictatorial policies of the Lewis-appointed bureaucracy in the S. W. O. C. flared into action Sunday, January 16, when delegates demanding democratic procedure held a rump session after the adjournment of the regular district policy meeting of the S. W. O. C. lodges. The "rump" meeting was not the result of planned action but merely the spontaneous expression of the militant rank-and-file protest against the bureaucratic practices of Dalrymple, S. W. O. C. Regional Director of California.

The meeting failed to take concrete action or make definite plans for the future. However, as one delegate expressed it, "The ball has started rolling; the first step in the direction of building a rank-and-file demo-

(Continued from page 3)

## Roosevelt In Huddle With Businessmen

### ACTS TO PUT BRAKE ON ALARMING SLUMP

#### Prevailing Wage Cut From Amendment Of Housing Act

Beneath the surface of the White House Conference of big shots, the campaign against labor outlined in these columns took more specific form during the past week. All of the industrialists, with the very best will in the world, unite in explaining that they simply cannot lower prices and increase production while their "costs"—that is, the wages they pay—are so high and the unions so "irresponsible."

The President and Congress are listening carefully. With very evident approval from the White House, the "prevailing wage amendment" was struck from the Housing Act. This amendment provided that on all housing enterprises undertaken, supported, or financed by the Government wages should be paid at least equal to the highest wages prevailing for the given trade in the given locality. The crucial importance of this provision, from the point of view of labor, is sufficiently obvious. Its elimination from the Housing Act not merely opens the road to sub-standard wages on Government financed enterprises, but, even more important, works as a wedge in lowering wages in the building trades generally.

#### Aids Housing Business

In point of fact, this action very clearly shows the real meaning of "housing" under capitalism. Far from being a means to provide cheap and adequate living facilities for the masses, and useful and well-paying jobs in construction, the whole governmental housing program, in so far as it may be realized at all, is designed merely to aid the building material, construction, and real estate companies in reviving their profits. This will become

(Continued from page 3)

## New Jersey Steel Workers Win Strike In Heart Of The Notorious Anti-Labor Mayor Hague's Own Hudson County

### MILITANT TACTICS BRING CRUCIBLE STEEL TO ACCEPT WORKERS TERMS IN 36 HOURS

#### Bosses Fail to Befog Issues By Attack On E. H. Kaempf

HARRISON, N. J.—At Crucible Steel Co., 2,000 members of SWOC lodge No. 1289 won a smashing 36-hour victory last week. The strike victory is particularly impressive in view of the fact that Harrison is a Hudson County town controlled by Mayor Hague's stooges. During a three months' period preceding the strike, Crucible, known as the toughest steel outfit in the country, had repeatedly violated the seniority rights guaranteed the workers by the union contract. In addition to settling these long-standing grievances the workers struck for other progressive concessions which would fortify the security of the union in the plant.

At 8:15 a. m., January 17th, union leaders stood by the gate, while flying squadrons pulled switches all over the plant, completely stopping all production, as the plant manager admitted. Immediately the management declared the strike to be in violation of the contract. The boss press of Newark followed by spreading statements that the strike was opposed by two-thirds of the workers, and that the "irresponsible" leadership of Edwin H. Kaempf, SWOC New Jersey director, was

#### Great Solidarity Shown

As the midnight shift came on the workers exposed the lie of the fink press. The newly-arriving workers were asked to give their lunchboxes to the strikers inside the gate and then go home until morning. The then go home with 100 per cent. With this demonstration of solidarity on the part of the workers, the plant management retreated from its previous intransigence. With a favorable settlement in sight, the workers evacuated the plant after a promise by the local police chief that no strikebreakers

would be allowed in. The workers showed their militancy and lack of reliance on the capitalist-controlled police by maintaining a picket-line of 300 at the gate, prepared at the first sign of a doublecross to reoccupy the plant.

The strike was settled with all but one demand granted. Grievance cases that had been kicked around for months were settled in a few minutes. Plant-wide seniority replaced department seniority. Union shop stewards and committee-men were given highest seniority rights in the plant, regardless of their term of service. Long standing unsanitary conditions were remedied.

#### 600 Give Support

As proof of the class consciousness of the organized steel workers in this area, Lodge 1339, consisting of 600 workers in the Jersey City Crucible plant, voted to strike in support of their Harrison brothers if called upon. Another noteworthy feature of the strike was the completely democratic manner in which it was conducted, the rank and file voting to ratify the agreement before there was any return to work, and in addition electing all committees in charge of the strike. After the settlement, when the victorious workers wanted to lift Kaempf to their shoulders, he refused, pointing out that every worker in the plant was as responsible as he for the victory. At a meeting on January 23, some 1,600 workers of the Altha plant gave an overwhelming vote of confidence to Kaempf.

The strike victory has lifted the morale of the Crucible workers amazingly. The first meeting after the strike was so large that an additional hall had to be rented to hold all the workers. With the past year showing Crucible's profits reaching new heights, and with the company getting fat navy contracts at the present time, the Crucible workers are ready to meet the expiration of their contract on Feb. 28, determined to win better working conditions.

## Rivera Resigns From Modern Monthly

January 18, 1938.  
To the Editor of the Modern Monthly:  
Mr. Editor:

Up until now the undersigned was listed as the art editor of the "Modern Monthly." It is true that this monthly was not expressed in any way, being no more than a gesture of solidarity. I consider it impossible, however, further to give the impression of solidarity with your organization. For all workers' organizations and even for individual progressive figures the deciding criterion at the present time is their attitude toward Stalinism and the G. P. U., to the ruling Moscow clique.

The question here is not one of a struggle of ideas between two tendencies, as the hypocrites of the "Workers Age" try to describe it, but of a struggle among all trends in the working class for self-preservation, against demoralization, bribery, poison, slander, frame-ups and shootings in the back.

Mr. Carleton Beals did everything he could to hinder the investigation of the crimes of the Stalinist clique. In accomplishing this, Beals himself did not stop at lies, slander and low intrigue. It was the elementary duty of the "Modern Monthly" to brand its own collaborator as he deserved and to drive him from its ranks. But the owner of the "Modern Monthly," Mr. V. F. Calverton, has set himself against the execution of this elementary duty. This shows that the "Modern Monthly" places its regard for clannishness above the elementary demands of political hygiene. There is nothing left for me to do other than to ask you to remove my name from the list of your editors and collaborators.

DIEGO RIVERA.

## TELEPHONES

The telephone number of Local New York is  
**GRamercy 5-9142**  
The telephone number of the National Office is  
**ALgonquin 4-8547**

## Profound Depths of Economic Crisis Revealed In Statistics On New Unemployment Wave

### BUT CP ACCEPTS ROOSEVELT SMOKESCREEN AND CHARGES WALL STREET SABOTAGE

#### Falling Off In Employment In U. S. Clearly Shows There Has Never Been Any Real Recovery in Country

By Dave Cowles

There has been much talk about the current economic decline being a temporary recession. If this is indeed a recession, it is deeper than any depression America has had during the present generation, excepting only the depression of 1929-1933. It is also the best evidence of the bankruptcy and decline of American capitalism.

The severity of the current decline can best be seen by comparing it with that of 1929. Within the past four months, the New York Times index of business activity has fallen twenty-seven points. This drop is far worse than the one that followed the stock market crash of 1929, when it took five months for business activity to drop only one-third as far. The ten-point drop of 1929 was followed by a slight upward movement which broke the steepness of decline. The present fall is straight down, without the slightest sign of any pause. The five months' drop that heralded the worst depression in history was less than ten percent. The present four months' drop is almost twenty-four percent. If the drop continues as long as that of 1919, it will catapult into a depression that will make the last one seem a little "recession" by comparison. For already the disastrous effects on workers are seen in news of suicides, news of increased unemployment, news of business and government attacks on the organizations and living standards of the workers.

## Judge Wham Fines Illinois Miners For Alleged Conspiracy

### SAYS 3-YEAR STRIKE DAMAGED BUSINESS

#### Precedent A Menace To Labor If Upheld

By Albert Gates

Organized labor was dealt a severe blow in the far-reaching decision handed down by Federal Judge Fred L. Wham, sitting in East St. Louis, Illinois, when on January 13th he ordered the Progressive Miners union to pay \$117,000 in damages to the United Electric Coal Company in a suit arising out of the long and bitter strike at the company's Red Ray mine near Freeburg, Illinois.

## Words of Camouflage

Judge Wham made sure to announce that his finding was made not because there was a strike but because there was a conspiracy on the part of the union and the workers to harm the effective operation of the company's business. The Judge declared that his decision in no way questioned the right of workers to engage in strike action provided that strike action is legal. That was the least he could have said in the light of existing laws upholding the right to strike.

The right to strike is a right acquired by the workers in struggle. Legislation permitting the right to strike and picket is the result of the continuous pressure of the workers in the strike waves of recent years and to the legal recognition of an existing fact.

From coast to coast the workers have struck on the job in order to obtain recognition of their union organizations and an improvement of their working and living conditions. By their mass action, they have rendered anti-strike legislation ineffective and influenced the new trend in labor law developed in the reformist period of the Roosevelt administration.

## To Cripple Strikes

The boss class, compelled to accept reformist labor legislation, now seeks to cripple the strike movements of the workers through other means, and one of the means utilized is to sue a union and its members for damages arising out of "illegal" strikes and violence occurring in strikes as a result of the "thug and fink" policy of the financial

(Continued on page 3)

## Soviet Council Adjourns After Giving Stalin O K Order To End The Party Purge Presages New Terror

Following the fake Stalin elections, the equally fraudulent "Supreme Council" convened in its first session in Moscow to go through a routine, rigorously outlined in advance, with 100 per cent unanimity.

Nothing "sensational" developed out of this first session. In other words, Stalin, as is his custom, contented himself on this occasion merely with having the Supreme Council approve everything that had been done thus far.

Above all, Stalin needed a legitimization of the blood purge. The Supreme Council, as the newest and most important public facade and rubber stamp, set its seal of legality upon it, by unanimous approval of the revamped Council of People's Commissars. This oft-purged body as reconstituted today has on it only seven men who were commissars at the last "election" two years ago; the remaining 23 have been removed, i.e., arrested or executed.

#### Five "Securely" Seated

Of the seven remaining "old" Bolsheviks, five are more or less securely seated: Molotov, Chubar, Voroshilov, Kaganovich and Mikoyan, while the other two, Litvinov and Pakhomov (Commissar for Water Transport) had warnings issued to them. Pakhomov, severely criticized during the session, was given until the opening of the next open session to get his Commissariat in "functioning order"; being warned not to forget for a single day the criticisms made of his department. As for Lit-

(Continued on page 3)

## UAWA Leaders Bow Down to GM GIVE UP GROUND WON BY WORKERS

#### Proffer To Auto Makers Non-Strike Contract

DETROIT.—Under the leadership of Martin Frankenstein, Reuther, the grand retreat of the United Automobile Workers from the battles and victories of January 1937 has begun. The gains and the positions conquered are to be abandoned—without a fight.

The General Executive Board of the UAWA, now in session in Detroit, is submitting the following iron-clad anti-strike guarantee to the General Motors Corporation: "The union agrees that it is the responsibility of the management to maintain discipline and efficiency in the shop; and the right of the employer to hire, discipline and discharge employees for cause is expressly recognized, subject to the right of appeal through grievance procedure.

"The union recognizes and agrees that unauthorized strikes, stoppages of work, and deliberate reduction in rate of production below standards established according to Section C of the agreement, before all of the steps set forth in the grievance procedure have been complied with, are indefensible; and for a violation of this provision by the union, its officials or members, or the corporation will discharge or otherwise discipline the employee or employees known to be or found guilty thereof, and be union responsible therefor.

"Non-compliance on the part of the union with the above provisions shall be deemed a breach

(Continued on page 3)

## Moscow In Difficulty With Robinson Case State Dept. Refused Right To See Arrested Woman

#### By Junius

### Bulletin!

As we go to press, Washington announces a new demand to see Mrs. Rubens, sent to Moscow despite the refusal of the C. P. - Tory bloc favoring connivance with Stalin. Hull, however, continues to keep all details secret.

The closeness of the jawn the Stalin regime finds itself in because of the Robinson-Rubens frame-up fizzle, was startlingly illustrated early this week when a Moscow cable cited Americans in that city as believing that "the failure of the Soviet government to permit American Consular officials here, despite the recognition agreement to see Mrs. Ruth Marie Rubens, now under arrest in a Soviet prison, will continue indefinitely.

At the same time, the Appeal learns from Washington that the refusal of permission, coming on the heels of the G. P. U.'s six-week-long failure to admit they had Mrs. Rubens in their clutches, has caused annoyance in the State Department.

The insistence of the G. P. U. on keeping Mrs. Rubens to themselves until they have finished "questioning" her—which creation process may take several months—is presumably due to the difficulties, both subjective and objective, in getting her to play the role of penitent "Japanese - Trotskyite - Bukharinite - spy" which the G. P. U. has written for her.

The fact remains that Stalin's adventurous frame-up course has led to a situation that strains

(Continued on page 4)

#### Stalinist Jitters Mount

And while the Daily Worker, like the genial Dictator himself, continues mum as the Rubens case, Stalinists in New York are working to dispel interest in the case. A growing feeling among non-Stalinist radicals, laborites and liberals that the Rubens case is a crucially rotten expression of Stalinist degenerate methods has frightened local Stalinists into the jitters. They fear that the Appeal's series of startling disclosures of their role in the Rubens passport fraud will shortly be followed by even more sensational exposes of the criminal anti-working class activities of the G. P. U. here and abroad.

#### New Developments

1. Fred Beal, Gastonia and Moscow class-war refugee now held by the Massachusetts police for extradition to North Carolina where he would face a 20-year prison term resulting from an anti-labor murder frame-up, on his arrest told newspaper men that he believed the G. P. U. was simultaneously trying to involve him in the Rubens frame-up.

Beal, of course, has been defended by Trotskyites against the vicious slanders spread against him by the Stalinist mud-

(Continued on page 4)

#### Capitalist Alibis

The reaction of the ruling class has been to let loose a flood of propaganda that hides the whole truth of capitalist decline. The anti-New Deal capitalist blame Roosevelt and the New Deal for the depression. In doing this they spread the illusion among workers and the middle class that "unhindered" capitalism can overcome depression and restore prosperity. They hide the truth that it was the "unhindered" capitalism of Hoover that crashed into the worst depression in American history.

The pro-New Deal capitalists blame the opponents of the New Deal for the depression. The New York Times of Dec. 22, 1937 reports that "the President emphasized his belief that the business recession was... largely the result of a psychology which he said was not only being inculcated but was being fostered by the minority of business men and a large percentage of newspapers." This would lull workers into believing that capitalism, "controlled" by the New Deal, had brought prosperity and could continue to do so; that the cause of the current depression and widespread suffering is not capitalism but some "uncontrolled" capitalists. But the truth is that the current depression is so deep despite the tremendous aid given to industry by the New Deal in the form of loans, of price aids to increase profits, and of outright gifts.

#### Stalinist Fairy Tales

The Communist Party apes Roosevelt, only more bluntly, in the Weekly Newsletter of the Workers' Alliance, November 17, 1937: "Wall Street is trying to create a crash to prove that progressive government and the New Deal are not successful." This would spread the illusion among the most suppressed of all workers that the New Deal is successful in preventing depression, that the present government is progressive. This would make men in the scape-goats "Wall Street" the much-hated "depression." The theory fits in with Roosevelt's plan to compel his capitalist opponents to submit to the "controls" of the New Deal.

The action also fits in. The Workers' Alliance is planning a

(Continued on page 2)



# 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 unsparsingly 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, Postolovsky, 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 "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 Kameney 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, Kameney 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 further 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 Kameney-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 Kameney and Zinoviev conceal their "Trotskyite" platform? he asks. They did it, Stalin answers, because

# Severity Of The Crisis Is Shown In Statistics Of Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

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. 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 bulk of workers on emergency 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 18,801,000. It fell 34 per cent by 1932, 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 968,000 a drop of almost thirty per cent. The losses in employment in these industries began under the "unregulated" 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 12,655,000 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 \$1,550, while that of the average independent business man was only \$1,795.

However, bad 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 Chalaye, 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 capital 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,

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 aloof 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 indissoluble 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

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 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' 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.

#### 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 is the duty of our Party:

1. To propagandize the progressive character of the Chinese
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 nationwide campaign against the growing danger of world imperialist war.



### 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 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."

Despite Stalin's ingenious explanation, many readers of the report may pause to ponder whether it was the G.P.U. and not the "defendants" "who took a different line" in the "confessions" of the second trial.

Undaunted by the growing mountain of contradictions, Stalin presses on to his major offensive. Charging the "Trotskyites" with a plot to restore capitalism, liquidate collective and state funds, dismember the Soviet Union and give up territory to Hitler and the Mikado, Stalin continues:

#### They Hid It

"Naturally the Trotskyites could not but 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 "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 Komm, 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.

#### Britishers Refuse To Load Japanese Ship

Brushing aside the hamstringing restrictions imposed by their union officialdom to prevent militant action, longshoremen at the port of Middlesbrough, England, last week refused to load a Japanese vessel, the S.S. "Haruna Maru," with a cargo of iron and steel.

The action of the men, unauthorized by their union, was taken as a protest against Japan's imperialist war on China and as a demonstration of solidarity with the Chinese masses.

The reactionary bureaucrats of the longshoremen's union, lining up with the British imperialist government, which is anxious to avoid becoming embroiled with Japan at this stage, appealed to the workers to go through with the loading of the ship—with results as yet unknown.

## 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 .....

portunity 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 .....

### 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.

We are confident that the responsible, class conscious workers, and the serious labor movement as a whole, will not take the same attitude, but will rally in 100 percent behind Beal in his fight against living entombment in the prison cell of the laboring reactionaries of the South.

### 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

### 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 committeeman is placed in jeopardy. "Deliberate reduction in rate of production below standards" can easily be used as the formula to frame any "steward." 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.

### 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.

#### 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 or illegality 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

#### Membership Flouted

Who gave the GEB authority to grant these "guarantees"? Nobody! On the contrary, they are in flagrant opposition to the expressed desire of the UAW membership.

On Sept. 11, a conference of General Motors workers met in Detroit, and unanimously rejected not only the company's contract but the GEB's "guarantees" of Sept. 11 as well. (The Socialist Appeal of Nov. 27, 1937, told about that conference.) The conference instructed the GEB to reconvene a General Motors workers conclave within sixty days. (This motion was adopted under considerable pressure and only after Walter Reuther acting as Homer Martin's hatchet man, killed a left-wing proposal to continue the conference in session until such matters as the impending Pontiac strike were acted upon.) Sixty days and more have elapsed and there is no sign of such a conference or even a call for a conference.

Instead comes the brazen, bureaucratic statement by Martin: "There is no way this guarantee clause can be revoked before the 1938 convention, which alone can over-ride a decision of the executive board." (Detroit News, Jan. 18, 1938.)

#### 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.

### 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.

#### 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. Plotnev, 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 "obscure Tsarist autocracy" who poses as a commentator for the said Times. (N. Y. Times, Sunday, Jan. 16.)

Unknown 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.



SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. II, No. 5. Saturday, January 29, 1938. Published every week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1937 at the post office at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879. MAX SHACHTMAN Editor.

LABOR DEFENSE ORGANIZATION MUST BE BUILT

The events of the past year and the prospect for the future unite in pointing to a grave and dangerous breach in the armor of the labor and revolutionary movements.

The defense of Trotsky's right of asylum and the inquiry into the Moscow Trial—the crux of the struggle for democratic rights in this last period—had to be conducted by independent and specially created organizations.

With the new slump in this country, and with the deepening of the war crisis, it is entirely certain that the time ahead will see a steadily increasing invasion of democratic rights.

A step must be made. The time has come for all those, independently of political belief and program, for whom truth and justice are not mere sops to troubled consciences.

ROOSEVELT'S NAVY BUDGET

At the beginning of the year, President Roosevelt submitted a budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, which cut hundreds of millions of dollars off the previous appropriations for Unemployment Relief, work relief, and C. C. C. camps.

This gave the United States the largest military-naval budget it has ever had in any peace

year and made it possible for a good Liberty Leaguer like Herbert Hoover to say in his address to the women Republicans: "We are leading the arms race."

More than half a billion dollars was asked for the Navy. Now it is reported that, in his coming special message, the President will ask for an additional appropriation for the navy, variously estimated at between \$100,000,000 and \$200,000,000.

What Big-Navy jingo could ask for better? This is the "peace" budget of the President who continues to declaim: "I hate war!"

The Communist Party press has not had a single word of criticism of this purely imperialist budget, because they are bound by their servitude to the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia which looks favorably upon increased imperialist armaments in the United States for the simple reason that it looks towards a military alliance with the American spoils-hunters in the coming war.

The naval budget is a war budget! The arguments about "defense"—especially in the light of statements by such experts as Major-General Hagood, Hugh S. Johnson, the late Admiral Sims and others who say that the U. S. coast line is virtually invulnerable—are so much unadulterated buncombe.

In answer to the murder-budget of the imperialists, we reply with the traditional watchword of the revolutionists: "Not a penny and not a man for imperialist war!"

The only war which we will support is a war to the end against the exploiters and oppressors of our "own" country, who, in a land brimming with abundance, keep the masses in unemployment, poverty and servitude.

NO, IT WASN'T HEARST!

Suppose the following had appeared in the columns of the Hearst press:

"In Chinese waters an American boat, the Panay is cruising peacefully on its errand of mercy for American refugees.

"Overhead fly death dealing Japanese planes, a typical sight in the invasion of China.

"SUDDENLY....

"An Eye-Witness Talking

"Without warning a trio of Japanese bombers dived at the American ships, unloosing their terrible burden of high explosives.

"When the three Japanese planes had unburdened their explosives, six more took up the savage attack on the helpless river boats and one American ship sank to the bottom of the river."

"Next day black-bordered telegrams were received by American mothers and wives.

"That's the story of the Panay sinking."

Suppose, we repeat, the above appeared in the Hearst press. Wouldn't you say, shrugging your shoulders, that it is simply typical of those yellow rags? That it is habitual with Hearst to try to whip up a jingoist, pro-war spirit among the people?

Only, it did not appear in the Hearst press. It is taken, word for word, from a leaflet issued by the Young Communist League of Brooklyn, N. Y., advertising a meeting in Premier Palace on Jan. 14, 1938, at which the names of those great revolutionary internationalists, Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg were to be desecrated by young patriotic flag-wavers from the Stalinist school.

its adversaries; it is at the same time judge and party to the dispute. On the one side appears the State, spread out in a mighty apparatus; on the other, beating its breast sixteen times, and sixteen times falling to the lowest rung of the human ladder, appears the individual.

Liberty At Issue

"Justice, humanity, truth—is that all that is at issue? Not yet all. Liberty is no less gravely offended. The Trial is an episode—and it is going to be the epilogue—in a struggle between two political factions.

In that police court, the ruling power judges

LIFE IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY

THE PEOPLES CHAMPION... OF LIBERTY... PROGRESS... PEACE... AND PROSPERITY... PLANNED MURDER. A political cartoon by Carlo showing a man in a suit pointing a gun at a man in a uniform, with a graph showing a sharp upward trend labeled 'PLANNED MURDER'.

MOSCOW DENIES HULL REQUEST

(Continued from page 1) slinging machine. Hence, it would seem, he has been under consideration on 13th Street as raw material for the phony link which must be forged in an effort to connect the Rubens couple with the Trotskyites.

"The method is unchanging, the procedure always the same: secret investigations, selection of the defendants, complete confessions. The study of the earlier trials brings out an already established tradition of outrages against justice, humanity, truth, and liberty; it clarifies at one and at the same time the environment, the men, the system, the accused and accusers; and permits an estimation of the worth of the confessions....

"We have said that if the Moscow Trial claims so imperiously the attention of League members, it is because it was the prelude of other trials whose outcome was identical, the starting signal for a repression without precedent in history."

SOVIET PARLIAMENT SANCTIFIES PURGE

(Continued from page 1) (Herald-Tribune, March 14, 1937.) "The newspaper (Pravda) contended many real enemies of the party escaped successive housecleanings and still were on the rolls while thousands of loyal members were dropped for slight infractions or for no reason at all." (N. Y. Times, March 14, 1937.)

It will be noted that the recent publicity is identical in tone with that of almost a year ago. The March order to "suspend" the purge was followed by an unprecedented extension of the terror. It goes without saying that similar steps are now being contemplated—with the inclusion of a goodly number of the purgers among those to be purged in the coming weeks and months.

Left Jabs

NATIVE TAXATION IN S. A. South African 4th Internationalist paper.

If the taking away of the Native's land was not sufficient to force the Bantu to slave labor in the mines and white man's farms the poll tax provided the additional turn of the screw that was needed. This was indicated by Cecil Rhodes when he introduced the Taxation Act in 1894: "It is our duty as a government to remove those poor children from this life of sloth and laziness and to give them some gentle stimulus to come forth and find out the dignity of labor."

SLANDER AND APOLOGY

Early in December Mike Gold had the following to say in his Daily Worker column: "Here charges against them have been printed in the Daily Worker and other papers, but I fail to hear any suits of libel or Norman Thomas uttering a word. And I doubt that he will comment on Lundeberg."

THE SEQUEL

I don't know whether Norman Thomas has said a word, but Mike will have the opportunity to say several words, for the Dunne brothers took his tip and have instituted libel suit.

WAA GROUP DANCE

The Progressive Group of the Workers Alliance of Greater New York, organized to fight for a more militant and democratic regime in the Alliance, will hold its first public entertainment and dance, Saturday, January 29, at 8 P. M., at the East Side Labor Center, 159 Rivington Street.

BE IT A GAL OR A PAL

You'll Find Them At Upper West Side 916 NINTH AVENUE SATURDAY, JAN. 29 8.30 P. M. Dancing — Weenies — Drinks and "Booths" Full of Fun

French Group Splits On Stalin Trial

(Continued from page 1) the League, and translate them into the required action that stared us in the face: An outrage to the principles of justice—we must intervene; an outrage to humanity—we must intervene. "Is that all?—Not in the least. Even an extremely superficial examination of the record of the Trial calls the attention of a League member to another matter: to the problem of truth. The following detail, for example, among many others: One of the accused was condemned to death for his confession of having committed a certain act. Now, this act hardly stands up well under

MARXIST SCHOOL

Opens Week of February 14th 1. ELEMENTARY SOCIALISM—Hal Draper Monday, 7 - 8:30 P. M. 2. PROBLEMS OF YOUTH MOVEMENT—Jos. Carter — Monday, 8:45 - 10:15 P. M. 3. MARXIAN ECONOMICS—J. Wright Tuesday, 7 - 8:30 P. M. 4. PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM—M. Spector — Tuesday, 8:45 - 10:15 P. M. 5. PROBLEMS OF TRADE UNIONISM — B. J. Widick - E. R. McKinney —Wed. 7 - 8:30 P. M. 6. HISTORY OF THIRD INTERNATIONAL — Max Shachtman — Wednesday, 8:45 - 10:15 P. M. All courses will have ten sessions each. Tuition fee is \$2.50 per course. Register now! Marxist School, 116 University Place, New York. — Telephone, GRamercy 5-9142