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Tory Press Declares For LaGuardia As Mayor Enters G. O. P. Primaries

'Tribune' and 'Times' for Browder-Thomas-ALP People's Front Candidate

As if derisively answering the "People's Fronters" in all camps who have advertised him as "Labor's Candidate", Fiorello H. La Guardia threw off all pretense by entering the race in the New York Republican primaries in order to win the Mayoralty nomination of the party of Landon, Hoover, the DuPonts, Ford, Mellon and Mills.

At the same time, not only the main organ of American capitalist "Democracy", the New York Times, but also the leading reactionary Republican organ and chief spokesman for Landon in the last presidential campaign the New York Herald-Tribune, came out flatfootedly an enthusiastically for the candidate of the New York bankers and real estate men. LaGuardia has already been endorsed by the Fusion Party, the Seabury "progressive", the Simpson Republican machine, the American Labor Party, the Communist Party, the Lovestone group, the Old Guard "Social Democrats" and the Italian "socialist" daily, La Stampa Libera, edited by G. Valenti (financial wizard of the Altman-Thomas caucus).

Thomas View Rejected

LaGuardia apparently did not read Norman Thomas' column in the Socialist Call of August 7, when he wrote of the ALP that "This year for Mayor it endorses La Guardia who has publicly expressed his general support for the ALP, who is fighting the leaders of the Republican Party, and may not run in the Primary." The Mayor's eagerness to obtain the nomination of the Republican Party and the vigor

The Capitalist Press For LaGuardia

The New York Times:

"The alternative to both Mr. Copeland and Mr. Mahoney is Mr. LaGuardia, on the Fusion ticket. During the early days of his administration it was apparently his belief that trade unions could do no wrong, even when they resorted to violence in the pursuit of their objectives, and his action in the taxicab strike reflected this conviction. Fortunately, his opinions on this point are undergoing an unmistakable change. His handling of the attempted sit-down strikes in this community last Spring—and his present handling of two great strikes in the dockyards of Brooklyn and Richmond—has shown admirable firmness... Mr. Dewey's presence adds great weight to the Fusion ticket, which, with its other sterling candidates, now offers the voters of this city an opportunity to put in command of the municipal government for the next four years an administration which is honest and humane, non-partisan and capable."

—N. Y. Times, Aug. 15, 1937.

The New York Herald-Tribune:

"The leaders of Fusion and their allies within the Republican party have every reason to be proud of their ticket... There have been nervous moments in the last week, but the result is what counts. That could hardly be better. The ticket that will be offered the city, given the cooperation of the Republicans in their primary, will be the ablest and best that local politics has ever achieved... They Mayor, rejecting the advice of some of his closest advisors, remained in the Republican primary. Thereby he turned his back on a smart political trick to play fair with his many Republican supporters. As usual, the Mayor's final decision is the right one... We shall hope and expect that Mr. Dewey's entrance into the primary will mean a sweeping victory for the Mayor over Senator Copeland. Surrounded as he will be by a predominantly Republican ticket of extraordinary ability and staunchness and pledged to devote himself completely to local affairs for the next four years, Mr. LaGuardia is entitled to ask for votes upon the basis of the city's welfare."

—N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Aug. 15, 1937

Oneal, Earl Browder and Jay Lovestone. All of them are associated in a policy and movement which the convention of the Socialist Party almost unanimously condemned—the policy of the People's Front, ranging from Thomas and Altman, through Lovestone and Browder, to La Guardia and the Republican Party machine.

People's Front Line Fatal

Instead of emphasizing to the working class the imperative need for independence from the capitalist class and all its political institutions and organizations, they help implant the disastrous illusion that these organizations can be utilized by labor. Instead of enhancing the class consciousness of the workers, they help to blunt it by smearing over all class lines. On an American scale, the People's Fronters of all varieties are smoothing the path for the same catastrophe that befell the workers of Germany and Austria and which now threatens the workers of Spain.

What a revealing commentary on the right wing in the Socialist Party that, while it is ready to dissolve the movement for the sake of supporting the Republican nominee for Mayor of New York, it cannot abide for another instant the presence in the party of the revolutionary socialists! Is it not significant that simultaneous with the bureaucratic mass expulsions of the left wing militants comes the disgraceful sell-out of the party to LaGuardia that the right wing is carrying out?

with the Tory press has given its support of his candidacy, emphasizes more plainly than anything else that LaGuardia is a capitalist candidate, running on a capitalist platform, with the direct support of the class conscious capitalists.

In the article referred to, Norman Thomas argued for the withdrawal of an independent socialist ticket by comparing the ALP last year with the ALP this year. "A year ago the condition

of membership in it was support for Roosevelt and Lehman. Today it is support for working class political action." This argument is now more plainly revealed as utterly false in face of the fact that the "working class political action" of the ALP consists merely in anticipating the key nominations of the Republican party. As in the presidential campaign of 1936, when the ALP corralled the labor vote for the Democratic Party, it func-

tions, now also, as an obstacle in the path of independent working class political action and as a means of keeping the workers subordinated to one or the other of the two old capitalist parties.

The role of the right wing in the Socialist Party today with regard to the election campaign is thus entirely indistinguishable from that played by the Old Guard in the 1936 elections or from that played at the present time by Charney Vladeck, James

Stalinists Applaud Ousting of Left wing from S. P.

The Communist Party bureaucracy, which has spared neither energy nor funds in its efforts to undermine and corrupt the Socialist Party has put the stamp of hearty approval on the expulsion of the revolutionary left wing of the SP by the Altman-Thomas combination.

"We greet the New York local of the Socialist Party", says the leading editorial of the Daily Worker, on August 14, 1937, "for its expulsion of 54 counter-revolutionary Trotskyists as conspiratorial enemies of the Socialist Party."

Urge Deeper Split in SP

"The New York Socialists," continues the editorial, "have discovered from bitter experience that it is not possible to tolerate these counter-revolutionary dregs

within their ranks. It is now possible—by cleansing all traces of Trotskyism from the SP organization—to strengthen the prestige of the Socialist Party and give it new health.

"Not only is it necessary to throw out Shachtman, Burnham, Abern and their tools. It is also essential, in the interests of the Socialist Party and of the working class, that all ideas and practices of Trotskyism and the Trotskyists be cleaned out entirely from within the Socialist Party."

By purging the SP of "all ideas and practices of Trotskyism", the Stalinists mean today what they have meant ever since they started their drive for the expulsion of the left wing: to convert the Socialist Party into an appendage of the Communist Party, molded in its image, to tear it off

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NEC Suspends California Charter

By Glen Trimble

The charter of the Socialist Party of California has been suspended by the National Executive Committee! On Wednesday, August 11, the Clarity faction openly placed itself at the head of the party splitters and wreckers. Ward Rodgers, author of the suspension resolution has been appointed "impartial" executor of the possessions, locals and members of the state party.

With this action last lingering doubt as to the complete alliance between the Altman-Thomas social-patriotic party liquidators and the "Clarity" NEC majority is dispelled. In flagrant violation of every party tradition, law and decision, the NEC has acted in haste and conspiratorial secrecy to cut down the largest and most active state organization in the entire Western United States.

No chance was given to the (Continued on page 2)

Violent Crisis Drives Japanese Imperialism to Invade China

By James Wills

Goaded by an internal economic crisis that has become intolerably acute, Japanese imperialism has struck again at continental China in a supremely desperate effort to find a way out by establishing its mastery over all Asia. Coming late upon the scene of the capitalist world and lacking the natural resources vital to the development of the basic industries, Japanese capitalism very early in its life found it necessary to embark upon the path of imperialist expansion. Since 1895, the year of the first Sino-Japanese war, the Japanese bourgeoisie has been depending on the exploitation of China to bolster up the frail economic structure on which Japanese capitalism rests. The first phase of expansion won them Korea, Formosa and a foothold in Manchuria.

The world crisis of 1929 drove Japan to find new markets and new sources of raw material. But there is no room in the present-day imperialist world for peaceful expansion. Thus Japan has been compelled to erect a military and naval machine utterly disproportionate to its economic capacities and to seek the expansion it desperately needs by resort to force. Yet precisely this resort to force has aggravated the economic difficulties and hastens the day when this weak and top-heavy structure must topple down.

A few brief facts tell the story of Japan's deep inner crisis, aggravated as it has been by the heavy burdens of the six-year invasion in China. For the first seven months of 1937, Japan had an adverse trade balance of 720,-

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NEC Suspends California State Charter

Clarity Group In Punitive Expedition

(Continued from page 1)

California comrades to present the overwhelming evidence against the viciously false and absurd charges presented to the NEC by the tiny "Clarity" clique in the state. The responsible officers of the state organization were given no notice whatever that such drastic action or action of any kind was contemplated. The official party press kept mum, the national party membership was barred out, while its responsible officers prepared the most far-reaching and important expulsion since 1919.

In marked contrast to this decisive and ruthless attack upon the revolutionary Socialist wing of the party was the vacillation and reluctance of identically constituted National Executive Committees in dealing with the frankly reformist and disloyal New York Old Guard. For more than two years local after local, state after state, demanded action to discipline the Waldman clique. The Old Guard systematically broke every principle and rule of the party and yet its reward from the NEC was discipline of the "ultra-lefts". Investigations, hearings, negotiations without number dragged through long months. In all these the Waldman-Cahan betrayers played the role of Dickensian schoolmasters with rod in hand. The NEC took its licking, and the charter of the state of New York remained in Waldman's vest pocket. Only after years of waste effort and cowardly cringing, only after the NEC was faced with a national membership so aroused that they could not be denied, only in the face of the accomplished fact of two parties in New York—only then did the NEC, reluctantly and almost tearfully, suspend the charter of the state of New York.

No such tender regard and polite ceremony is shown to the State organization of California. No proof of disloyalty or violation of party decision by the state organization has been shown, or can be shown. The California Socialists, only two short years ago virtually wiped out by "Epic" desertions, have fought back to healthier, more militant, more influential mass work than was ever true in the last twenty years of the state party. The number of trained, active, enthusiastic comrades has steadily increased. Faced with the strongest Stalinist concentration outside New York City they have fought them to a standstill and recruited the best elements from their ranks. On the day when Ward Rodgers, accompanied by bodyguard, presented his National Office order demanding the charter and property of the State organization on grounds of "demoralization of the state membership" and "stultification of party activity", young Socialists were returning to San Francisco from the largest and most successful state summer school in more than twenty years.

California's Real Crime

The crime of California Socialists is not too little but too much revolutionary socialist activity. It was not loss of membership that worried the Rodgers' clique, it was steady gains in youthful, aggressive revolutionary socialists. All along the line the cause of socialism was gaining, but the plight of Rodgers and Co. was growing more and more tragic. By corraling every Old

Guard hangover, anti-"Trotskyite", pacifist, liberal and stay-at-home member, and by a secret and unparalelledly vicious personal campaign they had secured a slim convention majority last February. Every meeting, discussion, class, trade union struggle or demonstration saw "Clarity" support dwindle. Their stay-at-home members were too far to the right for the Chicago convention decisions. Registration took its toll of those whose socialism was not sturdy enough for the exertion of filling out a card. The State Committee majority was a cross-section of Clarity support, it could agree only on Trotskyist-baiting and opposition to any and all active work and political development—which the membership persisted in.

A thriving party and a do-nothing, politically illiterate State Committee majority clashed more and more sharply. Locals representing a full three quarters of the members—San Francisco, Oakland, Fresno, Los Angeles Branch Central, Dominguez Hills, Santa Monica and San Diego—called for a special state convention. The SEC met and Clarity managed to hold a majority against a committee vote for state convention by forcing its members to sign the opposing resolution in advance. The question was lost by a tie vote but a second motion was offered calling for a state referendum to allow the membership to decide the question democratically. Clarity floundered and broke in the face of this unforeseen emergency. The motion carried 7-5. Frank Trager, who was present as Clarity reinforcement from the National Office, and who heard at the SEC meeting every item of the Clarity evidence against the Left wing favored a referendum. Now Rodgers repeats this "evidence" and the entire NEC, apparently including Trager (though the accused have received no minutes or statement of the vote), votes for suspension of the state charter for the stated purpose of nullifying the referendum and preventing a convention. Considerations of "fair-play", truth and elementary democracy are very quickly sloughed off in the face of California's real crime—that of insisting on maintaining, acting on, and fighting for a revolutionary Socialist position.

What the Left Wing Is Hindering

Such criminals endanger the La Guardia sell-out, hinder negotiations with Lovestone and the franker Stalinists, "discredit" our young friends busily job-hunting in the happy hunting ground of the CIO, "demoralize" our pacifist, liberal and social-reformist hangovers from the good old days when anybody could be—and all kinds were—"Socialists". Such "sectarians" keep us out of the big, happy all class family of the People's Front. It is impossible to work with them—suspend the charter!

The revolutionary socialists of California do not intend to be so easily disposed of. We are the Party in California. We intend to proceed with our work and with our convention. We will not turn over the Party equipment to these disrupters—it would only get dusty from disuse. We will challenge and fight the unconstitutional suspension and every illegal act that follows from it. We have already moved for a national referendum. We call upon all revolutionary Socialists to come to the defense of their California comrades and to join the fight against the wreckers who are trying to drive Socialism out of the Socialist Party.

CLARITY IN CALIFORNIA AND CLARITY IN WISCONSIN

The Clarity group in control of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has voted unanimously to lift the charter of the California organization, which is controlled by the left wing, and to reorganize the State.

Bold, prompt, vigorous—against the left wing.

Clarity Capitulates to Wisconsin

But how does the same NEC act with regard to the right wing organization in Wisconsin? The shameful policy of Hoan, Porter, Biemiller, Raskin and Co. has not only led to a disgraceful alliance with the La Follette machine, but to the decline of the party membership from some 2,000 to about 400—according to the Clarityites themselves. In addition, the Wisconsin right wing simply refuse to accept the Trade Union Resolution adopted by the national convention in Chicago. In a word, whatever is even remotely revolutionary in the SP is ignored by Wisconsin's party bureaucracy. The Clarityite National Action Committee of the Party thereupon proceeds humbly to Milwaukee to meet with the Wisconsin State Executive Board and the Milwaukee County Executive Board of the party to "straighten things out". And how are things "straightened out" in Wisconsin? By "bold, prompt, vigorous" action? No, Clarity's blows are directed at the left wing. Before the right wing, it capitulates!

Here are the revealing excerpts from the official minutes of the meeting of the National Action Committee with the Milwaukee right wing officials on June 4, 1937. They tell their own story:

"HOAN: For many years Wisconsin has been tempted to form coalitions with progressive movements, but has refused out of loyalty to the national movement. It grieved over the New York split; kept out communistic elements; took a stand against violence. On the basis of these stands it has kept its membership and it has now become larger and more successful than ever before.

Now with our large and thriving membership this new policy of flirting with communists—Trotskyists or Stalinists, does not set well. We believe the program as set out at the convention to be the wrong one for building a movement. We feel that if we subscribe to these doctrines we will go the way of all other states. We feel that the policy of sticking our noses—as a political party—into the business of trade unions is wrong. We believe we have problems different than those of trade unions—and ordering trade unions around is not successful. A political movement doesn't allow trade unions to dictate their policies—so trade unions shouldn't allow a political movement to dictate its policies. And you won't attempt to do this if you want a Socialist Party in Wisconsin (We know federation set-up, etc.) Wisconsin can build better within the (Farmer-Labor Progressive) federation now than ever before. We have objections to war resolution; particularly to section which states that when there is a war we will start a revolution...."

"BIEMILLER: (1) We are seriously concerned with the decline in membership of the Socialist party outside Wisconsin. ports) and we believe (2) the

(Wisconsin now has one-third the membership of the party according to the latest membership results of the convention and its decisions to be disastrous. Not a true convention. If held now, representation would be entirely different. Pennsylvania now has only 200 members, while at convention they had more delegates than we. (3) Also, we had thought there was an agreement on labor secretary—we thought he (Trager) had agreed to resign if given a place on the NEC. Now we find him back. We have theoretical and organizational differences....

Attack Trade Union Line

"CHAIRMAN PLACE: Labor resolution full of contradictions. AFL and CIO both could take exceptions to things said in it. Need simplified general statement. Next step lies with NEC. Unless something is done Wisconsin has said for a long time there was no Socialist Party and why go on. They'd be happy to have us go to devil so there would be no party in Wisconsin. That's why I suggest a referendum—and if so-called "leadership" is right—O.K. Let's find it out now...."

"MINKLEY: Our objections to labor policy are these: 1. An organization within an organization is the wrong policy (Socialist Leagues). 2. Our own policy is better—have key positions in labor movement now. Our superior knowledge pushes us ahead. 3. We believe that workers should organize into any union. The question is—should we push them into one rather than other.

"POLAKOWSKI: Only objection to trade union resolution was that of groups within unions.

"RASKIN: If you use discipline in forming leagues, it causes anti-group feeling. Our County Central Committee acts as a league in forming labor policy....

Trager O.K.'s Raskin Demand

"TRAGER: Wisconsin in practice is following out the national trade union policy. On local matters there is no disposition on the part of the national office to make mechanical the system of leagues. On national questions concerning a national trade union policy in a specific union, we feel we are better able to help you to act.

"RASKIN: We are disciplined socialists and if the convention tells us to do so and so, we feel

we have to do so. We take everything very seriously in Wisconsin. We want the NAC to agree that as far as the resolution concerning trade unions goes, Wisconsin can follow its own course.

"TRAGER: The NEC will agree that the interpretation of this resolution and all resolutions shall be through the SEC of Wisconsin as it is through each SEC in each state.

"KRUEGER: Wisconsin is an exceptional organization. It has a stable organization with many people who had a great deal of experience. We can agree that for the purpose of carrying out trade union work in line with the convention resolution that the SEC, through its state secretary in Wisconsin, shall be considered responsible and no program of organization of socialist activity in the trade unions shall come into Wisconsin except through the state secretary.

"CHAIRMAN: We object to the publicity given the trade union resolution and policy. We don't want the press to know about such policy before we do. Besides, such questions should never be for public consumption but only for inner-party consumption.

Wisconsin Gets Cart Blanche

"MOTION BY RASKIN: All questions relating to union and Workers Alliance activities of Wisconsin members of the SP will be handled by and be the responsibility of the State Committee of Wisconsin.—Carried.

"RASKIN: You leave the labor question to Wisconsin and it will be generally in line and not in conflict with the national resolution. We will apply it in the correct way. We agree that in some places guidance from the national organization is necessary but we believe the state office can handle the matter....

"PETER: Wisconsin's loyalty should be loyalty to itself. We have "kowitz" to the rest of the country and what have we gotten out of it? In no convention have we ever gotten a thing".

(On June 7, 1917, the Milwaukee Leader had the following to say about the "pact" between the NAC and the Wisconsin right wing: ("As a result of the pact, the Socialist party nationally will pursue a "hands-off" policy in so far as Wisconsin is concerned, and gave this state autonomy."))

What is the N.E.C. Doing About LaGuardia

Months ago, spokesmen for the left wing charged that the Thomas-Altman group was heading straight for withdrawing the party candidate in favor of La Guardia.

We were accused of being alarmists and slanderers. Now nobody has any doubts on this score. The Thomas-Altman-right wing combination has come out in the open.

At present, the right wing liquidators still say that they will not withdraw their mayoralty candidate if La Guardia is at the same time the Republican party candidate.

We say in advance: LaGuardia will not only run on the Republican ticket, but Thomas, Altman and Co. will withdrawn in his favor even if he does.

At present, the Clarity group leaders still say that "their" N. E. C. Will "step in" and pro-

hibit the sell-out to LaGuardia.

We say in advance: the "Clarity" N.E.C. will not stand in the way of the right wing's betrayal of socialism; it will take no action to assure an independent SP candidate for Mayor of New York in the Fall elections.

Is it not a fact that the N.E.C. has already failed to act on this question? Is it not a fact that at its special meeting in New York it turned a deaf ear to the formal demand made by the Appeal Group that support of La Guardia be condemned in advance, before the present damage was done? Is it not a fact that out of 15 N.E.C. members, at least the following are already committed to support of Thomas: Thomas himself, Hapgood, Allen, Baron, Burt, Coolidge, Krueger, Polakowski, Raskin? Isn't this a fine "Clarity" N.E.C. for you, a fine "left wing" N.E.C.

The Questions of Wendelin Thomas

By Leon Trotsky

The following letter was written in reply to questions put to the author by Wendelin Thomas, who argued for the view that there was a basic identity between Bolshevism and Stalinism, as shown by Lenin's attitude towards opponents like the Mensheviks, the Kronstadt insurgents and the independent Makhno bands in the Ukraine during the Civil War. Thomas is a former Communist deputy of the German Reichstag and now a member of the International Commission investigating the Moscow Trials. —Ed.

Esteemed Comrade:

I do not think that the questions which you asked me have a direct relationship to the investigations of the New York Commission and can have an influence on its conclusions. Nevertheless I am fully prepared to reply to your questions in order to acquaint with my actual views all those who are interested in them.

"End Justifies Means"

Like many others, you see the source of evil in the principle: "The end justifies the means". This principle is in itself very abstract and rationalistic. It permits most varied interpretations. But I am prepared to take upon myself the defense of this formula—from the materialistic and dialectical viewpoint. Yes, I consider that there are no means that are good or bad in themselves or in connection with some absolute supra-historical principle. Those means that lead

to the raising of the power of man over nature and the liquidation of the power of man over man are good. In this broad historical sense the means can only be justified by the end.

Does not this mean, however, that falsehood, treachery, betrayal are permissible and justified if they lead to "the end"? All depends on the nature of the aim. If the aim is the liberation of mankind then falsehood, betrayal, and treachery can in no wise be appropriate means. The Epicureans were accused by their opponents of sinking to the ideals of a pig when they advocated "happiness". To which the Epicureans, not without foundation, replied: that their opponents understand happiness... in a pig-gish way.

You make reference to Lenin's words that a revolutionary party has the "right" to make its opponents hated and despised in the eyes of the masses. In these words you see a principled defense of amorality. You forget, however, to point out where, in which political camp are the representatives of lofty morals. My observations tell me that political struggle in general utilizes widely exaggeration, distortion, falsehood and slander. The revolutionists are always the most slandered: in their time Marx, Engels and their friends; later—the Bolsheviks, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg; at the present time—the Trotskyists. The hatred of the possessors toward the revolution; the dull conservatism of the petty bourgeoisie, the conceit and superciliousness of the intellectuals; the material interests of the labor

bureaucrats—all these factors combine in the hounding of the revolutionary Marxist. At the same time the Messrs. Slanderers do not forget to be indignant at the amorality of the Marxists. This hypocritical indignation is nothing but a weapon of the class struggle.

Lenin's Position

In the words quoted by you, Lenin merely wanted to say that he no longer considers the Mensheviks proletarian fighters and that he makes it his task to make hateful in the eyes of the workers. Lenin expressed his thought with his characteristic passion and opened the possibilities for ambiguous and unworthy interpretations. But on the basis of the complete works of Lenin and his life's work I declare that this irreconcilable fighter was a most loyal opponent, for despite all exaggerations and extremes he always strove to tell the masses what is. The struggle of the reformists against Lenin, on the contrary, was thoroughly penetrated with hypocrisy, falsehood, trickery and forgeries under the cover of universal truths.

Your evaluation of the Kronstadt uprising of 1921 is basically incorrect. The best, most sacrificing sailors were completely withdrawn from Kronstadt and played an important role at the fronts and in the local Soviets throughout the country. What remained was the gray mass with big pretensions ("We are from Kronstadt"), but without political education and unprepared for re-

volutionary sacrifice. The country was starving. The Kronstanders demanded privileges. The uprising was dictated by a desire to get privileged food rations. The sailors had cannon and battleships. All the reactionary elements, in Russia as well as abroad, immediately seized upon this uprising. The white emigres demanded aid for the insurrectionists. The victory of this uprising could bring nothing but a victory of counter-revolution, entirely independent of the ideas the sailors had in their heads. But the ideas themselves were deeply reactionary. They reflected the hostility of the backward peasantry to the worker, the conceit of the soldier or sailor in relation to the "civilian" Petersburg, the hatred of the petty bourgeois for revolutionary discipline. The movement therefore had a counter-revolutionary character and since the insurgents took possession of the arms in the forts they could only be crushed with the aid of arms.

No less erroneous is your estimate of Makhno. In himself he was a mixture of fanatic and adventurer. He became the concentration of the very tendencies which brought about the Kronstadt uprising. The cavalry in general is the most reactionary part of the army. The equestrian despises the pedestrian. Makhno created a cavalry of peasants who supplied their own horses. These were not downtrodden village poor whom the October Revolution first awakened, but the strong and well-fed peasants who were afraid of losing what they had. The anarchist ideas of Makhno (the ignoring of the

State, non-recognition of the central power) corresponded to the spirit of this kulak cavalry as nothing else could. I should add that the hatred of the city and the city worker on the part of the followers of Makhno was complemented by a militant anti-Semitism. At the very time when we were carrying on life and death struggle against Denikin and Wrangel, the Makhnovists, attempted to carry on an independent policy. Straining at the bit, the petty bourgeois (kulak), thought he could dictate his contradictory views to the capitalists on the one hand and to the workers on the other. This kulak was armed, we had to disarm him. This is precisely what we did.

Stalin and the Bolsheviks

Your attempt to conclude that Stalin's forgeries flow from the "amorality" of the Bolsheviks is basically false. In the period when the revolution fought for the liberation of the oppressed masses it called everything by its right name and was in no need of forgeries. The system of falsifications flows from the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy fights for the privileges of the minority and is compelled to conceal and mask its real aims. Instead of seeking for an explanation in the material conditions of historical development, you create the theory of "the original sin", which fits the church but not the socialist republic.

Respectfully yours,

L. Trotsky.

Coyoacan, July, 6, 1937.

Once More: The Altman Thomas Finances

Last week, the Appeal printed the story of the shady deal proposed in the Altman-Thomas group by Girolamo Valenti for raising a slush fund from the bureaucracy of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for the purpose of financing the split drive against the left wing.

This week we are printing the proof of our assertions. It is presented by comrade Robert O. Menaker, an officer of the League for Industrial Democracy and editor of its official periodical. We have received it in the form of a letter to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, which we print in full.

The Menaker Letter

August 11, 1937.

"National Executive Committee, Socialist Party, U. S. A., 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Comrades:

"I wish to call the attention of the N. E. C. to the Party situation in Local New York.

"As a member of the Altman caucus since its inception, I have followed closely the conspiratorial actions of that body which I feel are against the best interests of the independent future of the Party. These actions, in my opinion, are a distinct corruption of Party principles.

"I have attended numerous meetings of the Altman caucus including meetings of 'key people' who number 25 or 30 and it was the last meeting of the latter group which motivates me in severing all relations with this group and informing the Party as a whole as to the situation.

"I charge and will cite hereafter my proof of the following:

"1. That expulsions of the left wing in mass were decided upon in advance of the action.

"2. Authorization was given to raise a fund of from \$5,000.00 to \$10,000.00 to finance the Altman caucus in a national expulsion drive.

"3. The caucus tolerates members who openly sabotage the publishing of the Socialist Call and advocate that it cease to be published.

"As to point 1:

"At every meeting of the Altman caucus that I attended, including the most recent one of 'key people' held at Norman Thomas' home on Tuesday, August 3, all members of the caucus decided that the Trotskyists must be expelled in whatever manner the action could be taken. Before the meeting of the City Executive Committee, which was held on Monday, August 2, it had already been announced to a prior meeting of the Altman caucus by Hal Siegel that this committee would take action to expel 54 members of the Appeal group at that City Executive meeting.

"Norman Thomas made the statement at the meeting of August 3, which was held at his home, that he had made a mistake in approving the entry of the Workers Party into the Socialist Party.

"Assurance was given to this same group of key people at this same meeting by Jack Altman that the City Central Committee would have two-thirds majority for expulsion of the Appeal members that had been brought up on charges.

"As to point 2:

"Girolamo Valenti, editor of La Stampa Libera, suggested at the August 3 meeting that a committee be formed to approach the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and the ILGWU for funds to finance the Altman group with the statement that he was certain that five to ten thousand dollars could be raised. This suggestion was unanimously accepted and Valenti appointed a committee of one to do the job.

"As to point 3:

"Sam Dewitt and G. Valenti, along with several others, suggested that no more financial support be given to the Call, which would result in its collapse. The suggestion was also made that Norman Thomas withdraw his weekly article from the Call. Though both of these suggestions were voted against, the people who made them are still tolerated in the Party and in the caucus.

"Included among those that attended this August 3 meeting were: Norman Thomas, Jack Altman, Hal Siegel, Aaron Levenstein, Rose and Morris Shapiro, Sam DeWitt, John Herling, G. Valenti and others.

"On the basis of the above statement I request the NEC, as the leading body in the Socialist Party to intervene in the New York situation. I am ready to appear at any time to substantiate this statement.

"Fraternally yours,

(Sgd.) "Robert O. Menaker.

"PS. In order to acquaint those most affected by the actions of the Altman caucus, I am handing a copy of this letter to Gus Tyler, editor of the Socialist Call and to Max Shachtman, representative of the group against whom this expulsion campaign is being organized."

The Socialist Appeal has only this question to put: what does the NEC intend to do about the malodorous scandal disclosed by the Menaker letter?

Clarity Heads Oppose Independent SP Slate

Zam, Delson and the other leaders of the Clarity group in New York are carrying on a campaign of protest against the right wing decision to withdraw the regular socialist candidate for mayor in favor of La Guardia.

Good, so far as it goes!

But wherein is the city of Cleveland different from the city of New York? Are socialist principles one thing in New York and another in Ohio?

Frank Stern, Labor Secretary of the Socialist Party in Cleveland, writes as follows about the situation in that city:

"A new problem has come up here similar to the La Guardia situation in New York, but with added complications.

"Comrade Robert Dullea, as you know, is the regular Socialist candidate for Mayor in Cleveland. Filing date for candidates is two weeks off. Last week, the C. I. O. endorsed for Mayor an Independent Democratic named Martin. The Executive Committee of the SP then agreed to keep Dullea in the field and to issue a leaflet giving our position on the Martin business.

"Last night, at a special Executive Committee meeting, Ben Parker (a Clarity leader) brought the following matter up for discussion: that inasmuch as Bob Dullea is a supporter of the Appeal, it would be wrong for the S. P. to file for him because he would not be in the party by election day (September 28) and the S. P. would be placed in the position of filling for and supporting a non-party member who would probably be busy attacking the S. P.!

"Second, that inasmuch as the C. I. O. has endorsed a man,

we should withdraw our candidate and fight within the C.I.O. for Martin to adopt a program and platform as befits a working class candidate.

"Bob Parker (another Clarity leader) supported Ben. Bill Kaufman, YPSL organizer here and a Clarityite, took issue with the Parkers. On our motion to reaffirm our support of Dullea the Clarityites split, Kaufman voting with us, carrying the motion through the Executive Committee. The Parkers will issue a minority report. The whole business is coming up at a general membership meeting Thursday night called for that purpose."

* * *

As we go to press, we receive the latest news about the situation in the Cleveland Party organization. At a membership meeting of Cuyahoga County, the left wing motion "that the SP of Cuyahoga County reaffirms its support of Robert Dullea as candidate for mayor of Cleveland", was carried by a decisive majority. The Clarity group split in two, with the YPSL comrades, Bill Kaufman and Hy Weintraub, supporting the left wing stand.

Highly interesting was the fact that Sam Baron, traveling caucus organizer for the Altman group, took the floor in complete solidarity with the Parkers' position, showing that it was identical with the New York right wing's stand on La Guardia. In his concluding remarks, Bob Parker declared: "If Baron has a good idea, I am not ashamed of agreeing with him. I don't think it's a crime to agree with Baron. If I agree with Baron on the question of candidates, then I'm willing to be called an Altmanite."

The Situation in Spain Today

BARCELONA, July 24. (By Courier to the Frontier).— July 19th anniversary of the proletarian crushing of Fascism in Catalonia, was not celebrated here. At the last moment the Valencia Government prohibited the joint demonstration scheduled by all the Catalan parties, cynically declaring that anti-fascist sentiment, "the perfect harmony between the rear and the front", required no special manifestation. This attitude was only logical on the part of the Valencia authorities: how can a reactionary government permit the celebration of a revolution? The CNT-FAI leadership made no protest; their members wished to demonstrate illegally, but the authority of the anarcho-reformist leaders is still great enough to stifle such initiative from below. The General who, in charge of Public Order, had prevented the demonstration planned for the 18th, himself ordered a characteristic demonstration for the 19th: the assault guards and shock police, armed to the teeth, came out and patrolled the streets of Barcelona, between each company two machine guns, 1937 model, with munition cases.

Stalin Police System Installed

The point is that, having suppressed all forms of Catalan autonomy—although the Catalan statute remains on paper—the authorities have confidence in nobody who has any tie, no matter how slight, with the Catalan masses. The entire Catalan police were transferred to the center of the country or to the front. Only the old "cossacks" the Civil Guard, rechristened as the National Republic Guard, remain. Even the firemen have been sent to Madrid. An entirely novel system, probably introduced by the Russian police here, is that the whole city is covered with a network of guardsmen carefully concealed; the meshes of this net are so fine that from one guard post to another is only three minutes on foot. Thus they hope to be able to stifle any illicit movement from the first moment.

The repression is much worse in Catalonia than in the rest of the country. *Solidaridad Obrera* (CNT organ) can speak only in the language of flowers about the most important problems. It dares not publish the speech of Mariano Vazquez, Secretary of the CNT National Committee, in which the CNT finally took up the public defense of the POUM. Indeed, only *Castilla Libre* of Madrid published it; unfortunately it has not a large circulation. We must not deceive ourselves: not a few people—especially the petty-bourgeoisie—are beginning to believe that the POUM is guilty of some of the charges. Now the shortcomings of the CNT press, which never explained the significance of the Moscow trials—they refrained in the name of unity and still publish little; on the shooting of the Russian generals, for example, *Soli* and *Noche* merely published the official bulletins without commentary—are being paid for by both the POUM and CNT prisoners.

Issue Reactionary Decrees

Recently two decrees of the Ministry of Justice (the Minister is Irujo, representative of the big Basque bourgeoisie) have paved the way for Moscow trials in Spain. One drove the FAI out of the Popular Tribunals, by decreeing that parties that were not legalized before the 16th of February could not be represented. The other decree, still more serious, constitutes Special Tribun-

als, to hold secret trials on espionage and high treason charges; as the CNT secretary pointed out, "all oppositionists to the Government, all those who speak or demonstrate against the constituted Government, come under the terms of this decree. And this means, for example, that at this moment, I am subject to its penalties and tomorrow I can be arrested and tried behind closed doors."

If only Vazquez' words on Nin had been published in the big CNT papers! If only the CNT had organized a real campaign for his defense! The CNT leadership knew Nin well; he had been one of the biggest of them, twenty years ago, before he founded the Communist Party of Spain.

"Ah! but what nobody can understand," said Vazquez, "is their saying Nin has been in contact with Franco, and that Nin is a fascist. This must be taken into the courts and proved to the people because, for the people, Nin is a revolutionist. He is a man who, from youth, has been in the revolutionary organizations, and the people cannot reconcile this with what is said regarding Franco. It is supreme madness, to say the least, politically mad as well, not to proceed legally in these matters." But, of course, the Stalinists and the Negrin government dare not bring Nin into open court. (This was written before the discovery that Nin had been lynched by the GPU).

Prisoners on Hunger Strike

A hunger strike of foreign political prisoners, most of them POUM and CNT co-workers, began on Monday, July 12—seventy prisoners refused nourishment. They demanded, not only better treatment, but above all to know of what they were accused. Despite concessions to them on increasing food allowances and provided bed sheets, the prisoners continued their strike for four days, that we know of: a trial or liberation, was their slogan.

Under the pressure of the CNT, the police made a promise not to hold prisoners more than thirty days without bringing them into court; but the promise has not been kept; even the ordinary rank-and-file worker is imprisoned for fifty days and more without a perfunctory hearing, and a good many of them held strictly incommunicado during all this time.

The chief of police—Ortega—for all Spain, is a Stalinist. (Since this was written Ortega was dismissed for illegally summoning and arresting a POUM military commander during preparation of the Aragon offensive, but was immediately replaced by Gabriel Moron, another Stalinist). But the official police force, jails, etc. do not suffice for their bloody work; in the case of the POUM leadership, for instance, they arrested them without using the legal channels. Indeed, in most of the political arrests, there is no official notice at Police Headquarters or elsewhere. Friends have seen, for example, the official record, releasing Jose Escuder, managing editor of *La Batalla*; but then the Stalinists took him to one of their unofficial "Cheka" (GPU).

Socialists Tacitly Aid G.P.U

And the authorities, the Valencia and Barcelona governments, consent to all this. Although the Cheka is not under their control, they condone its persecutions and murders Negrin, Prieto, and the other Social Democratic leaders, it is known, are a

little appalled by the crudity of the Stalinist GPU—but they are linked with the Stalinists in the same repressive governmental apparatus. They enjoy its reactionary fruits. We blush when we hear foreign anti-fascist comrades, combatants from the front, fallen under the heel of the G.P.U., exclaiming bewildered: "Have we made a mistake in sides?"

The great masses, still largely anarchist in sympathy, remain expectant. But the pathetic orations of their leaders do not succeed in awakening their enthusiasm. The anarcho-reformist bureaucrat's phraseology about "nobility" and "let us sacrifice" is too worn. The local group of the FAI have resumed their illegal propaganda; unfortunately it does not center around the most immediate problem, the release of the prisoners. Protesting against Stalinist repression, the Anarchist youth, the Libertarian organization, as in its time the German Social Democracy, demands of the state help against—its own hands!

"How long? It is time for the Government Council to speak, or lacking that, the Delegate General of Public Order and the Chief of Police," says one pathetic leaflet. But the illegal leaflets and press of the anarchists does provide interesting revelations. *Anarquia* reports: "To the shame and mockery of those calling themselves democrats, on the 17th of the present month, while proven anti-fascists and fighters for a better tomorrow are held in jail, seventy prisoners were set free, among them fifty-five proven fascists." We learn from the illegal leaflets that the PSUC (Catalan Stalinists) issue instructions for recruiting: "Stop your companions in the War School and offer them liberty in exchange for entry into the PSUC." "If a man is arrested who is ascertained, or whom one believes, not to be a revolutionist, the police propose that he enter the PSUC." *Anarquia* of July 1 reports: "What we cannot tolerate nor consent to... is uniformed assault, robbery and pillage penetrating our centers and cultural organs." A Libertarian headquarters had been assaulted, its equipment destroyed, valuables stolen, by a Stalinist detachment.

Discontent with Anarchist Leaders

There is widespread discontent with the leadership in the anarchist ranks. The Bolshevik-Leninists (Trotskyists) are still too small, however, to channelize it. Having been the tail to the CNT during most of the events, the POUM has attracted few of the anarchists. Consequently, the main tendency among the discontented CNT workers is a fruitless one, of desiring to return to their traditional anti-politicalism. The CNT National Committee has found itself obliged to attack them publicly and effectively too; for the sterile criticism of the "hundred percent" anti-statists only gives force to the reformist alibis of their leaders.

The Bolshevik-Leninists have won sufficient influence in the CNT ranks to receive, at the hands of the CNT leaders a downright dishonest attack. During the May Days, as an immediate measure, we called for united action of the C.N.T.—F.A.I.—P.O.U.M. Accusing us of speaking in their name, though our leaflet was plainly signed by the Bolshevik-Leninists of Spain, the CNT denounced our "dirty maneuvers." We answer-

ed them in fraternal spirit, that we had the right to call for CNT-FAI-POUM action because we consider that today only the struggle of these three organizations can stop the imprisonments, closing of centers, monstrous trials, and the offensive against the collectives. The "nobility" of the anarchist leaders did not go so far as to publish our answer.

The desperate repressive campaign, led by the Stalinists, has finally frightened Caballero into motion, for it is plain that the Stalinists will try to wipe out every form of opposition. The "Spanish Lenin"—what a posterous title, after his shameful record as Premier during the period of reconstruction of the bourgeois state, from September 4th to May 15th!—was all the more ready to come to the fore, since both the CNT and POUM, with their slogan of a CNT-UGT Government—ceded unquestioned leadership of the opposition to Caballero. How bad the situation is here may be realized from the fact that Caballero now calls the government a "reactionary regime". He makes a sharp distinction between fighting at the fronts and political support to the government, and gives it no political support. He offers the masses, however, no perspective other than a new parliamentary combination. Even this is too much for the Stalinists, who are openly threatening to outlaw the Caballero group if they continue in opposition.

The Stalinist Degeneration

There is simply no way of describing in a few words the political degeneration of the Stalinist party. In Catalonia its composition is based on the "new bourgeoisie", that is, the former small shopkeepers and businessmen who—the former big bourgeoisie having been liquidated largely on July 19, 1936—under the regime of free trade and bank credits to favorites, have become full-blown bourgeois entrepreneurs. In Spain generally, the Stalinists have come into sharp collision with both the CNT Federation of Peasants and Agricultural Workers and the UGT Peasant Federation; Ricardo Zabalza, secretary of the latter, and by no means a leftist, has continually denounced the Stalinists for their recruiting of "kulaks" and "caciques," charging that the Gil Robles men and reactionaries in the villages generally have joined the Communist Party as the most efficacious means of fighting the peasantry and the collectives. Generals, governmental bureaucrats, traders, hordes from the Catalan *Esquerra*,—all have joined the Stalinists because they are the most vigorous defenders of the bourgeois regime. With the pending fusion with the Socialist Party into one "united party of the proletariat (!)", Spain will have a totalitarian party based on ruthless extermination of the revolutionary forces.

The POUM has regrouped itself organizationally, but, alas, has not at all changed its political line. The divergences between the three factions.—The Rightists or former Maurinists, the Centrists or remains of the Executive Committee, and the Lefts led by the Madrid and Barcelona Local Committees—are deepening. The Maurinists are saying: the policy of the "Trotskyists", Nin, Andrade, Molins, etc. is to blame for the repression against us. The Center tries to maintain unity by evoking only sentimental pleas. The Left wing is in constant fermentation: they

make a "Trotskyist" criticism of the POUM but fear nothing so much as contact with the Trotskyists; but this is merely the remnants of their heritage of Nin's "Neither Trotskyist nor Stalinist."

POUM Disoriented

The illegal leaflets published by the Executive Committee of the POUM testify to the complete disorientation reigning in their ranks. One of these is particularly worthy of comment. They, who have always reproached the Bolshevik-Leninists for seeing only Stalinism, have fallen into a completely vulgar anti-Stalinism. They have, indeed, become anti-Stalinist and nothing more. Today even the bourgeois liberals find grace in their eyes. The leaflet addresses itself to everybody on the left and on the right: to the anarchists as well as to the "young separatists" of the ultra-reactionary *Estat Catala*. The POUM asks all to protect them against Stalinism, which which is alone held guilty of the repressions. The POUM passes over in complete silence the fact that the Stalinists can fulfil their counter-revolutionary job only thanks to the complacency of Companys and Prieto and the whole-hearted aid of the bourgeoisie of the *Estat Catala*. "The men of the Left cannot betray their postulates. The Separatists cannot sell Catalonia by their silence. And the leaflet ends with a slogan: "Prevent the establishment of the dictatorship of a party behind the lines." Are there still comrades abroad who believe the POUM can be reformed, or that the demand for a new party would be premature?

The POUM leadership has no perspectives. Hence they find it easy to write in an article against the Bolshevik-Leninists, that "The scanty elements that compose the Bolshevik-Leninist Section in Spain for the Fourth International published in recent days leaflets that are real models of confusion and demonstrate that the poor Trotskyists are politically dwelling in the stratosphere. In them they ask for such absurd things, so contrary to the reality of the present movement, that they amount to actual political aberration." But they are careful not to inform their membership what are the "such absurd things". That is why I reproduce the last part of our leaflet of June 19, 1937:

"Only the United Front of struggle of the CNT-FAI-POUM and all revolutionary organizations can succeed in annihilating the ogre of counter-revolution. Workers: demand of your organization and your leader a united front pact which must contain:

"1. Struggle for the freedom of the workers press! Down with political censorship!

"2. Liberation of all revolutionary prisoners. For the liberation of Comrade Nin, transported to Valencia!

"3. Joint protection of all centers and enterprises in the possession of our organizations.

"4. Reconstitution of strengthened Workers Patrols. Cease disarming the working class.

"5. Equal pay for officers and soldiers. The return to the front of all the armed bodies sent from Valencia. General offensive on all fronts.

"6. Control of prices and distribution through committees of workers and Workingwomen.

"7. Arrest of the provocateurs of May 3rd; Rodriguez Salas, Aiguade, etc.

"To achieve this, all workers,

Truth About Barcelona's May Days

A Sensational Document on the Stalinist-Separatist Plot to Crush Labor

The CNT statement of facts behind the Barcelona May events after being written, censored in the Barcelona Press, names of prominent Catalans mentioned as conspiring being eliminated. It appeared in toto in "CNT" of Madrid June 14, as follows:

One fine day, May 4, there appeared at the telephone building of Barcelona guards and policemen, large number of them, under the command of Rodriguez Salas, Commissioner of Public Order. Why? Simply because the PSUC (Stalinist Party) and Estat Catala, who as parties had no share in control of the telephone system, needed it for their conspiratorial ends. And the CNT would not permit it, knowing what was being planned. In the telephone system, there functioned, since the beginning of the movement, (July 19) the control committee of the CNT-UGT. Furthermore there was a delegate of the Generalitat, representing the government. The attitude of Rodriguez Salas and Ayguade, ordering the guards, was illegal, as was demonstrated by the fact that the Council of the Generalitat recognized that the Commissioner and Councillor of the Interior had gone beyond their authority. At the same time as this was going on at the telephone building, there appeared barricades and guns at the headquarters of the PSUC and Estat Catala, then guns in the streets, and in view of these warlike demonstrations our comrades took the defense, supposing, and rightly, that the PSUC and Estat Catala were trying to take the telephone building, which was part one of their plot.

Plot Preceded May Events

But this explains nothing. The roots of these things must be dug up, in certain antecedents. There is a long-growing process of battle against our movement in Catalonia. The Communists, Estat Catala, and infiltrated elements had been working for some time to take away our prestige here and outside of our country. What everybody doesn't know are the strange coincidences that fit in with the May events.

Not everybody knows, for example, that already in January Casanovas (president of the Catalan parliament) Lluhi Vallesca, Xicotá Sancho, Polo and Ventura Gassols (prominent Esquerra members), were in France, working for "Catalan independence." It was a process of preparation similar to the one that went on during the Dictatorship. But with a difference: that then, Italian fascism intervened as an agent provocateur through Garibaldi, and this time, Mussolini operated through Dencas (former head of Estat Catala) the separatist agent provocateur of October in Catalonia.

Already in December there was a plot, which produced the execution of Reberter, Commissioner of Public Order, and the flight of Casanovas, president of par-

from the united front! Organize Committees of Workers, Peasants and Combatants in all enterprises, barracks and districts on the land and at the front.

"Down with the bourgeois government! Long live the revolutionary committee constituted by the delegates of the workers, peasants and soldiers!"

Such is our immediate program. The POUM, however, continues to minimize its differences with the CNT—and gets nothing for its pains. X.

We publish below an important document which has not yet appeared in English. The sensational charges made by the National Committee of the anarcho-syndicalist union, CNT, are all the more noteworthy since the anarcho-reformist leaders have to this day not broken with the People's Front, whose governments they are still begging to enter again.

On November 27, 1936, the chief organ of the CNT, *Solidaridad Obrera*, uncovered a plot to assassinate the working-class leaders of Catalonia, seize the power, declare an independent Catalonia and make peace with Franco on the basis of recognizing his rule over the rest of Spain. President Companys and the Stalinists at first ridiculed the charges; but forced to investigate the CNT charges were proven to the hilt. The Commissioner of Public Order, Rebert a member of the reactionary Catalanian Party, Estat Catala, was found guilty and executed by a firing squad. The Secretary General of Estat Catala and over a hundred of its leading members were arrested; some were convicted, others are still awaiting trial. Estat Catala, a split-off from the Esquerra—its leader, Dencas, and the Esquerra chief, Com-

liament, because his complicity in the frustrated coup d'etat was proven.

The separatists bourgeois, after all, could not swallow the fact that the proletariat had won a victory over the fascist insurrection which would deprive them of their wealth. And in search of a restoration, they began to negotiate with Italy, to provoke struggle which would give openings to foreign intervention, and facilitate the recognition, by some powers, of Catalan independence, at the same time as the anti-fascist front was weakened. To this plan everybody who wanted things to remain as they were on the 18th of July, could subscribe.

Intelligence Agent Murdered

In France, a conspiracy to bring about a truce was going on. Certain important people were involved. An intelligence agent, who was in the service of Spanish anti-fascism, had discovered a few of these combinations. He was given a commission to continue his investigations until he had irrefutable proofs, and this agent, when he was just about to complete his documentation, was murdered in Barcelona. By whom? He worked for the Government of the Republic. Therefore he was murdered by those who were conspiring, but who some how knew about his work. Let us recall that Ayguade was Councillor of Security and that he is a member of Estat Catala, and that he was already under founded suspicion of having been involved in the December plot.

On the 20th of April, Comorera, leader of the PSUC in Catalonia, was in Paris. Among other people, he saw the secretary of Ventura Gassols, and a certain Castanero. Who is Castanero? "Police agent of the Generalitat"; in contact with a certain Vintro, secretary of Octavio Salto, journalist in the service of the fascists. He has also been seen with three prominent fascists who live in Biarritz and St. Jean de Luz, and he also maintains close relations with members of Estat Catala, and especially with Dencas and Casanovas. The former visits Castaner in his house and the latter is visited by

pany, had blamed each other for capitulating to the fascist regime of Gil Robles in October, 1934—was being directed in the plot by Dencas, from his refuge in Italy. It had found this quite compatible with taking part in the great parade celebrating the Russian Revolution!

But not only Estat Catala was implicated. Juan Casanovas, President of the Catalan Parliament and right-hand man of Companys, had, according to the government's declaration, "first toyed with the plot, but finally rejected it." Casanovas was permitted to flee to France, together with Ventura Gassol and other Esquerra members.

The CNT did not carry through its exposure of the plotters. "For the sake of harmony"—it was in the coalition government,—it let the matter die. With what result? That those whom the CNT should have completely destroyed in November 1936, machine-gunned the workers on May 3, 1937. Such is the inevitable consequence of class collaboration.

Now the CNT cries out against the bourgeois and Stalinist executioners of the Barcelona workers. But in those very May days of struggle, it was the CNT itself, and the POUM at its tail, that prevented the workers from

him. Polo, the other police-agent of the Generalitat, who was a confidential man for Badia, (late leader of Estat Catala) works in France under the orders of Vizaino, agent of the fascist counter-espionage that operates under Beltran y Musitu....

What do these mixtures of separatist and fascist elements mean? Can we not find the root of various provocations there? We are sure of it. And anybody who looks at the facts objectively will be sure, too. Let us add to these antecedents that the fascists, at the end of April, were preparing a landing operation that stretched from Almeria to Rosas. It was an operation on a big scale. It didn't come off because the necessary material could not be gotten. It was postponed to the middle of May. And if it has not been tried it is because of a certain incident that occurred and put all these plans in the hands of the police of a neutral country.

Moreover at the end of April, Estat Catala concentrated on the frontiers all the armed men it had in France. And another thing: on April 13, the official Gazette of the Republic published a list of the officers and subalterns, sergeants and privates of the National Republican Guard that were to be dismissed from the Guard, whose further punishment for treason would be determined by the results of an investigation. Nevertheless a captain, 4 ensigns, 14 lieutenants, 18 sergeants, 19 brigadiers, 23 corporals and 58 guards of those on the list were not discharged through the influence of Artemio Ayguade, the then Councillor of Security, and in the May events these men appeared at the head of the Ayguade forces.

Guards Under G.P. Orders

At about the same time great numbers of these guards were sent to the frontiers, and the chief of one important unit, instead of reporting to the Municipal Council at Figueras, went directly to the PSUC headquarters thus demonstrating that this was an armed force at the orders of the CP.

All these details tell us clearly enough that the Barcelona events were nothing more than the pre-

putting an end to their persecutions. "For the sake of harmony", the CNT called the workers off the street, told them to give up their arms. With what result? Thousands of the best CNT militants are in jail, many have been assassinated, and the last vestiges of their conquests of July 19, 1936 are in immediate danger.

Anarchism got its first great test in action in the Spanish revolution. It has revealed itself as hopelessly disoriented movement. Without a theory of workers' state power, it has become a bourgeois-ministerial party. Its glorification of trade unions as the basic institutions of social life has led it to deny the necessity of uniting the whole toiling population in the workers' and peasants' councils (Soviets). But the ideological bankruptcy of anarchism has not saved the CNT from the murderous onslaught of the Stalinists, who cannot permit any organization of the proletariat to exist under independent leadership.

The following document is a startling revelation of how the degenerate roots of Stalinism tangle in the dark with the sources of the counter-revolutionary peacemakers with Franco.

Ed.

pared spark to produce the clash. And that spark and clash were not generated by the CNT... From the first moment of the struggle the CNT intervened to try to cut it short. We found a solution that was accepted by everybody except the Communists, who played the game of constantly postponing all agreement and all action, so that the Valencia Government would have to send forces and take over the Administration of Public Order, as occurred. And when on Thursday morning, the CNT and UGT had ordered the return to work and the city seemed calm again, the battle began all over again, because the Separatists and Communists were stopping our comrades, searching them, tearing up their union books attacking CNT headquarters making defense necessary all over again. And when the first street-car of the Garcia line was going down toward the Plaza Catalunya, it was shot at by the guards and by Estat Catala, behind barricades on Paris and Diagonal streets, so that transportation services had to remain suspended. And the cars that went out to repair the broken street-car tracks were shot at, too.

Finally when on Friday morning the firing stopped at the hour agreed upon, shooting continued from the Communist and Catalanist centers, in order to provoke another battle. And Friday night, from the Commissariat on Paris street, Estat Catala and the guards shot at the car in which the secretary of the CNT National Committee was going to Valencia, notwithstanding the fact that it was an official government car he was traveling in. Our National Committee sent delegates to all our regional and local headquarters at once, to prevent a repetition of the Barcelona events, and also a delegation to the Aragon front, to prevent the soldiers from marching back from the trenches, which was accomplished....

CP-Catala Continue Repressions

Weeks after the movement, the barricades remained in front of the Communist and Separatist headquarters whereas ours were dismantled on Friday. A wave of terror, of blood, has swept

over the towns of Catalonia. Unpunished murder is on the order of the day. Our libertarian movement has been silent, not through cowardice, but through discipline and sense of responsibility while it lost the lives of its best militants. It has suffered with incomparable stoicism, the assault on the collectives, on the constructive labor of the proletariat.... Yet those guilty of so many crimes, shamelessly blame them on the CNT, and even, with all that barbarism, all that treason, still threaten to "punish" the CNT....

We have said enough to allow every man to judge for himself. Let it be noted precisely, that there is in Catalonia an amalgam of interests which coincide against us, Estat Catala, the Communists, and Esquerra, whose objectives are not yet identical but whose common interest it is to exterminate the CNT. This coincides also with Mussolini's interests, who therefore, through Dencas, gives them indirect support. And let it be stated exactly, that we do not concur in the stupid error of confusing Communists with Fascists. We say categorically that we do not believe the CP has the slightest contact with the fascists. But that is not the case with Estat Catala, and when they act together on the streets—who is doing the directing?

We realize with full responsibility the weight of what we are saying, but no one dares deny it, because the burden of proof at our disposal is so very great. Ayguade, Dencas, Mussolini, Casanovas, Ventura Gassols, Sancho, Xicotá, Polo, Castaner—there is the guilt for the bloody Barcelona events!....

The Nat. Com. of the CNT.

Dwyer Slated For Expulsion in Massachusetts

SPRINGFIELD, Mass. — Following on the heels of the charges made against left wingers in New York, which have already resulted in the expulsion of more than 50 comrades, the right wing in the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, headed by Alfred Baker Lewis, has broken loose with a series of charges that aim at splitting the party in the Bay State. Charges have now been filed against comrade John Dwyer, leading left winger who has been active for years in Massachusetts and as party organizer in up-State New York. The charges are the first of a series to be filed against all the left wing members of the State Executive Committee of the Party. The charge is that Dwyer's name appeared as signing the anti-gag rule resolution of Local San Francisco. Lewis claims that his basis for charges is the fact that the statement says "we reject the decision of the NEC"—although this very same statement has already been accepted by the National Office of the Party as the basis for a membership referendum, a call for which has been printed in the Socialist Call. Comrade Dwyer was apparently selected as the first to bring charges against because he is a member-at-large. The SEC has original jurisdiction over members-at-large. Lewis has filed notice that he would bring charges against the other members of the SEC in their own branches. Since their branches, which support the left wing, will not expel them, it appears that the Lewis-controlled SEC will proceed to lift the carter's of the branches involved.

Japanese Invade China

Continued from page 1)
000,000 yen, or approximately \$250,000,000. To meet part of these obligations \$130,000,000 in gold has been exported since March and a similar sum must soon leave the country, leaving gold stocks that will probably not exceed \$350,000,000. To cut imports the regime has called upon the people to cut down on the consumption of primary products and subordinate this already meager living standards to the needs of the military machine whose demands have caused Japan's budget to treble in three years and are responsible for a prospective deficit of 1,000,000 yen next year. Meanwhile prices are shooting up and heavier and heavier taxes are being imposed. At the same time the inevitable and imperative mobilization of the government subsidized merchant marine for war purposes cripples Japanese trade or, at best, raises costs to almost prohibitive levels if foreign ships are used.

Since 1931, billions of yen have gone into Japan's military adventure. So far, the returns have been negligible for the solution of Japan's crisis. But, having started on the path of expansion, Japanese imperialism cannot stand still, else it falls back. It must go forward, even if ahead lies ruin. The Japanese imperialists know that ruin is not inevitable so long as they can continue to exploit the masses in their own country and in increasing measure exploit the many millions in the great sprawling land across the narrow Japan Sea.

C.P.-Supported Party for Invasion

Careful preparations were made before the present attacks on North and Central China were begun. At home, the Japanese imperialists fear only the discontent of the Japanese workers and peasants. More and more the burdens of the crisis have been placed on the backs of the masses. Far from attempting to alleviate this discontent, for Japanese capitalism has not the resources to make concessions to the workers, preparations have been made to canalize and suppress it. At the same time that an intense campaign of pro-war propaganda was launched, strikes were prohibited. The movement of protest against the rising cost of living and the military campaign which caused it was canalized into the Social Masses Party, supported by the Stalinists in the last elections in which it made considerable gains. Three weeks ago this Party declared its unqualified support of the Kono government's invasion of China.

Before renewing its attacks on China, Japan tested out the temper of the Soviet Union. Emboldened by the deep inner crisis in the U.S.S.R. and the execution of Tukhachevsky and the other generals, Japan took a very truculent attitude concerning the question of Soviet patrols on the Amur River, which separates Manchuria from the Soviet Union, even to the point of sinking a Soviet gunboat and demanding the withdrawal of Soviet patrols. After several days of sharp tension, Moscow agreed to Japan's demands. Seven days later occurred the "incident" at Lukou-shiao which precipitated the conflict in North China.

Chinese Bourgeoisie Sabotage Fight

What is most important to remember in seeking the key to the present conflict is that from 1931 until now the Chinese bourgeoisie, acting through its principal representative, Chiang

Kai-shek, capitulated virtually without struggle to the successive incursions of Japanese imperialism. It gave up Manchuria without firing a shot. It gave up Jehol and saved its own face by wantonly sacrificing thousands of soldiers it left there to fight without support. It consciously and deliberately sabotaged the attempted resistance of the 19th Route Army five and half years ago. It spoke loud and long of military preparations, but only a few weeks ago once more Chiang Kai-shek left the 29th Army unaided in the face of Japan's march on Peiping and Tientsin. During the past six years, the Nanking government has not only not opposed Japan, but it has waged a ruthless terror against all who raised their voices against the Japanese invasion.

But this was still not enough for Japanese imperialism, which unlike the British and American varieties, cannot quite so well afford to share with the Chinese bourgeoisie its booty in the exploitation of the Chinese masses. It requires complete conquest, complete subjugation. That is why it has struck again at Shanghai in hopes of there inflicting a swift and decisive defeat on the Chinese bourgeoisie and bringing it completely to heel.

The Chinese bourgeoisie is by its very nature compelled to serve one imperialist or another. With it the question is: whom shall it serve? Japanese imperialism, based so largely on light industry and a weak financial structure, wants to master China in order to establish a large outlet for its own products and to drain the country of the raw materials it possesses. Under such mastery there is no room for the Chinese bourgeoisie which would become essentially a class of salaried employees. Britain and the United States, with their greater share in the common expropriation of the Chinese masses, offer to the Chinese bourgeoisie a far greater share in the common expropriation of the Chinese masses. Under their domination the Chinese bourgeoisie would remain what it is, a class of wealthy brokers with a direct stake in the exploitation of the masses. Obviously, Britain and America are far more preferable masters. So long as there is any hope of effective American and British backing, the Chinese bourgeoisie will try, in its own way and for its own purposes, to counter the Japanese advance.

Chiang Propped by Anglo-French

Chiang Kai-shek is fighting at Shanghai today because, with the gold exchange agreement concluded by H. H. Kung recently in Washington, the \$120,000,000 loan concluded by him in London, and the credit extended to him in Paris, the Chinese bourgeoisie has been given reason to hope that Anglo-American imperialism will support it against the Japanese. Furthermore, the Chinese bourgeoisie realizes perfectly well that not to fight now is to abdicate forever its hopes of development under the tutelage of Anglo-American imperialism. Chiang Kai-shek is fighting also because the Japanese, in attacking his own bailiwick, have made it perfectly clear that they do not trust Chiang as their ally and they want to get rid of him.

So today, the Chinese bourgeoisie is basing its hopes on the contradictions between Anglo-American and Japanese imperialism. It does not dare to take the lead in arming the masses for a really revolutionary war of national liberation against imperialist exploitation. It remembers

too vividly how the peasants in Hunan ten years ago, primitive arms in hand, translated the slogan: "Down with the unequal treaties between China and the imperialist!" into "Down with the unequal treaties between the landlord and the peasants!" It remembers how the workers were no more satisfied to be exploited by Chinese capitalists than they were to be exploited by British or Japanese. In the great strike waves of 1925-27, Chinese mills closed as well as foreign mills. Then the Chinese bourgeoisie was saved from disaster only by the criminal policies of Stalinism. It is not anxious to take the chance again. For it knows that while its struggle with imperialism is only a struggle for a larger share of the spoils, the struggle between exploited and exploiters is a struggle of life and death.

The Chinese ruling class cannot wage a successful struggle against Japanese imperialism unless it arms the masses of China; and it dares not arm the masses, because the guns will surely be turned against itself.

To the Chinese masses, there is of course no basic difference between being exploited directly by Japanese imperialism, or indirectly, through the Chinese bourgeoisie, by Anglo-American imperialism. For them it is a question of freedom from all exploitation. For the peasant, the primary question remains the question of the land; for the worker it is a question of decent working conditions and a living wage.

C.P. Calls for Imperialist Intervention

But, in the interests of Soviet foreign diplomacy, the Chinese Communist Party and the Comintern have forgotten all this. They have lined up with the Chinese bourgeoisie in placing their faith exclusively in the contradictions between Anglo-American and Japanese imperialism. In the hope that Nanking will at least hinder Japan's ultimate attack on the Soviet Union, they have again tied themselves to Chiang Kai-shek. They do not merely call for support of the indispensable struggle against the invading Japanese brigands, but proceed to place the fate and the forces of the Chinese masses entirely in the hands of the treacherous Chinese bourgeoisie and the "good" imperialist. In addition, they take upon themselves the task of teaching the "democratic" imperialists how best to take care of their interests in China. The Daily Worker warns that "Japan will proceed to drive out of China its British, American, and French competitors." The "democratic nations" do not realize the danger. "Why does it (the U. S. State Department) not—NOW—invoke the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact?" Daily Worker, Aug. 7 1937.) It should suffice to recall that from 1931 to 1933, when the imposture of the "peace machinery" of capitalism was completely exposed, the Nanking government covered up its betrayal and capitulation to Japanese imperialism by just appeals to the League of Nations and to the signatories of the Nine-Power Pact.

The fight against imperialism, like the fight against fascism, cannot be separated from the fight against capitalism. If Chiang Kai-shek is fighting today, it is only to preserve the right of the Chinese bourgeoisie to exploit the Chinese masses.

Socialist Call Comes Out For Sanctions

The fruits of the right wing-centrists alliance against the left have ripened quickly. It would have been naive to suppose that the alliance could be reduced to an "organizational" maneuver. Not at all. Just as the alliance required a political foundation, so does it yield to necessary political consequences.

The political foundation is discovered, in the last analysis, by the hostility to revolutionary Marxism, shared in common by the right wing, and by the Zams, Tylers, and Delsons of the centrist leadership—a hostility which the centrist leaders try to mask as "anti-Trotskyism". But this basic hostility to revolutionary Marxism, confronted by the Party crisis and the need for finally "taking sides", forces its way more and more decisively through the left phrases of the centrist leaders, and reveals more and more openly the reactionary content of the whole centrist ideology.

Centrists Adopting Right Wing Line

In the course of this evolution, the centrist leaders are compelled to abandon one by one the "revolutionary" positions which they had in the past been pushed to adopt in words and resolutions by the pressure of the membership. A major step in this process was taken at the Philadelphia meeting of the N. E. C. by the voting of the shameful Spanish resolution, in direct and bureaucratic violation of the will of the membership and the decisions of the Chicago Convention.

This process did not stop there. It has not yet been sufficiently noticed—to take a striking example—that during the past three months the right wing-centrist alliance has been gradually throwing over the revolutionary position on war overwhelmingly supported by the membership, and fought for during so many years.

As always, the right wing called the turn. Wisconsin announced flatly that it did not and would not accept the War Resolution adopted by the Chicago Convention. Naturally, there was no criticism of Wisconsin by the centrist leaders constituting the majority of the N. E. C. But Wisconsin was not content with "States' Rights". At Philadelphia Raskin demanded "editorial changes" in the War Resolution—changes all of which were designed to permit pacifist and reformist interpretations of the resolution as a whole; and the N. E. C. obligingly changed at Raskin's dictation.

But even this is not what is most significant. After all, a resolution on paper is less important than a concrete stand on a concrete issue.

Thomas demands U. S. Sanctions

Thomas returned from Europe and in his first interviews demanded that the U. S. Government apply its Neutrality Act to Italy and Germany. What is the meaning of this demand? Its sources, in the vicious propaganda of the Stalinists and reformists through out the world, should indicate the answer.

In political fundamentals, this demand is identical with the demand for the application of League and governmental "sanctions" in the Italo-Ethiopian War.

In opposing the policy of sanctions during the Ethiopian War, the Socialist Party pointed out with absolute correctness that this advocacy of "anti-war" measures to be taken by imperialist governments: (1) sabo-

tagged effective independent working class support of the Ethiopian struggle; (2) disoriented the working class on the whole problem of the fight against war and the role played in that fight by all imperialist governments; and (3) led logically to support of "one's own" imperialism in the coming war, in order to back up the governmental acts (the "sanctions") which had been advocated.

"The application of the Neutrality Act" is simply another phrase for "sanctions". The Neutrality Act would impose an impartial embargo, just as sanctions did. This embargo, if meant seriously, would have to be enforced. For the U. S. government to enforce it, would lead to coercive acts which as between sovereign states constitute "acts of war", and, if conditions so dictated, to war itself.

The central objections to the demand for the application of the Neutrality Act are the same as those to the demand for sanctions. It sabotages the movement for independent working class support of the struggle against Franco. It disorients the working class on the whole problem of the fight against war—and in this case far more fatally than in connection with sanctions; for here it is the U. S. government itself, and the relation of the U. S. working class to "its own" government, that is in question. And it forms a link in the chain which leads to support of the U. S. government in the coming war (in order to enforce "neutrality" against aggressors)—that is, the demand is a preparation for social-patriotic betrayal.

Can anyone doubt this who has followed the manipulation of this demand in the Stalinist press, where it is part and parcel of their social-patriotic program, and so clearly figures in their build-up for support of the approaching war?

Call joins Thomas Demand

Let no one imagine that the demand for the application of the Neutrality Act rested, in the Socialist Party, in the press statements of Thomas. In the issue of July 3rd, the Socialist Call, the faction organ of the right wing-centrist alliance, made it the official policy of the Call.

Let the membership re-read the lead editorial of that issue—headed "Neutrality". It is indistinguishable from the propaganda of the Stalinists and reformists on sanctions two years ago or on neutrality today. It contains even the same hypocritical "apologies" and attempts at covering up. Its argumentation almost out-does the Stalinists. The editorial declares: "But actually, Hitler and Mussolini have been at war with Spain... Unofficial warfare.... came to an end with the bombing of Almeria That was open war". If this statement were true, the editors of the Call are thus advocating that the U. S. government take what are in effect war measures against rival imperialist governments now at war. Whatever may be the intentions of the editors, their position on this question is a form of social-patriotism; its logic leads inescapably to complete abandonment of revolutionary defeatism and to support of the coming war.

Let those who still have faith in the "revolutionary" intention of the centrist leaders ponder the lesson well. The price of an alliance with the right wing against the revolutionary left is, now as always, the abandonment of revolutionary principle.

A Reply to a Stalinist Calumniator

By James Casey

Underworld king engage drug addicts, stool pigeons, dim-witted thugs and other unfortunate products of the capitalist system for their foul jobs. When one of these overlords want to snuff out a rival, he gives the sign to two or three of his human derelicts and the morning papers carry a story of so-and-so having been "taken for a ride".

Such crimes fill us with a sense of disgust and class-conscious workers, while condemning the instigators and perpetrators, inveigh basically against the society that breeds this sort of violence.

However, there is rampant today a form of crime more bestial than the underworld murders and a human species more abhorrent to the normal intellect than the gangsters of the racketeer realm.

Stalinists and Apologists

We refer, of course, to the Stalinist executioners and their noisy professional apologists. Here we have a situation wherein men are cruelly maligned, tortured physically and, finally, shot down in cold blood for the "unforgivable sin" of upholding revolutionary working class principles against the perversions of Stalinist People's Frontism.

Bent on "wiping out" the working class opposition, Stalinist leaders here and abroad have marshalled bands of "literary" weaklings to act as shock troops. In America, the business of this pathetic crew is to concoct endless lies and slanders of the most brazen, most contemptible and most cowardly variety. That these lies and slanders may be exposed is to these Stalinist chiefs entirely beside the point. They operate on that golden Hearstian theory that the truth travels at a snail's pace and that many, perchance, will go to the grave without ever knowing it.

Accordingly, the prostitute scribblers rant and boil and snort. Their excretions appear in the *Daily Worker*, the *Pravda* and other Stalinist publications. And one quick reading of their hodge-podge shows that these villifiers, like all liars, become hopelessly enmeshed in their own lies, indicting both themselves and their masters.

Perhaps the most overworked of these forlorn figures is that *Daily Worker* columnist, Michael Gold. Poor Mike! Whenever there is some especially dirty work to be done, Mike is singled out for the job. He has railed against James T. Farrell. He has, on instructions, fumed against Scott Nearing. Under orders from his chiefs, he has scanned Webster's Unabridged Dictionary for the vilest epithets to hurl at Sidney Hook, James P. Cannon and a long list of other writers, economists and political leaders, just because they refuse to concede that to build Socialism, you have to kill off two-thirds or three-quarters of a nation's population.

Gold in Exile

And when poor Mike got kicked out editorship of the *New Masses* because he got the signals mixed up and wrote several weeks before the official command was given that it was "the duty of all workers to support Roosevelt", he was sent to New Mexico on a probationary vacation for his "political health". After nine months in New Mexico, Gold was allowed to return and, as a sort of confession, he was obliged to write a series of Stalinist tracts against Leon Trotsky.

True, the articles didn't make much sense but, then, what they

lacked in coherence, they surely more than made up in name-calling and just plain puerile piffle. The cuss words were lusty and plentiful and what more could Joseph Stalin or Earl Browder desire as a substitute for political argument?

The confession was a howling success. Mike was reinstated. And now he is back at his column, as happy as it's possible for one in his plight to be.

His latest assignment was to "show up" James Casey and try to make a good job of it. These Stalinist chiefs are sly and scheming gentlemen. They are conscious that the election campaign is about to get under way and that the chances are one thousand to one that Casey will get busier than ever blasting full of holes the class betrayal policies of the People's Front bamboozlers. Hence, the Communist Party members must be stirred into a frenzy against Casey. They must be worked up to such a pitch that the very sound of his name will make them want to tear their hair, kill somebody or commit suicide. Hence the Gold effusion in the August 6 issue of the *Daily Worker*.

Mike starts out by saying that a certain professor has quit the Communist Party. He adds that the said professor had gone to Harper's or Scribner's or some other high-brow magazine to write about how he had been misled. This professor, Gold adds, had shunned contact with "real workers". But what can you expect, exclaims Mike, of men who get into the party for six months and leave? Thereupon, Mike launches on his tirade against Casey... implying that the cases of the professor and Casey are identical.

At once poor Mike illustrates to what low depths a man must descend in order to do the bidding of the Stalinist masters. Mike knows as well as do his Stalinist bosses that Casey had never written a line about the Stalinists in any of the capitalist magazines or newspapers. Moreover, Mike and his masters know that Casey is not a newcomer in the revolutionary working class movement. Casey was a member of the Stalinist Party when Gold was still trying to learn the definition of anarchism. And Casey was a member of the Socialist Party in the war days when Gold was memorizing lines from Keats and Shelly and pan-handling nickels around the Rand School.

Who is the Newcomer?

It is Gold, not Casey, who is the newcomer in the working class movement. So much for that.

Mike claims that Casey got peeved because he was not appreciated on the *Daily Worker*. Now, just what kind of mumbo-jumbo is that, Mike? Has Mike Gold so soon forgotten how Mike Gold got up at a Stuyvesant Casino banquet and paid tribute to our great managing editor of our great revolutionary newspaper? And has Mike Gold so soon forgotten how his own masters—from Earl Browder and Clarence Hathaway down to Ike Amter and Charlie Krumbein—praised Casey from the public platform on numerous occasions because, they admitted, he turned an unreadable organizational bulletin into the semblance of a regular newspaper. Casey did get damned sore while on the *Daily Worker*—but that was when Casey was asked to put into the paper editorials giving left-handed support to Roosevelt in

preparation of the election campaign.

After a bold start, Mike's attack slowly simmers down into a whine. Casey was paid more money than any man on the *Daily Worker*, including Clarence Hathaway, bemoans Mike, and asks: "Why did he kick?"

It is relevant to ask Mike, at this juncture, why doesn't he and his boss Browder get together and decide to stick by the same lies?

Last Summer, Browder rushed to the capitalist press to declare that Casey was "just a minor editorial employee." And now along comes Mike with the statement that Casey wasn't satisfied, even though he was receiving more money than anyone else on the staff. Now isn't Mike just a little bit afraid that some Communist Party rank-and-file members might be curious to know why "upright, disciplined Bolsheviks" should discriminate and pay a minor editorial employee more than anyone else on the staff including the so-called editor-in-chief, even though the latter did spend nine months of the year in Minneapolis bar-rooms.

Gold and Browder at Odds

As Mike goes on, his twaddle grows more and more at variance with that of his boss Browder. Browder told the membership that Casey had gone over to Hearst. So had the *Daily Worker*. Taking Browder at his word, many Communist Party members had been buying the *New York Journal* for months in anticipation of reading one of Casey's articles. Now Mike tearfully whimpers: "If Casey wanted to go back to the *New York Times* and higher wages, why didn't he do so quietly instead of raising a fuss."

Desperately trying to avoid the real issue, Mike seeks to give his readers the impression that Casey has gone back to the *New York Times* and that his "opposition to People's Frontism" was just a pretext.

Needless to say, Mike lies as flagrantly when he implies Casey had returned to the *Times* as did his boss, Browder, when he said Casey had gone to Hearst. And needless to say, also, that if Casey had cared to amass money, he would not have gone to the *Daily Worker* in the first place.

It is toward the end of his fulmination that Mike gives himself away. Why did Casey have to write a pamphlet, asks Gold, "charging the Communist Party with being reactionary and betraying the working class." Therein lies one of the answers to Mike's assignment.

Casey wrote a pamphlet showing how the Stalinists, with the People's Front line, have lost every right to call themselves a revolutionary working class party. The lies about the "new democracy" within the Party, growth in organization and the schuirs to support Democrats in Philadelphia and Republicans in New York, all are brought into the light of day. And Casey also asked why the Stalinist leaders, while calling on their followers to boycott Hearst, were themselves quietly carrying on business transactions with the Fascist publisher.

Eloquent Silence

Not a single word of this does Mike mention. Under the iron rule of Stalinism, Mike dare not try to meet or discuss political issues. That is not the Stalinist way. The Stalinist way is to lie, to distort, to misrepresent and

to invent bedtime stories. That is why Mike recounts supposed conversations that he and Casey had about the latter's wife not being satisfied with *Daily Worker* earnings. For more than a year, Mike claims, he had listened to Casey's complaints. And now, more than twelve months later, Mike suddenly ups and squeals on Casey.

Mike and his masters know full well that Helen Casey was an active worker in the Communist Party and the general fraction secretary of a mass organization in a Bronx section. Helen Casey was one of the largest contributors to the Party fund for many years, and before she was expelled for her opposition to People's Frontism, she challenged the Party leadership to bring her case before the membership. Naturally, this was never done.

By manufacturing the drivel about Helen Casey and alleged conversations, Mike shows himself open to a serious charge. As "the hardened, honest and disciplined Bolshevik" that he boasts he is, why didn't Mike report Casey's deviations to his masters, when Casey was still with the *Daily Worker*? Why did

he wait more than three hundred and sixty-five days before coming out with this confession? Does not Gold realize that by his own statement he placed himself in the position of being branded "a self-confessed Trotskyist plotter" and "an enemy of the people?"

But Mike can quickly dispel his fears. Casey will save him. The conversations Mike writes about took place only in his own perverted mind. They are part and parcel of the necessary trimmings he had to fabricate to carry out a dirty job for callous, unscrupulous masters, who make lying a cardinal principle of their daily operations.

His masters used Yagoda, the chief of the OGPU, for the same kind of dirty work. Now Yagoda is rotting in some dank prison cell or perhaps he has already been shot in the back in the rear of some toilet. The Stalinist chiefs will not always send Mike to New Mexico for his blunders. Mike should chuck up the whole filthy game before it's too late. If he waits until his masters are through using him he may find, to his grief, that they have chosen for him a most unhappy end.

Stalinists Applaud Split Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

the revolutionary road and transform it into an instrument for People's Front class collaboration, of social patriotic support of "democratic" imperialist wars, and of servile bootlicking of the trade union bureaucracy.

The applause given by the *Daily Worker* to the Altman-Thomas drive marks the latter for what it plainly is: a capitulation to the Stalinist campaign by tearing the revolutionary heart out of the Socialist Party. The right wing combination in the SP is serving as a club in the hands of the Stalinists for the complete devitalization and destruction of the revolutionary socialist movement.

"We offer our hand of comradeship to the Socialist Party", concludes the Stalinist editorial. The "hand of comradeship" of the CP bureaucracy drips with the blood of the revolutionary martyrs of the Soviet Union. It is the hand that has just pumped the body of Adres Nin full of machine-gun bullets. It is the hand that is even now whipping up a lynch campaign against Largo Caballero and other left wing socialists, against the anarchist-syndicalists, and all other revolutionists in Spain. It is the hand that squeezed the right wing for more than a year to start the expulsion drive against the Left wing in the American Socialist Party.

ROLL OF HONOR

Here is the first list of revolutionary socialists "expelled" by the rump meeting of the "La Guardia Socialists" in New York:

Max Shachtman. Martin Abern. James Burnham. Joseph Carter. William Farrell. Sam Gordon. Emanuel Garrett. Ben Herman. Morris Lewit. Alex Retzkin. Maurice Spector. Herbert Capelis. Dan Fellows. Clara Ross. Sidney Moroff. Isadore Greenberg. Esther Lieberman. Rubin Gotesky. Sam Greenberg. Sam Gordon. Felix Morrow. Attilio Salemi. Ernest Ettlinger. Irving Shackley. Frank Visconti. Joe Ellis. Ben Lieberman. Ernest R. McKinney. Max Sterling. Martin Glee. Gertrude Brooks. Lyman Paine. Christian Neilson. Mildred Scharfberg. Bernard Morgenstern. George Novack. F. L. Demby. Cuthbert Daniel. Joseph Gott. Betty Smith. Fay Hollenbeck. Dan Eastman. Sam Roth. Abe Roth. Louis Fein. Victor Fox. Sol Antman. Morris Heller. B. Allen Dash. Lou Gordon. Martha Burns. John G. Wright.

The following comprise the list of the comrades still on charges and scheduled for immediate expulsion on the same "grounds":

Hal Draper. Neil Harrison. Ephraim Friend. Arther Kujawsky. Abraham Bienstock. Harry Low. Irving Smiller. Hilda Agloff. Irving Lefb. Philip Shulman. Meldon Joerger. Sam Gilbert. Sidney Feffer. Julie Dorsey. Max Lane. Bertha Gruner. Abraham Miller. Herman Stern. George Zola. Sam Fisher. Raymond Rosenthal. Mary Greenfield. Fred Nessin. Morris Kline. Harold R. Isaacs. Molly Davis. Milton Davis. Edith Konikow. Oscar Trepp. Arthur Burch. Kathleen Burch. Philip Brinkman. David P. Atkins. Jacob Borut. Fred Jacobs. Ed. Beecher. William Sherman. Ada Mecelle. Stanley Loren. Samuel Chertoff. Morris Spector. Phil Markson. David Miller. Robert Paul. Abe Marcus. Martha Burns. Sara Avrin. Sam Eidensohn. Leon Falk. Ben Eidensohn. Daisy Manrat. David Knebel. Paul Schleifer. Harold Robbins. Sol Lankin. Helene Garden. Sol Broden. Moe Kirschenbaum. Louis Halaine. David Geschwind. Joseph Carwell. Frances Rosen. Morton Gates. William Kitt. Milton Winston. Frieda Weber. Leopold Cyens. Ben Davidson. Edna Margolin. Philip Slaner.

Erber Hits Plan to Steal YPSL Convention

Calls on Circles To Guarantee Honest Meet

New York City
August 15, 1937.

To all Circle Secretaries;

(To be read at next Circle meeting).

Dear Comrades:

This letter is an appeal to the membership to take immediate steps to secure the election of a fair and representative convention and thereby defeat the conspiracy of the centrist leaders to steal the convention from the majority and split the League.

The centrist leaders began their mad attempts to secure a majority at the convention some six months ago by systematically placing factional organizers in the field under the guise of League organizers. Three months ago, with bureaucratic disregard for the wishes of the membership, they deliberately changed the location of the convention from Akron to Philadelphia in order to increase the difficulties of the western left wing section in sending delegations while easing the task for their two eastern strongholds, New York City and Philadelphia. As the convention approaches and it becomes apparent to them that even these shoddy maneuvers leave them far from having a majority, they now embark upon a frenzied campaign of gerrymandering, dues stamp record juggling, illegal transfers, and other corrupt practices.

Brazen Fraud

I receive reports virtually daily from Cleveland, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Ithaca, N. Y., and other places, telling of the brazen attempts on the part of the national office or the local centrist leaders to fraudulently defeat the left wing nominees. When all of these reports will have been collected with irrefutable evidence to verify them, they will constitute a veritable "black book" of the crimes of the centrist leaders against the revolutionary majority of the League as well as against those of the centrist minority who are opposed to the introduction of chicanery and fakery into the Y.P.S.L.

The practices engaged in by those in control of the League machinery have created a situation where it is no longer possible to adhere to the legal forms of the NEC when this crooked "legality" of the centrist leaders is designed to defeat the left wing by corrupt methods. The controlling bodies have abdicated

their right to legislate on questions of representation by the methods they have stooped to.

Their methods of representation has given New York City, with only twice the membership of California or Chicago, three times as many delegates, while Philadelphia, with less than half the membership of California or Chicago, has been given two-thirds the number of delegates. They have had members vote in Columbus and transferred them to vote again in Cleveland. They have nullified the election of a left wing delegate in Ithaca because a centrist member was absent. They have sold dues stamps on credit so that circles like Baltimore will meet with three members present to elect two delegates. They give Chicago 120 members when a census last May showed 193. They engaged in practices of the type exposed in the notorious Barshop letter.

Since these practices have destroyed all possibility of holding a convention that really represents the membership, it is necessary that the circles take matters into their own hands to enable the League to meet in a representative convention and prevent the centrist leadership of the youth from carrying through the orders of the Clarityite group in the Party to split the Y. P. S. L. rather than permit the left wing to gain control. There is only one fair method for the election of delegates remaining to the circles. This is to:

1. Have your circle examine its records and the books of the members to determine the number in good standing.
2. Elect delegates to the convention on the basis of the ratio decided upon by the national office despite the obvious injustice of their system (1 for 5, 2 for 8, 3 for 23, and an additional delegate for every fifteen members or major fraction thereof).
3. Supply your delegates with indubitable proof of the membership of your circle, either by means of the treasurers records or the membership cards.

Only this procedure can save the League from the disrepute into which the revolting methods of the centrist leaders are plunging it. Let the membership teach the cynical politicians in control of the apparatus that the capture of the majority of the dues stamps leaves one far from capturing the majority of a national convention of the Young People's Socialist League.

With Socialist greetings,

Ernest Erber

National Chairman, Young
People's Socialist League.

An Appeal to Revolutionary Socialists

By Glen Trimble

For weeks before the Chicago convention there was a furious campaign for the expulsion of the former members of the Workers Party from the Socialist Party. Paul Porter called for expulsion in a pamphlet issued by the Wisconsin Socialist Party, paid for by a block sale to the Communist Party and circulated to every local with the help of National Office lists. The "Connecticut Committee of Correspondence" and an equally phoney letter which "borrowed" the signatures of Michigan trade unionists demanded that the Convention drive out revolutionary socialists from the Party, Jack Altman, ex-militant executive secretary of local New York, joined the expulsion chorus led and directed by the C. P. and the Daily Worker. The "united front" of counter revolutionary reformism was working smoothly.

But the stooges reckoned without the rank and file of the Socialist Party. Declarations of solidarity between pre- and post-entry revolutionary socialists, a powerful counter-attack on the People's Front, party liquidation program of the Right, above all, an overwhelming flood of left wing delegates gathering in Chicago scared the expulsion into its hasty retreat.

The "Red Herring"

Not a single delegate at Chicago dared to raise the expulsion issue. In the corridors, despite their written record, the right wingers indignantly denied that they had ever intended such a thing. The Appeal Group was charged both by the right and muddled and mis-led Clarity with creating a false issue, dragging a "red herring" into the convention.

Did the Appeal group exaggerate the danger of expulsion? The answer is now on the record. June 19th the National Executive Committee was hastily called together in New York. Here behind closed doors the N. E. C. launched the campaign which the genuine representatives of the Party membership stopped dead at Chicago.

Just three months have passed. The Party is not less but more thoroughly convinced that the revolutionary Marxist road is the only one for the Socialist Party. But the NEC, handpicked by Wisconsin, has reacted to this shift to the left by a retreat to the right. The Philadelphia resolution on Spain embraces the People's Front of class collaboration which the convention decisively

rejected, the Milwaukee meeting of the National Action Committee sold out the Chicago decision on trade unions by turning its administration over to the anti-discipline, anti-Socialist League Wisconsin SEC. Now at New York the process is culminated by a vicious and unprecedented attempt to gag the left wing majority of the convention and the party.

The courage which dozed out of the expulsionists at Chicago flourished in the secret sessions in New York. Aaron Levenstein, speaking for Jack Altman demanded that all "Trotskyites" be expelled. He didn't bother to give reasons; it was up to the NEC "to find the formula"—to frame a plausible excuse. Norman Thomas, having apparently abandoned all faith in "all-inclusiveness", party democracy and Socialism itself in his desperate effort to make the SP safe for pacifism and his own exclusive leadership, lined up solidly with Altman and Wisconsin. He differed only on a minor point of tactics—arguing for expulsion of selected "Trotskyite" leaders in the (vain) hope of splitting off and retaining a tamed rank and file.

Charity's Capitulation

The Clarity majority of the NEC lived up to the Clarity record. Just as they allowed Wisconsin to dictate the NEC, and Thomas's new threadbare threat to "refuse the leadership unless" to dictate their resolutions at Chicago, so at New York they surrendered to the combined right threat and unanimously endorsed the expulsion "formula" which Altman demanded.

This formula is so flagrantly in violation of every democratic tradition of the Socialist Party that even the Call dared not to print it. The NEC, itself bankrupt of leadership and having no answer to the revolutionary program of the membership, wants a moratorium on Socialism in the Socialist Party.

Left Wing has Majority

The consequence of the enforcement of this decree should be clear. Either we agree to be gagged or the NEC will try to expel the party in the name of the party. This is not an exaggeration. From the Mississippi to the Pacific, everything worth mention is from the jaundiced viewpoint of the new old guard "Trotskyite". Throughout the Middle West and east outside the city of New

York an estimate of 80 per cent of the active party membership is conservative. In New York more than half the book membership and far more of the active membership is opposed to expulsion and will unite us in the fight that the party wreckers have forced. Providing that the NEC maintains its closet arrogance in the open arena of the party, it can, by violating every clause of the constitution and every tradition of the party, enforce its illegal act and expel us.

After the smoke has cleared there will remain in the Socialist Party Wisconsin (already dickering with the Social Democratic Federation), Lewis of Massachusetts (surrounded by Stalinist stooges, pie-cards on the Lewis bank roll, and befuddled liberals), Altman (whose program is transparently the Daily Worker's), Thomas (provided his decision to wreck the party does not involve personal retirement to wait for the Farmer Labor Party) and, perhaps, Zam (whose reward for providing a left front to this outfit will be toleration, so long as he continues to do as he's told).

Many of us have given years of our lives to the job of winning the Socialist Party to a revolutionary position in words and action. Despite setbacks we have come a long way since 1931. I do not believe that we are going to let the petty autocrats of the NEC stop us now. What is demanded is a solid front of ALL revolutionary Socialists, regardless of previous party or group affiliation—SP or WP, Appeal or Clarity—and an offensive against the wreckers that will drive them so far into their holes that they won't be able to dig out until six months after the revolution.

Unite against Gag Law!

The NEC resolution is a call to arms. Every weapon in our arsenal must be used to crush the offensive against the left and to drive from the field all who persist in an anti-Socialist position. For this we must use every legal channel (the enclosed referendum proposal should be endorsed by every possible local), we must revive the Socialist Appeal (the promise of free expression through the Call and Monthly has proved worthless), we must break down the artificial split in the left wing forces devised and maintained by some Clarity "leaders" and force these same leaders to come off the fence and choose, once and for all, between Wisconsin and revolutionary Socialism.

Only Clarity votes can drive us out of the Socialist Party and we have no intention of "bailing out". The decision is up to the Clarity NEC. The NEC must be told in unmistakable terms that we will not be gagged, that we will fight to the last ditch against every attack on any revolutionary Socialist, against the wrecking of the Socialist Party, and for a leadership and party seriously and honestly dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of Socialism.

San Francisco, July 8, 1937.

Washington Protests Mass Expulsions

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Washington, D. C., branch of the Socialist Party adopted a motion at its last meeting to send a telegram to Norman Thomas protesting against the idea of mass expulsion of left wingens from the Party.

Harry Milton Freed in Spain; Returning Here

As we go to press, the gratifying news arrives that comrade Harry Milton (Wolf Kupinsky), who has been in the Stalinist-People's Front prison in Barcelona for almost two months for his revolutionary beliefs, has been set free. A telegram to his friends here from Secretary of State Cordell Hull announces that comrade Milton has been released and is now at the American Consulate in Barcelona awaiting the departure of the first ship that can bring him back to his home in New York.

Because he was known as a supporter of the left wing in the SP, his case was sabotaged from beginning to end. When the Daily Worker of June 30 charged comrade Milton and Hugo Oehler with being fascist spies and called for their execution, the So-

cialist Call did not carry a single line in defense of a member of its own party, who actually fought the fascists at the front. To the very last day of his imprisonment without a single formal charge against him, even after he, with others, was compelled to start a hunger strike which left him emaciated, reducing him from 180 pounds to 115, the Call did not print a line about him, although an article on the subject was sent in weeks ago.

Not only the Call, but Altman and Co. especially left Harry Milton in the lurch. Altman went so far as to call him a deserter because he chose to fight with ILP contingent rather than to commit suicide in the Stalinized International Brigade. This Altman did when some Party mem-

bers approached him on behalf of Milton. Equally dastardly was the act of the Altmanite, Clendenin, who, in the name of the Workers Defense League apologized to the Spanish Government for the "unauthorized" action of the Chicago branch of the Workers Defense League in offering its legal services in behalf of comrades Oehler and Milton on the ground that the WDL does not intervene in "intra-working class disputes." Were these the actions of a revolutionary party and press, or the work of miserable capitulators to the Stalinist butchers?

Arrangements are now being made by the New York comrades for an appropriate, hearty welcome to Harry Milton upon his arrival here, which is expected shortly.

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