

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Union Unity Move

More S.P. Locals Endorse Chicago Left Wing Meet

AFL-CIO To Confer in Washington Next Week

Growing response in the Locals and branches of the Socialist Party to the call for an emergency convention on November 25th in Chicago to deal with the Party crisis, indicates a widespread interest which guarantees complete national representation when the convention sessions open. The announcement was made by James P. Cannon, secretary of the Convention Arrangements Committee in New York. The call for the convention was issued three weeks ago in the name of the State Executive Committees of the Socialist Party of California, Minnesota, Indiana, Ohio, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in Chicago and New York (Left Wing) and by the National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League.

Among the Party organizations which have already taken action to endorse the special convention and to provide for representation at it, are the following:

Local Bucks Joins

Local Bucks County, Pennsylvania, representing the three branches of Quakertown, South Langhorne and Perkesy, unanimously passed a resolution, signed by Clara Gring, Acting Secretary and by Howard Stump, Chairman, declaring that the "County Committee of Local Bucks, refusing to be a party to the expulsion of left wingers or to the People's Front policy of the National Executive Committee and desiring that the disputed questions be thoroughly aired and settled, endorsed the call".

At a meeting of Local Rochester, N. Y., a resolution was unanimously adopted, signed by Charles V. Hess, chairman and James V. Brown, secretary, declaring that by its "flagrant violations of the party constitution and those betrayal of the party trust, the NEC has forfeited its authority and lost all right to speak in the name of the party membership." The Local, in the same resolution, endorsed the call for the convention.

Local East Bay, Calif., according to information received here from its secretary, Carl Wallace, has also voted unanimously to endorse the calling of the Chicago convention. The local had previously indicated its position by deciding without a dissenting vote to expel as a stool-pigeon Ward Rodgers, who had gone to the San Francisco District Attorney in an attempt to send revolutionary socialists to the peni-

tentiary for "embezzlement" of party property which duly belonged to the left wing.

In East Chicago, Indiana, the Local of the Socialist Party has just voted, according to Secretary Paul Brauer, to condemn the NEC for having "trampled

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8,000,000 Involved

Should the joint conference take further steps toward uniting the ranks of the two organizations, it would result in the establishment of an organized labor movement in this country

of between seven and eight million members—more than have ever been enrolled in American unions in all their history.

Highly desirable and necessary though such a unification is, it cannot yet be said that the Washington meeting will bring it about. It is indisputable that a great deal of sentiment exists

in the rank and file of both organizations for unity, the absence of which has had such painful and pernicious results in recent times as a consequence of the growing number of "raids" organized by the officialdom of both organizations upon each other. Demoralizing jurisdictional disputes, leaving the workers divided in face of the employing class, can only impede the progress of American labor.

Whatever the Washington conference outcome may be, it cannot obliterate the tremendous contribution made by the CIO movement. Whereas hidebound craft organization, confined largely to the skilled and betterpaid workers, have time and again failed abysmally to organize the mass production industries, the industrial form of organization, despite the croaking admonitions of the Green bureaucracy, has not only proved its ability to organize such industries as auto, rubber and steel, but has demonstrated that it facilitates the effective mobilization of the workers for aggressive struggle.

This has now been established beyond dispute in practice despite the numerous shortcomings of the CIO, which are traceable to the bureaucratic control exercised over its union by the self-appointed leadership and to the class collaboration policy which it has imposed.

Industrial Unions Vital

Any unification of the two movements which involved a retreat from the right of the workers, at the very least in the basic, mass production industries, to organize in industrial unions, instead of being split up into scores of craft organizations, would signify an abandonment of all the gains made in the past two years and would fling the labor movement back to the position it occupied years ago.

From the standpoint both of the immediate and long-run interests and needs of the labor movement, however, recent events have only served to stress the

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Veterans of Future Wars



**Mass Rally
Against War**

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th Street

Sunday Eve.

October 24th

Speakers:

**MAURICE SPECTOR
BEN HERMAN**

Browder's Complete Turn About-Face On LaGuardia Election

By James Casey

Opportunism, when put into practice, plagues a political organization like a malignant cancerous growth. Once it sets in, principles and theories are revised, defiled and, finally, repudiated amid a hurricane of wild rationalizations. A process of ideological degeneration, disintegration and chaos ensues. The metamorphosis does not present a pretty picture. It is in this stage that Stalinism now finds itself.

Every day provides new evidence of the steady decay and decline of Stalinism, the world over.

Decay of Stalinism

In the Soviet Union, workers are still being executed by the score, while other thousands are being thrown into prison or sent into exile. The regime is warning workers, still unmarked by G.P.U. agents to distrust one another, their neighbors, friends and families—all in a ruthless effort to smash the sharpening political opposition. And the workers fighting the bureaucracy are remaining away from factories, in silent strikes. The whole national economy is shaking under the terror of Stalin's reign.

In Spain, militant workers are being shot down by Stalin's agents, while the Kremlin is directing a sell-out of the nation's toilers to the imperialists of Europe.

In England, the Stalinists are mingling their nationalist cries for war with the singing of "God Save the King."

Here, in America, Earl Browder, the party's general secretary, assures a Massachusetts Inquiry Commission on Fascism and Communism that the Communist Party is opposed to "subversive elements" in "our country", that it is a staunch upholder of "our constitution" and that he (Browder) is ready to take up arms "for our government" in a war on fascism.

The speed at which Stalinism is racing to the right, joining reaction in all its crusades for the vested interests and against the workers, is clearly illustrated in the current election campaign. Stalinist leaders, who less than three years ago denounced Fiorello H. LaGuardia as "an unprincipled demagogue and a tool of Wall Street" are now passionately instructing Communist Party members to cast their vote for the "Little Flower."

On LaGuardia in 1934

In 1934, the Communist Party in its election platform gave a detailed political estimate of LaGuardia. Here are the exact words on the Republican-Stalinist candidate of 1937, as printed in the Communist Party election platform of 1934:

"LaGuardia promised the workers the right to strike. His record is: injunction, police terror, jail, strike breaking. He promised the right to organize. His record is: schemes to place all unions under police control—the training of a special rifle and machine gun regiment against workers.

"LaGuardia promise cash relief for all unemployed—but he feeds the unemployed with police clubs, jail, brutal terror and conspiracies for the murder of demonstration workers. He cuts relief, throws thousands of relief workers into the streets to

starve. He promised to clear the slums, but fires in condemned tenements reap an ever richer harvest of workers' lives.

"He promised to protect the salaries of teachers and city employees: his record is: salary cuts, firings of city employees, ruthless driving down of the living standards of white-collared and professional people.

"Fusion LaGuardia promised abolition of disease-breeding slums. Instead, he practises: vile discrimination, brutal police oppression and hastily frame-ups of Negro workers. Exorbitant rents, segregation, discrimination on jobs and relief, unheard of suffering for the Negroes are the results of LaGuardia's promises.

"Hundreds of thousands of young unemployed workers are discriminated against; get no relief, are without future, without a chance to find employment. Tens of thousands of women workers are miserably exploited and speeded-up. Thousands of unemployed girls are homeless; fill the flop houses; sleep in subways. Single unemployed women are denied relief.

"Democratic Governor Lehman and the Republican State Legislature helped LaGuardia put through his "economy" (hunger) program. Governor Lehman himself negotiated the city-bankers agreement that mortgages to the bankers the relief of the unemployed, the salaries of civil employees and the living standards of the working population.

"Fusion LaGuardia and Democratic Lehman both serve the same masters. Both worship the same God—the bankers agreement. They both follow the same program—the program of plundering the people in the interests and profits of the Chase National Bank and the National City Bank."

So there you have it right out of their own mouths.

Why Front Changed

What explanation, one may reasonably ask, do the Stalinist leaders offer for their flagrant change of front—a change that outdoes in downright duplicity and shamelessness any shift ever executed by any political organization in the annals of American history. The answer is that they offer interminable explanations, but only one of these is politically understandable.

First, the Stalinist leaders say that they support not LaGuardia, but the Labor Party in order to build the labor movement.

They, then say, their position is made necessary as part of the drive to "defeat Tammany" and "keep Reaction out of City Hall." (And this, mark you, after shouting that LaGuardia kept Reaction in City Hall).

They also say that by uniting with "all the progressive forces" they help to build their own party, and so on and so on.

Finally, as a sort of summation, the Stalinist leaders argue that the campaign is one for the "furtherance of democracy" and that the same campaigns "for democracy" are being waged by the Communist Party in every city and State in the land. In this last argument lies the key to the whole Stalinist program, the answer to the party's political and ideological bankruptcy as a working class organization.

The C.P. is fighting "for Democracy." So declares Browder and his statement is echoed by Amter and their underlings. They are fighting for the maintenance and therefore, the prolongation of democracy. But what kind of democracy? The prevailing "democracy", of course—capitalist "democracy". Just what does this entail?

It means that the Communist Party must initiate, promote and aid campaigns of narrow nationalism, wave the flag (Ku Klux Klan fashion) and defend the existing order "at all costs." More than that, since the motivating force behind the Stalinist line is the maintenance of capitalist democracy, the Communist Party must relentlessly fight militant workers, revolutionary activity and revolutionary working class organizations. And to conceal their sinister aims, the Stalinist leaders prattle about seeking "to bring about Socialism through legal means."

Lenin's Warnings

Lenin lashed out against this sort of treachery time and again. Excoriating the machinations of opportunists, Lenin in his "State and Revolution" (p. 19) wrote:

"When Marxism is adulterated it become opportunism, the substitution of eclecticism for dialectics is the best method of deceiving the masses; it gives an illusory satisfaction; it seems to take into account all sides of the process, all the tendencies of development, all the contradictory factors and so forth, whereas in reality it offers no consistent and revolutionary view of social development at all."

Lenin also flays the sophistry of "achieving Socialism through legal means." In the same work, p. 17) he describes the State as a "special repressive force."

"It follows from this," Lenin wrote, "that the special repressive force of the bourgeoisie for the suppression of the proletariat, of the millions of workers by the handful of rich, must be replaced by a special repressive force of the proletariat for the suppression of the bourgeoisie (the dictatorship of the proletariat). It is just this that constitute the destruction of the "state as a state." It is just this that constitute the act of the seizure of the means of production in the name of society." (emphasis J. C.)

Capitalist Agents

Having embarked on their new opportunistic and narrow nationalist line, there is no limit to how far their betrayals of the working class may extend. In the circumstances, it is easy for Phil Frankfeld, secretary of the Communist Party of New England, to tell the already mentioned Massachusetts commission that

What's Going on in N. Y. Election Campaign

Amid the blaring of "Giovinezza," the Fascist hymn, shouts of "Fascisti" and upraised arms in Fascist salute, LaGuardia, chief of the People's Front, New York section, addressed a mass demonstration in Columbus Circle on October 12. The meeting, called ostensibly to celebrate Columbus Day, was soon turned into a demonstration for Mussolini and Italian Fascism. A few hours later, LaGuardia again spoke at the same place, this time, however, at a "non-Fascist" meeting. Militant anti-Fascist workers thus got a fine taste of the People's Front in action.

The extent of the S.P.'s great stride to the right is indicated by the fact that Paul Blanshard, Commissioner of Accounts in LaGuardia's cabinet, has joined the Independent Committee for Harry W. Laidler, running for City Council. Blanshard's desertion of the S.P. back in 1934 was denounced at the time by all S.P. members, including Laidler, as a betrayal. Now Blanshard is rooting for Laidler. Blanshard's political position hasn't changed one whit since he deserted the banner of Socialism, but apparently Laidler has.

Thanks to the Stalinist leadership of the Workers Alliance, the unemployed demonstration at City Hall last Saturday was turned into LaGuardia campaign rally. The chief demand of the demonstrators was for increased relief to meet the rising cost of living. It did not occur to the Stalinist leadership, however, to demand the repeal of the Sales Tax, which LaGuardia saddled on the workers of New York, as a means of easing the burdens of the unemployed. When some WAA members raised the slogan, "Down with the Sales Tax," they were actually threatened. Oh yes,

the "subversive elements" seeking to destroy "our government" are the Trotskyists. Thus the Stalinist leaders not only glorify nationalism, they emerge in the open as spies of the constituted authorities against the working class.

By the same token, Browder not only heaps praise upon Roosevelt for his war speech in Chicago, but he declares in the Daily Worker that the Communist Party is entirely in accord with the Administration's line as enunciated by the President. With this brotherly gesture, Browder again lets the cat slip out of the bag.

Not the Marxist-Leninist line for the Communists—but the line of the Administration, of capitalist "democracy," of the Wall Street oligarchy.

It is the task of revolutionary socialists, especially in the present write-in campaign for James P. Cannon, mercilessly to expose Stalinism, with its People's Frontists line of class-collaboration, social chauvinism, jingoism, and its violent struggle against revolutionary working class unity and Socialism. Particularly must these streamlined nationalists be unmasked in the trade unions. In the furtherance of this work, the revolutionary Socialist must rally the workers for the building of a strong unified and active revolutionary Marxist Party in America.

when the delegation went in to see the Mayor, he wasn't in.

A new slant on the housing problem in New York was given by Stanley Isaacs, ALP candidate for Borough President of Manhattan. After studying the question thoroughly he came to the conclusion that, "I do not think that anything can be more harmful to real estate interests than the development of slum conditions and widespread decay spreading over broad areas in this community."

The new high in frankness, however, belongs to Mahoney. In a speech which moved the workers of New York to tears, he said, "A lot of people point with suspicion at Wall Street. That's so wrong and unjust. There is not a more honorable set of men and women in the city. I feel it the duty of an administration to find out what are the troubles down in Wall Street and how we can help them. An administration should have a sympathetic interest in all business in the city. If there is poverty (?) in Wall Street, it hurts all the city, it hurts the State and it hurts the entire country."

"What is Fusion? The Republican and the new Fusion Parties serve the same masters as Tammany Hall. They represent the same interests: the bankers and trusts, the interests of the capitalist system as a whole. The whole Fusion campaign is but a 'new' deal between the Republican and Democrat capitalist politicians (to be gained from robbing and starving the people). Who are the men behind Fusion? Fiorello H. LaGuardia, several times decorated by Mussolini for his faithful services to the Fascist butchers of the Italian workers, is one of the most dangerous agents of the finance kings. With Tammany more and more discredited, and the Republicans having little chance in New York, LaGuardia is brought forward as 'a man of the people'."

Behind the smoke screen of demagoguery and promises, LaGuardia and Fusion are committed to the same program as Tammany Hall, the plundering of the poor, the breaking of strikes, starving the unemployed, and maintaining the profits of the same handful of bankers at the expense of the welfare of the workers and their families." (Election Platform, Communist Party, 1933).

Governor Lehman and President Roosevelt, the white haired boys of the ALP last year, are supporting the ALP's Enemy Number One, Mahoney. And Senator Wagner, the ALP's great labor hero, is also stumping for Tammany's candidate by speaking at a rally of the Trades Union Party, set up by Tammany as a "Labor Party" in opposition to the ALP. Is the ALP sore!

The revolutionary socialist campaign will wind up next week with a series of section rallies dotting the map of New York at which James P. Cannon, S.P. (left wing) candidate for mayor, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, James Burnham and others will put forth the position of the revolutionary socialists in the campaign.

Pacific Sailors Fight To Preserve Militancy Against C.P. Assaults

By Glen Trimble

SAN FRANCISCO.—The recent decisions of the Sailors Union of the Pacific are calculated to steer an independent and genuinely progressive course which may go far to extricate west coast labor from the storm that has been precipitated by Stalinist CIO leadership and reactionary A. F. of L. counter attack.

First the Sailors have called a coastwise conference of seamen—sailors, firemen and cooks and stewards—to

meet October 15th for the purpose of uniting the three seagoing crafts in a single union. Second, it has brought the question of national affiliation into the open by a public statement of their own position and a demand on both the CIO and the AF of L for a clear and unequivocal public reply.

Third, the Sailors have strongly condemned, by unanimous vote, the tactics of both sides in the current Teamster-Longshoremen's jurisdictional fight and have adopted a policy "which will leave us in a strong position to help the rank and file workers involved in this dispute, and leave us free to act as a unifying force in the labor movement."

Spearhead of Militancy

The importance of these decisions and their relation to the total west coast picture can be shown by sketching in the background of that picture. Historically the waterfront workers and, more particularly, the sailors have been the spearhead of militant trade unions on the Pacific. Organized in 1885, the S.U.P. brought together the first California State Federation of Labor, launched the San Francisco Labor Council, and initiated the powerful Maritime Federation of the Pacific. Their victorious struggles have inspired the organization of thousands of "uptown" and "inland" workers, and their constant insistence on rank and file control has made their constitution a model that all other progressive strive for. The Sailors emerged from the 1936-37 strike with a closed shop, union hiring hall agreement superior to that of any comparably large union in the United States. At the close of that strike the entire labor movement in this region was on the up-grade and the decisive importance of the waterfront workers in this progress was admitted by employers and workers alike.

Green Repulsed

At that time (fall and winter of 1936-37) the CIO was an influential factor in West Coast labor circles. Except for a few scattered, isolated, and largely discredited 100 per cent reactionary Green supporters, the CIO was not regarded as a dual or rival organization. The unity of State Federation and Central Labor Councils was unbroken and Green's expulsion demands were filed in the waste basket with the sole effect of further isolating the reactionaries and strengthening the progressives in these bodies.

The announced program of the CIO—organization of the unorganized, concentration on industrial organization in the unorganized mass production industries, preservation of economic unity in local and regional labor bodies, and opposition to interference with or raids on existing labor

organizations—won majority support in every state federation and almost every city and county council up and down the coast. Even the ultra-reactionary Los Angeles Labor Council could not muster a majority for expulsion in the face of the unassailability of this program—unassailable because the program was actually being practiced. Substantial progress was made in organizing the unorganized; the organized crafts were not only not being interfered with, they were gaining membership and strength as a result of the general advance. No wonder, then, that practically every West Coast delegate to the 1936 A. F. of L. convention was pro CIO and opposed to the Executive Council. This general trend continued until about May of this year. The program and practice of the CIO strengthened not only its own position but that of all progressive in both A. F. of L. and CIO unions. Many reactionaries were on the skids, others were forced to whistle a progressive tune or maintain a cagey silence. Yet today the California State Federation of Labor has just completed its most reactionary convention in years. The CIO affiliates and "suspects" are being expelled up and down the coast. Red-baiting is more open and vicious than it has been since the Palmer raids. Union after union and city after city is torn with labor civil war. The keystone of West Coast labor, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, is threatened with destruction. Discredited and buried labor fakers have come from under their rocks to enjoy a place in the sun. Genuine progressives in both CIO and A. F. of L. are facing the techniques of slander, persecution and elimination developed in the Moscow trials and found equally useful by Stalinist CIO commissars and frankly reactionary A. F. of L. pie-cards.

CIO Leadership at Fault

The responsibility for this almost complete reversal lies directly with the CIO leadership. The policy of reactionaries in the A. F. of L. has not changed; the policy of the CIO has. So drastically that they have supplied Green and Co's. scattered and discredited generals with an army and a complete arsenal of authentic war materials. This article deals only with the Pacific Coast, whether or not the shoe fits elsewhere I am not in a position to judge. Here every fundamental of CIO policy has been rudely and abruptly reversed and effect has inexorably followed cause.

Disorganization of the organized has supplanted organization of the unorganized in the practice of the local CIO leaders. No union is too small or too far removed from mass production and basic industry to escape the attention of the CIO. Office workers, cleaners and dyers, butchers, retail clerks, newsboys—all the trifling odds and ends are "concentration points," while organization in oil, lumber, and

agriculture is feeble and largely unsuccessful. The standard motion in local Labor Councils (just prior to expulsion) is not one for a drive to organize the millions of unorganized but one for a referendum of all organized locals, regardless of their national or international unions, on CIO or A. F. of L. affiliation. While this blunt policy of local and craft raids has a thin "democratic" sugar coating, the democratic argument is given shocking rebuttal by the increasing bureaucracy from top to bottom of the West Coast CIO. In this process the Lewis henchmen, trained in the United Mine Workers school of bureaucracy, are outdone by the swarm of Stalinists who are gleefully carrying their adventurist game into the trade union field.

Bridges Line Fatal

The essence of present West Coast CIO policy under the Brophy-Lewis appointed West Coast director, Harry Bridges, is dual union war on the A. F. of L. leadership and membership in a showdown struggle for power. The original CIO programmatic slogans are trotted out from time to time for what they are worth but it is transparently clear to both the A. F. of L. leadership and membership that they are not worth practicing. Bridges' reputation for militancy was pretty thoroughly blasted in the 1936 strike when he consistently opposed both the strike itself and every militant tactic for winning it. His reputation for being both a Stalinist machine man and an accomplished and ruthless bureaucrat in his own right has, on the other hand, been more and more firmly established with the years. Autonomy, independent leadership, democratic control, militancy, these are all terms antithetical to Bridges' "Directorship".

As a consequence, the progressives in the A. F. of L. who defended and fought for the CIO program and against splitting the labor movement find themselves refuted at every turn by the actual character of Bridges' CIO on the West Coast. They may try to defend what the CIO ought to be but in the meantime the overjoyed reactionaries are successfully rallying the membership for the necessary task of fighting what the CIO on the West Coast is—a disruptive force which is openly splitting where and what it can and threatens to weaken and possibly destroy the economic power of all existing labor organizations on the coast.

(Concluded in next issue)

New Headquarters

The "Socialist Appeal" Office have moved to 116 University Place, New York City. All correspondence should be mailed to this new Address.

The local office of the New York Socialist Party (Left Wing Branches) and the National Offices of the Young Peoples Socialist League are now also located at this address.

More S. P. Locals Endorse Chicago Convention

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on the party constitution and all the principles of party democracy by ignoring the demands of party locals for referendums and a special convention to register the will of the party membership." The Local decided to join the other revolutionary socialist organizations in endorsing the call for the special convention. The Local is composed largely of active militants in the steel industry and the steel workers' union.

Austin Hits Traitors

Similar action has been taken, by unanimous vote, in the Austin, Minnesota, local of the party, which has been active in the organizing work of the packing house workers of that locality. Aline Ollman, Local Secretary, reports the adoption of a resolution endorsing the call for "an emergency party convention for the purpose of throwing out the traitors, determining the will of the party membership on all important party problems and re-establishing the party on the foundation of revolutionary socialism."

Desperate but futile efforts are being made by the LaGuardia-Socialists in control of the national party machinery to halt the sweeping progress of the left wing. The expulsions of left wingers who refuse to betray their socialist principles for a membership book in the Thomas-Tyler clique, continue throughout the country, without, however, affecting either the determination or the activity of the militants.

Now, according to the Call, Roy E. Burt, who has been in charge of directing the work of splitting the party, is leaving on a "western tour" in a hopeless effort to mend the broken fences of the right wing. Starting with Minneapolis and St. Paul, Burt is scheduled to tour through the Northwest, returning by way of California, Utah and Colorado. Virtually all the territory he plans to cover is solidly left wing. Nobody can envy Burt the reception he is certain to get from the Locals he intends to visit, practically all of which have already voted to attend the special convention of the revolutionary socialists in Chicago.

CIO-AFL Unity

(Continued from page 1)
fact that the active militants in the unions are faced with a job that urgently calls for action. It is the job of organizing inside the unions, both CIO and AFL, for the advancement of the ideas and practices of militant, class unionism and of union democracy.

In the CIO, no less than in the AFL and even more so in some of the industrial unions, the officialdom has established a basically undemocratic regime which is bureaucratically maintained against the interests of the membership and of the union generally. Hand in hand with this pernicious system, goes the practice of "labor-employer cooperation", which tears the very heart out of fighting unionism. The class collaboration policies of Hillman and Lewis are not one whit different or better than those of Green and Frey. By undermining the militancy and self-reliance of the workers, these policies end by petrifying and paralyzing the unions. In-

stead of fighting organizations concerned with defending the interests of the workers, they become transformed, as in the case of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, into instruments for guaranteeing profitable industries to the employers.

The fight for industrial unionism is not a fight for labor bureaucrats like Lewis, Hillman, Martin and Bridges. It is only part of the movement to make labor more efficient and effective in its unceasing struggle against its exploiters. Industrial unionism without a class struggle policy, a class struggle leadership, and democracy in the ranks, is like having a motor working on one cylinder.

The job of uniting the labor movement into a mighty and invincible weapon lies with the true progressives and the class-conscious militants in the ranks. Upon their unity and determination depends American labor progress in the next period.

Cleveland Socialists Launched New Activity After Ohio Conference of Left Wingers

The Cleveland local opened their new headquarters on Sunday, October 17 with a statewide active workers conference. 40 leading comrades from Akron, Youngstown, Toledo, and Cleveland participated in the discussion which included both organizational and political problems.

All reports pointed to increased growth and activity. Reports were given by comrades representing the steel, auto, rubber, and truck drivers unions. The second Sunday in November was set aside for a continuation of the conference for pre-convention discussion.

The new Cleveland headquarters located at 737 Prospect Ave. (room 305) in the heart of the downtown district, consists of a sizable office and a hall which can seat 100 for lectures and

meetings and which can accommodate socials. This is the first time in more than seven years that Cleveland Socialists can boast a hall of their own. It is planned to open a bookshop shortly.

A regular fortnightly forum will be started on Friday, October 29th with Comrade Harry Milton as the opening speaker. Two regular weekly classes will be held. One class in elementary Marxism will be led by comrade Henry Clark, and another in strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement will be led by comrade John Brahtin.

Plans are under way for a celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Russian Revolution and for the holding of a gala affair to acquaint the workers of Cleveland with the new home of revolutionary Socialism.

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The Stock Market Crash

On the same day that President Roosevelt delivered his radio address announcing that "the Federal Government with the return of prosperity must more and more narrow the circle of its relief activities and reduce the amount of Federal revenue to be expended in the amelioration of human want and distress in the various communities of our land", the stock market experienced its sharpest decline in six years, with the prices of leading stocks down from 2 to 15 points.

The continual declines in the stock market, which began in the middle of August, reached a new low mark on October 18 with stocks tumbling to a point where, according to the calculations of the New York Times, the combined index is back to where it was in June 1935.

Simultaneously, the Iron and Steel Institute announced that the operations of the steel industry—always an important and often a decisive indication of the trend in national economic life—were only 55.8 per cent of capacity this week, a fall of 7.8 points or 12.3 per cent compared with the week before, and the lowest rate, with one exception, for the past 19 months. Compared with only two months ago, the decline in steel operations comes to one-third of the total.

Moreover, considering the large stocks laid up in many steel mills, the prospects for any early substantial revival of larger scale operations, are not held to be too bright even by the optimistic.

All the capitalist Pollyana—economists—from Roosevelt down—to the contrary notwithstanding, it is clear that the United States is not heading towards a "return of prosperity", not even if that is meant to refer to that precarious, one-sided prosperity which led to the convulsive crisis of 1929. That Roosevelt has succeeded in restoring capitalist profits to a level far higher than those prevailing during the depths of the crisis, is indisputable and not surprising, for that was Roosevelt's job. Nothing of the kind has happened to the workers, whose standard of living is today considerably lower than it was eight years ago.

In a word, Roosevelt has made no serious progress in remedying the fundamental curse of capitalist society—the centralization of wealth at one pole and the accumulation of poverty at the other.

The stock market rumblings herald a new recession in industry which may catapult the country into a new crisis. The more farsighted heads of the ruling class understand this. Without a new and large market to absorb a production such as can keep America's wheels of industry turning at high speed, a deep crisis is inescapable. The threatening tones of Roosevelt's speech against the Japanese invasion of China—U. S. imperialism's hopes for vast market of tomorrow—indicate how precariously balanced is the equilibrium of American capitalism, how touchy it is to the prospect of losing tomorrow's indispensable market, how well it realizes the fictitiousness of its "returned prosperity".

The Wall Street disturbances also outline on the horizon the coming concerted effort to unload the economic difficulties of the capitalist class upon the workers, as it has always done in the past. New encroachments on the workers' standards of living are in the offing. And with them, new and more bitter struggles of the workers against their capitalist enemy and its government.

Be it by a new imperialist adventure into war, or by slashing more deeply into already low living standards that the capitalist class will seek to surmount the new crisis facing it—the workers must gird now for class struggle. And looking forward to it, nothing could be more disastrous for labor than to be fettered by the paralyzing chains of class collaboration, of People's Frontism, than to be cut down while passively waiting for their problems to be resolved by demagogic Messiahs of the Roosevelt-LaGuardia stripe.

Labor can rely for its advance only upon its own strength, its own organizations, both economic and political. The consolidation of the trade union movement, on a militant, class struggle basis, and the building of a fighting revolutionary party, are more urgently than ever on the order of the day.

U. S. Imperialism Attempting
To Railroad 11 Puerto Rican
Nationalist Leaders to Prison

By Bernard Ross

Since September 13, a trial, silently ignored by the American press, has been taking place at the city of Ponce, Puerto Rico. The eleven nationalist defendants, including Julio Pinto Gandia, President of the Nationalist Party, and Lorenzo Piñero Rivera, Interim General Secretary of the same, are accused of assassinating an insular policeman who was killed during the premeditated police machine gun attack upon a nationalist demonstration on March 21, 1937.

Trial Background

It would be well to state the antecedents of the present trial. On February 12, The Federal Circuit Court in Boston, rejecting an appeal for retrial, upheld the sentences meted out on July 31, 1936 to Doctor Pedro Albizu Campos and seven other nationalist leaders who were convicted by a Federal Jury for "conspiring to overthrow the United States Government," and sentenced for terms varying between six to ten years at the Atlantic Federal Penitentiary.

While the case was being appealed to the United States Supreme Court, the Nationalist Party decided to hold a demonstration in support of Doctor Albizu at the city of Ponce. The Mayor of Ponce, Tormos Diego, granted a permit only to revoke it at the last moment under pressure from superior military authorities at San Juan. The demonstration started at the set hour and within a few moments machine guns, ably managed at strategic points, began to cut down the crowd... Men, women and children, participants and bystanders, were indiscriminately mowed down like blades of grass. When it was over, nine were dead and more than two hundred were wounded. A dozen more died the following day. Thus did the naked brutality and insolence of Yankee Imperialism manifest itself on that day... Rightfully it is called the Massacre of Easter Sunday.

An investigating commission headed by Arthur Garfield Hays

and consisting of many prominent Puerto Rican attorneys, journalists and intellectuals set out to determine the responsibility for the tragic events of Easter Sunday. The Hays report subsequently made clear that civil liberties and rights are constantly being flouted by Governor Blanton Winship who refuses to recognize the elementary rights of freedom of speech and assembly. The Hays report furthermore maintains that what actually took place on March 21st was purely and simply a premeditated massacre.

Roosevelt Hypocrisy

The Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico calls for the independence of that island from the United States. The Roosevelt administration which so hypocritically condemns Japanese violation of Chinese territorial integrity in the name of "humanitarianism" and "civilization", has been ruthlessly suppressing the national aspirations of the Puerto Rican people. The nationalists are constantly being terrorized, hounded and incarcerated.

American imperialism is determined to railroad the present defendants to jail. The jury chosen does not contain one friend of Puerto Rican independence. Evidence presented by state witnesses has been baseless and contradictory, obviously concocted. On June 1, 1937, the Supreme Court upheld the sentence against Dr. Albizu Campos thus condemning him to years of suffering in the Atlanta Penitentiary.

Every revolutionary, every sincere individual, every honest friend of democratic rights and liberties for colonial and semi-colonial people, must raise his voice in protest against the shameless and impudent antics of Yankee imperialism in Puerto Rico, demanding at the same time the immediate release of Dr. Albizu.

Against American Imperialist oppression!

For the right of the Puerto Rican people to their independence!

Generals Are Made
By Headlines

[We are indebted for the following article to the Sept. 22nd *Arbetaren*, the Stockholm daily of the Syndicalists who belong to the same international as the C.N.T. We also know the gentleman referred to, as a henchman of Girolamo Valenti...]

The man's name is Umberto Galleani. It is rather difficult to get information about the big deeds that this man did in Italy. It is said that he preyed a little on the socialists and a little on the communists, but he was mostly content with doing nothing. But the people that say this are syndicalists and anarchists. We must therefore from this point on keep close to other witnesses.

Galleani drifted to America. He became a vagabond between socialist and communist newspaper offices. But alas, nowhere did they house him more than a week at a time and the editors were impolite enough to keep to hell away from him. So Galleani went to the Italian anarchist papers. But the rude anarchists did not appreciate Umberto any more than the rest. Finally he teamed up with a "non-party" paper [Valenti's *Stampa Libera*].

Then came Franco. The American Stalinists were sending their kind to Spain. Umberto got only the title of head of a little *escuadra*—this was during the time of the militia, when no officers and such trash existed. Umberto went to the front and—well, the truth simply must be told now. During the enemy's counter-attack, Umberto Galleani ran away. The comrades of the *escuadra*, those that did not get killed by the leader's desertion, made a complaint to the higher command, with the result that Umberto got orders to report to the kitchen.

To wash plates and peel potatoes did not suit him; he tried to drown his sorrows in the wine—which belonged to the militiamen. When on top of this he tried to replace the wine by adding water to the remains, even the communists got good and angry. Umberto had to be sent away. But the communists could not ditch such an excellent fellow. They sent him to work for the staff.

The next thing the Garibaldi Division heard, Galleani was in Paris. He knocked around there for three months. What he was doing no one knew. Anyway the world forgot Umberto Galleani.

But one day an Italian communist paper from New York arrives in Madrid. Big headlines: "Umberto Galleani, member of the general staff of the heroic Garibaldi division tells of Italian Fascist losses in the fight at Guadalajara." A neat reportage, and true in every line, of course. With the exception that at the time of the Guadalajara fight, Umberto was in Paris...

Umberto was now in America to stimulate fund-collecting for Spain. Therefore the anarchist papers kept quiet, much as it hurt. A week after the first report, came another communist paper from America to Madrid. In this we find the Great Man in full uniform—and with a commander's badge on his chest! The real commander of the division, Pacciardi, laughed when he saw the picture in the paper. Pacciardi is not a communist, and he has a sense of humor. Still the anarchist papers kept quiet: after all, for the sake of the collection.

But then, after another week, there came to Madrid a Spanish-American communist paper. This time the headline was: "The General Galleani", and in the article he became transformed into the founder of the anti-Fascist Garibaldi Division—"the communist division" the paper called it. At last the anarchist papers got tired of this faker and gave their readers the story.

To complete the documentation of our story, we went to visit a few militiamen of the Garibaldi division, and asked: "Who is the general of the division?"—"We have no general, the highest officer is the commander."—"Who is the commander?"—"Pacciardi"—"And the founder?"—"Pacciardi, as the whole world knows."

"But Galleani, then, who is he?"

And then the men started to laugh. A laugh that became still more loud when we showed our clippings about the Great Man. "Galleani, that drunkard, that coward, that woman-chaser." After that the militiamen owed us a treat to a drink.

The men we interviewed were communists and anarchists, on leave in Madrid. There are seventy five anarchists in the division, the rest are communists, socialists and republicans.

The story of Umberto should give American workers a good insight into how the henchmen of Stalin manufacture generals and heroes.

RUSSIA

TWENTY YEARS AFTER

by Victor Serge

Translated by
Max Shachtman

Published to coincide with the 20th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, this book is a clear, vigorous picture of present day Russia, and a survey of the past twenty years there, by a man who actually lived the Revolution and was an active participant in the events he so vividly describes.

\$2.00

Pioneer Publishers
100 Fifth Avenue
NEW YORK

If you want the bitter and real truth about Stalin's Russia—if you want to quit kidding yourself—this is the book. Max Eastman

I think that this book deserves to be widely read, widely discussed. Without doubt, it will be one of the most challenging books of the present publishing season. James T. Farrell

I have read Victor Serge's book with absorbed interest. It should be read by all who wish to understand the development and present conditions of the U. S. S. R. John Dewey

The Liquidation of the Comintern

Browder Proclaims C. P. To Be Staunth Bulwark Of American Capitalism

By Liston M. Oak

"The Communist Party is not subversive", Earl Browder informed a Massachusetts State legislative investigating committee on October 1, 1937. "Communists make the defense of our democratic institutions one of the cardinal tenets of our theory and practice.... The Communist Party does not conduct any teaching or activity which is subversive to American Government." And the secretary of the American section of the Communist International,

founded to overthrow all capitalist states and institutions by force, emphatically disavows the rumor spread by subversive fascists and Trotskyists that the Communists believe in the use of force and violence.

Black's Defender

In the same issue of the Daily Worker, "people's champion of liberty, progress, peace and prosperity," which comments editorially upon Browder's statement to Massachusetts investigating committee, also carries eight column headline in 72 point bold cap—"Black Upholds Religious and Racial Freedom in Radio Talk to Nation." No other newspaper in America has so vociferously defended the appointment of Hugh Black, late of the Ku Klux Klan, to the Supreme Court. The Daily Worker is far to the right of the Times, Herald-Tribune, Post, World-Telegram, etc. on this issue. It doesn't even scold Black for his failure to repudiate the Klan and all it stands for. On this as upon almost all other political issues, the C.P. position is identical with that of John L. Lewis and other labor bureaucrats, and with the New Deal Democrats committed to defense of the Roosevelt Administration whatever it may do.

In this same issue of the Daily Worker, of Oct. 2, there are two other editorials. One denounces the "meat trust" and the chain stores for the high cost of steak. Not one word about the curtailing of meat production by the government which led to the shortage giving the meat trust its pretext for a bit of additional profiteering. The other editorial calls for sanctions by the United States Government against Japan. This editorial quotes with disapproval an editorial in the Post declaring that the U. S. must either get out of the Far Eastern war and be strictly neutral, or impose sanctions against Japan and prepare for the inevitable consequences of such war-like measures—armed conflict in defense of the interests of American capitalists in China. The C.P. on the contrary says that collective sanctions is the only way to avert war! The Stalinists on this, the most important issue today, are to the right even of the liberals who recognize that sanctions mean war.

Stalinists and War

But the Stalinists in reality also know that sanctions mean war—the secret is that they want war. Considering war inevitable, the Stalinists seek desperately to gain military allies for the USSR against Japan, German and Italy. They call for measures in the line of collective security and peace knowing full well that these measures would precipitate war, but war on terms favorable to the Stalin Government; their fear is that Britain and France may

join the Four-Power Pact or make some other deal with the fascist nations, isolating the Soviet Union.

What further evidence is needed to prove the ideological liquidation of the Comintern, which presages its eventual organizational liquidation? If additional evidence is required it is available.

Lenin is dead. The Comintern which he founded is also a corpse; but it continues to use the name Lenin gave it. The C.I. has long ceased to be revolutionary, to seek the overthrow of capitalism—democratic and fascist. Marx is dead; but the Second International continues to use and to besmirch his name. Both Internationals died of the same dread disease—social-democratic opportunism, social patriotism, reformist illusions, bureaucratic degeneration. When a pseudo-Marxist or Leninist party cease to be revolutionary it gives up its only excuse for instance and is headed toward organizational liquidation, whether the process takes years or decades.

Nothing that has been said by Stalin, Pollit, Thorez or Diaz, so aptly illustrates the ideological bankruptcy of the C.I.T. as the oration delivered by Earl Browder on Sept. 9, 1937, in Boston, hailing the Constitution as an instrument of liberty and democracy and peace which belongs to the American people, not to the capitalistic class; and approving the speech delivered a few hours earlier by Roosevelt.

Browder the Democrat

"American democracy, as established by the Constitution... is in danger of being destroyed," proclaimed Browder, "but it is not threatened by the Communists, nor by any vague proletarian dictatorship... I have no hesitation in declaring for the C.P. that with the central thoughts and direction of President Roosevelt's speech, we are in practical agreement; and that, on such questions with which we disagree, these are not questions for immediate and practical solution."

The threat of proletarian revolution and dictatorship is vague indeed, so far as the Stalinists are concerned, not only in U. S. but everywhere. The capitalists need have no fear on this score. Browder's reassurance only echoes assurances given by Stalin repeatedly, and by his flunkies in Spain, in China, and wherever they seek collaboration with the "good" democratic capitalist rulers against the "bad" fascist capitalists, collective (military and economic) action of the "peaceful" powers upholding the status quo, against the warlike aggressive powers seeking redivision of the world. As Browder says, the differences between the Stalinists and their new allies, the "anti-fascist" section of the international capitalist class, are insignificant; "we are in practical agreement..."; no immediate and practical solution is necessary for our slight differences of

opinion with you such theoretical reservations we may have (an embarrassing hold-over of our Marxist-Leninist tradition) need not prevent a united front on all practical questions such as war, the suppression of subversive elements such as the Trotskyist agents of fascism advocating violent overthrow of our sacred democratic institution. Thus spake Browder.

Roosevelt had promised the American workers a higher standard of living "if only government is intelligent and energetic in giving the right direction to economic life." Yes, echoes Browder, we Communists are with you in supporting a New Deal which will accomplish these purposes; and if the workers can get higher wages, shorter hours, social security, under capitalism, what need is there for the overthrow of capitalism? Obviously none.

Browder did not dare say that Marx and Lenin were mistaken in supposing that capitalism cannot give the masses these things; that wealth is concentrated into fewer and fewer hands; that inner contradictions incapable of peaceful solution bring inevitable crises, as imperialist conflicts bring inevitable war; that capitalism can afford the luxury of democratic forms only in the period of rise and relative growth; that democracy is a sham and a delusion and that the "immediate" aims of the communists (which they disdain to conceal) are the destruction of bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

Marx Out-dated

But of course the Stalinists consider Marx as out-dated as the dodo; Lenin could not foresee the rise of fascism which invalidates everything he taught. The Communist Manifesto from which I quote seems to the "practical, realistic politicians" to be leftist, sectarian, outworn. "Twentieth Century Americanism" and People's Front Communism is revisionism which makes Bernstein a flaming revolutionist—a subversive extremist.

And so Browder declares "the heartiest agreement" with Roosevelt's "central thought," quoted above, promising a higher standard of living, etc. for American workers. "With every group or person which makes this thought the guide in formulating policy, we of the C.P. can find an ever-growing basis for common action," Browder declares, and asks "what prevents this policy from being expressed in government action?" He does not answer: capitalism. No, it is the reactionary section of the capitalist class fighting Roosevelt's New Deal which stands in the way of realizing this earthly capitalist paradise. "Roosevelt answers this question correctly," says the ex-bookkeeper of Kansas City.

The spectre of the "Communist Manifesto" haunts me; what was it that Marx and Engels said on this subject of capitalist reform? "There are certain bourgeois who

Stalinist Hoodlum Beats Up Socialist at New York Election Campaign Meeting

The International Stalinist terror begun in Russia against the Soviet masses, continued in Spain through the wanton assassination of Andres Nin and the murder of many Anarcho-Syndicalist workers; carried into Switzerland with the machine-gun murder of Ignace Reiss—is now being carried into the local election campaign where members of the Socialist Left are being unmercifully beaten and terrorized by hired squads of brass-knuckle gorillas sent out by the local G.P.U. of the Communist Party.

Monday evening October 18, the Chelsea and Village branches of our party were holding a campaign rally for our mayoralty candidate, James P. Cannon, on the corner of 14th Street and Seventh Avenue, when a gang of Stalinist hoodlums, tired of whooping it up for LaGuardia under the ALP banner, descended on the platform of the Socialist Left in a body, began disrupting

the meeting and when told to keep quiet and go back to their own meeting which was at the diagonally opposite corner, hit out at the comrades selling literature. One of the literature agents, Morris Miller, was hit, evidently with brass knuckles and had to be given medical treatment at St. Vincent's Hospital. The other comrade injured, Ed. Findley, did not need hospital treatment but is nursing a swollen jaw.

The truly despicable character of these terrorists hiding under the "liberal" skirts of the ALP and LaGuardia is shown by the fact that they called a cop and pointed out our comrades to him. If it wasn't for the fact that Miller was bleeding profusely from the chin and that the officer himself doubted the stoolpigeon statement of the Stalinist our comrades would have been arrested—for beating themselves up!

want to redress social grievances—in order to safeguard bourgeois society." Did not Roosevelt repeatedly declare that the purpose of the New Deal was to safeguard capitalist society?

"Apostles of conservative or bourgeois socialism" were frequently denounced by Marx and Engels, later by Lenin and all the Bolsheviks. Bismarckian Socialism, the Gotha Program, German Social Democratic "government socialism," state ownership of public utilities, all reform programs, all working class collaboration with the liberal bourgeoisie in support of such programs, were denounced, ridiculed, and torn to theoretical shreds, by Marx and Lenin. Roosevelt reforms, like the People's Front programs in France and Spain, are the modern equivalent of programs which Marx and Lenin said the proletarian vanguard could not support without betraying the revolution, reforms pointing toward state capitalism.

Browder Is Patient

But Browder is wiser; he says: "And we have those who are in a hurry, who are impatient of the processes of constitutional democracies, who want utopia overnight and are not sure that some vague forms of proletarian dictatorship is not the quickest road to it. Both types are equally dangerous."

Kerensky has hailed similar utterances of Stalinists as final justification of his social democratic program; Lenin was such a Utopian, too much in a hurry; impatient of the process of constitutional democracy such as Kerensky established, and replaced it with a dictatorship (not vague); and from this, Kerensky has recently argued, came Stalinism and the defeat of the socialist revolution in Russia.

There will be no danger of revolution, continues Browder, unless progressives such as Roosevelt fail, "if those leaders should prove themselves incapable to produce a far higher standard of living. Only produce constantly that higher standard of living, even show only a consistent and effective fight for it, and all fear of the impatient masses can be laid aside as unreal." "The progressive program is not revolutionary nor communist.... It can all be achieved under capitalism—if the progressive rally to the people for a real battle to achieve it."

If, as Browder declares, a far higher standard of living for the masses can be achieved under capitalism, why is there any need for a revolutionary party? Only to insist that the battle for these

ends shall be "real," he answers, and to hold in check the "impatient" revolutionists—to serve the bourgeoisie as a more efficient police force against subversive elements who want to overthrow capitalism in the only way it can be overthrown.

A Mercenary for Sale

"The C.P. repudiates all theories and proposals looking toward a forcible imposition of socialism or any utopia upon the majority of the people.... If there should arise in America anything similar to the situation in Spain, where the democratic republic, while repulsing the fascist invasion, was stabbed in the back by the 'uncontrollable extremists'—a minority of the anarchists and the Trotskyist POUM—then we, like our brothers of the Spanish C.P., would be in the forefront of the struggle to suppress such extremists, who are really agents of fascism, and render them harmless."

In plain words, Browder herewith serves notice upon the American capitalist class that the C.P. will gladly play the same role here as was played by Noske, Scheidemann and Ebert in Germany, by Chiang Kai-shek in China, by the Spanish G.P.U., and by the Russian G.P.U.—to slaughter revolutionists should the need arise. The C.P. has become the party of reaction, the executioner of revolutionary leaders. It pledges itself to be the watch-dog of capitalist democracy, of reformism within the structure of capitalist society.

Not one single word in Browder's speech about the class struggle, about the inevitability of poverty and war and exploitation under capitalism, nor the socialist solution as the only possible solution of the social problems which grow more pressing as capitalism declines. Not one word to show he remembers that in March, 1918, Lenin wrote: "The petty-bourgeois democrats prattle of a united democracy... of a single democratic front and similar nonsense.... Those who have not learned this much even... must be given up as hopeless."

We must give up the Stalinists and Browders as hopeless—the C.I. cannot be reformed, "We communists quietly and calmly tell the President that he has nothing to fear from us," says Browder. What did Marx say? "Communists openly declare that their purpose can only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the whole extant social order. Let the ruling class tremble at the prospect of a communist revolution."

Spain in Grip of Stalinist G.P.U.

Socialist Kidnaped and Smuggled Off to Russia

An early August issue of *Libertad*, one of the underground organs of the CNT-FAI, carries sensational information regarding the workings of the Stalinist GPU in Barcelona.

According to this paper, the head of the GPU is a certain Alfred Herz. This Herz appears to hail from Philadelphia, where he was active for some time in trade union circles. The GPU operates in Barcelona from three different centers mainly, although it maintains offices in various part of the city as well on the countryside, usually in locations close to local police stations. The three main centers are the Consulate of the U.S.S.R., the Hotel Colon—which was a P.O.U.M. headquarters before its suppression—and the Karl Marx Barracks of the Stalinist P.S.U.C., reserved especially for the most-refined forms of torture.

The Case of Mark Rein

Mysterious disappearances of personages in the labor movement since last May have grown in number. In every case where the mystery of a disappearance has been solved, the threads have been traced back directly to the Herz apparatus. One such case which, after the lynching of Andres Nin and the "disappearance" of Erwin Wolff, has aroused especial attention, is that of Mark Rein.

Mark Rein is the editor of the newspaper *Sozialdemokraten*, published in Stockholm, Sweden. For some time, *Sozialdemokraten* has been publishing regular reports from Russia, shedding an interesting light on recent events in that country. The information contained in these reports is apparently of such an authentic nature, that its source is generally regarded as being a person in high position in the Communist Party or Russia. The G.P.U. has for a long time shadowed the offices of the Stockholm newspaper, in an attempt to uncover the source.

Is Son of Abramovich

What has aroused particular interest in this case is the fact that Mark Rein is, in reality, a son of Raphael Abramovich, the well-known Russian Menshevik leader and member of the Executive Committee of the Second International. Rein, under this assumed name and using an American passport, came to Barcelona early last Spring and organized a group of anti-Stalinist socialists in the P.S.U.C. He published articles, in which, among other things, he criticized the policy of the CNT, declaring that his criticism is directed against the CNT exclusively because they are the only ones capable of doing things.

Immediately after his arrival the Herz apparatus began to plan his seizure. He was lured into their net over the telephone, in a message from a woman who asked him for an interview. After several days absence from the hotel where he was staying, the management of the hotel received a letter signed by Rein, dealing with the disposal of his baggage and other such matters. The Madrid date-line on the letter was obviously written by a different hand from that of the author of the letter.

As soon as news of Rein's disappearance began to spread, the late circulated stories to the ef-

fect that the anarchists were responsible for it, because of his disagreements with them. This version was not, however, credited in any of the non-Stalinist circles. The Executive Committee of the Second International dispatched a delegation to Spain, to investigate the case. The Stalinist alibi immediately proved to be worthless. For, not only were innumerable obstacles put in the way of the delegation by all government organs in which the Stalinists

Investigators Vanish

The prominent Socialist-Revolutionary lawyer, I. Sternberg, first Commissar of Justice in the Bolshevik-S.R. coalition government of the Soviets, has assumed charge of Rein's defense. The Valencia government, through its Special Service, placed an agent in charge of investigating the Rein case. This agent and his chief, Fernando Meca, have since also disappeared in the same mysterious fashion.

The investigation, thus far, has discovered the following facts to be reliable. Mark Rein was not killed by the Herz apparatus. Sometime between April 11 and April 30, he was shipped from Barcelona "as a trunk" on a boat headed for Russia. Rein is, therefore, undoubtedly in the hands of the Russian GPU.

However, the investigation of this case has only begun. The heads of the Second International appear determined to get at the bottom of it. Just as this case has already revealed appreciably the methods whereby the Stalinists in Spain are carrying on their persecution of non-Stalinist labor figures, so the further developments will no doubt uncover the whole international network extending directly from the G.P.U. headquarters on Lubianka Street in Moscow.

Dr. Fiorello H. Jekyll and Mr. Fiorello H. Hyde on New York's Columbus Day

The distinguished representative of Wall Street in City Hall, Fiorello H. LaGuardia, on Columbus Day gave the workers of New York City a lesson in People's Front politics that would be well NEVER to forget. Within a few hours' space LaGuardia appeared before a Fascist demonstration sponsored by the "Sons of Italy—with Generoso Pope, agent of Mussolini in America, and at the "non-fascist" rally conducted by the Stalinists and American Labor Party reactionaries. The "Non-Fascist" celebration held only a few hours after the fascist demobilized was advertised as a Columbus Day holiday.

October 12th was established 4 years ago by revolutionary socialists and even the Stalinists as a day for militant anti-fascism. For 3 years every counter-demonstration staged by the anti-fascists against the fascist parades was the scene of the most bitter physical clashes. Last year young socialists were brutally beaten and imprisoned for their heroic stand against an overwhelming number of fascists and police.

As last year, LaGuardia first accepted the invitation of the Italian Fascists. This was an unexpected blow to the Communist leaders who, anxious to overlook La Guardia's connections, expected that he would speak before their People's Front meeting. When the Stalinists learned that LaGuardia loved the Fascists as well as their votes they directed a Committee of peaceful inquiry to his Honor for an explanation. The Mayor informed them that he intended to speak for the Fascists. "But what about our meeting?" asked the shame-

less visitors. Well, LaGuardia told them, I'll speak before your meeting also.... on the condition that instead of having an anti-fascist rally, you make it a Columbus Day Celebration. The Committee promptly accepted the suggestion and hurried to organize for Columbus Day.... Is there any question of who will fight fascism here?

MAN BITES DOG

When a dog bites a man, that's no news. But when a man bites a dog, that is news.

The New York Times of October 18, prints as "news" the following dispatch from its Madrid correspondent:

"Francisco Largo Caballero, ex-Premier, who has threatened for three months to launch a stump campaign against the government, was permitted by that government to address an open meeting in Madrid today...."

It certainly has become "news" when the Stalino-bourgeois People's Front government—arch-defender of "democracy"—grants permission (!) to a labor leader, critical of the Stalinists, to speak at a public meeting.

STALINISM and BOLSHEVISM

by
10 C Leon TROTSKY

Pioneer Publishers
100 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Drive to Aid C.N.T. Is Endorsed by L. Trotsky

CARLO TRESCA

New York City, N. Y.

Esteemed Comrade Tresca,

With warm sympathy I respond to your call for action to help the Spanish revolutionary victims of Stalin-Negrin. The militants of the C.N.T. incontestably occupy first place among these victims.

As a Marxist I am an adversary of Anarchism. Even more irreconcilably am I an adversary of the present opportunism of the leaders of the C.N.T. But this cannot hinder me from seeing and recognizing that in the ranks of this organization are concentrated the elite of the Spanish proletariat. Profound revolutionary solidarity binds me to the anarchist workers; whereas in the pseudo-Marxist cliques of Stalin-Negrin I see only masked class foes.

Against the attitude of the Nation and the New Republic, I totally share your indignation. The executioner is hideous, but more hideous is the priest in the service of the executioner. As the agent of imperialism, Stalin's G.P.U. invokes hatred. Completely nauseating are the long-haired democratic preachers who pander to the Stalinist executioners.

The struggle for the liberation of humanity is impossible without the simultaneous mobilization of contempt for such courtesans, sycophants, lackeys, bigots as the Nation and the New Republic.

I wish you the best success in your campaign and I shake your hand with revolutionary greetings.

October 6, 1937.

LEON TROTSKY

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to the *Socialist Appeal*. Some subscriptions have come in as a result of our appeals in the past—but they have not warranted the expansion program that we want to put into effect. Let each reader of the *Socialist Appeal* either renew his subscription now or get at least one new subscriber—and we promise that there will be no delay in mailing your paper. So far the paper has come out on time. Every effort is being made to keep it coming in the same manner—AND YOU MUST HELP NOW.

But just getting the *Appeal* out on time is not enough. The demand for the *Appeal* is growing daily. The national office wants to make it possible to distribute

it to trade unionists on a trial subscription basis; to hand it out during strikes; to popularize it amongst those who have never seen it by giving away free copies. We have had many requests from all over the country, particularly in industrial areas asking us if it would not be possible to send bundles for free distribution. The method is used by the Stalinists with the *Daily Worker*. We must fight fire with fire.

CONTRIBUTIONS to make this work possible can come from no one but you—the readers and supporters of the *Socialist Appeal*. Use the blank below, contribute if possible—and no amount is too small or too large—and at least get another subscription!

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Widow Reveals How G.P.U. Slew Ignace Reiss in Swiss Village

Stalin Aimed to Silence Former Soviet Agent

By E.

A week after the assassination of Ludwig (Ignace Reiss who published his open letter resigning from the Russian Communist Party under the name of Ludwig) in Lousanne, I succeeded in meeting his wife and engaged in a conversation with her.

Ludwig's wife is of Polish origin. She produces the impression of a very energetic woman and excellently acquainted with the work of

Ludwig and the work of the GPU in general. The day when I saw her she was still totally under the influence of the blow, talked quite unsystematically, and repeated always one phrase: "I will live." Often she produced the impression of a drugged person. On the one hand she is convinced that the GPU will kill her too (since they realize that she knows all that was known to Ludwig). On the other hand she thinks that perhaps "they" will believe that she is totally terrorized and will remain silent, and that they will, therefore, leave her in peace.

How Ludwig Was Killed

After having broken with the GPU, Ludwig wrote to a number of his comrades proposing to them that they follow his step. Nobody answered except a certain Gertrude Schildbach, maiden name. Neugebauer, a functionary of the GPU in Rome with whom he had worked for twenty years and whom he had hired himself. Another reply came from a GPU functionary in England, who was supposed to visit Ludwig on September 2 for a discussion. According to Ludwig's wife, Schildbach had sincere hesitations. (The proof for it she sees in the fact that after the shooting of Zinoviev and Kamenev she was very shocked and wept in her conversations with Ludwig.)

On September 3 Schildbach arrived in Switzerland for the meeting arranged through correspondence by Ludwig. Ludwig's wife was present at this meeting. Schildbach declared to Ludwig that she was in absolute agreement with him, that she would break with the GPU, but that she did not know what to do in the future. Ludwig answered that it is necessary to join the Fourth International, to finish with the past, and for the rest we will see. She proposed to Ludwig that they have dinner the next night in one of the restaurants of Lausanne. Ludwig told her, jokingly, that he had no more money. She answered that she had some money and invited him. Ludwig's wife left for Montreux. Ludwig had to meet Schildbach again on September 4 to have dinner with her before leaving for Rheims. She was supposed to visit Ludwig's wife on the following Sunday. When Ludwig left his wife he told her that Schildbach produced in him a very strange and incomprehensible impression.

Assassins Known

The following is known to Ludwig's wife from the communications of the police: Ludwig and Schildbach had dinner together and then went out into the street. It was late and the streets were deserted. They intended to take an automobile, but another automobile arrived. A man jumped out and struck Ludwig on the head with a blackjack. Then they

shoved him into the car and killed him. Before his death he defended himself. In his hand they found wisps of Schildbach's hair. They found also in the car a coat with a Madrid label. The police believe that seven people, two women and five men, participated in the murder.

Schildbach fled, but left her baggage in the hotel. There they found some pictures of Schildbach, recognized by Ludwig's wife. The pictures were sent to the police of different countries. Observation of the Soviet steamers in various ports was established. The police identified one more participant in the murder named Kondratjeff (a white emigre) who aroused the suspicion of the police by pacing back and forth the day of the murder at one place in a railroad station. The police checked his papers and since they were all right they did not arrest him. Ludwig's wife says that for such kind of work abroad, the GPU always chooses White Guards.

What Ludwig's Wife Knows About the GPU

As I have said already, Ludwig's wife speaks nervously, interrupts, and jumps over from one question to another evidently still upset from the recent blow. I will try to reproduce what she tells:

1. The whole foreign apparatus of the GPU is being re-organized. All the old functionaries are called back and there they are arrested and shot on suspicion of Trotskyism. Arrested or executed are: Unshlicht, Stashowski, Brunn, Walter, Rudzutak, etc. To the question, are these people really Trotskyites? She answered that in general all are against Stalin, even those who are always ready to sign anything and to praise Stalin. In their souls they hate him. She herself knows several people of the foreign apparatus who will refuse to return, some of them because they fear for their lives, others for ideological reasons. The murder of Ludwig was intended to terrorize all these people. For this reason it was committed.

2. During the trial of Pyatakoff she was in Moscow. She knows a number of details as to how this trial was framed up.

3. The case of the GPU man, Brunn: Since 1924 Brunn had been in his soul a Trotskyite but didn't speak about it. The GPU knew about it. Some months before the Zinoviev trial they removed him from his foreign post (the reason: the competition between Yagoda and Yezhov) and ordered him to investigate the case of the German colonists who had to be joined to the Zinoviev trial. He had to obtain "confessions." Brunn knew some of these people personally; moreover, he did not believe in this trial. Naturally he did not obtain "confessions." They arrested Brunn

Marxist School a Success As First Sessions Begin

The large registrations for the courses in the opening week of the Marxist School revealed great interest and enthusiasm. Since all the classes are lecture courses, attendance is permitted for individual sessions — a admission twenty five cents.

For the week of October 25th the subjects will be:

I. ELEMENTARY MARXISM —Monday, 7 P.M.—John G. Wright.

Contradictions of Capitalism

II. CHINA AND THE FAR EAST —Monday 8:45 P.M.—Robert Graves.

The Chinese Revolution—1925-27

3. POLITICAL CURRENTS IN AMERICAN LABOR MOVE-

MENT—Tuesday, 7 P. M. — Maurice Spector.

Rooseveltian Laborism

4. SOCIALISM AND WAR —Tuesday, 8:45 P. M. — Max Schachtman.

The Epoch of Social Betrayal and Proletarian Resurgence, or War, Socialism and the Founding of the Communist International.

5. THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT — Friday, 7 P. M.—James P. Cannon

Basis for the A.F. of L.-CIO Split. Those interested in receiving more information on the School should write to Marxist School, 116 University Place, New York City.

Y. C. L. Leaders Split New Jersey A. Y. C.

NEWARK.—In protest against the complete pro-war line of the American Youth Congress and its attendant suppression of the democratic rights of the opponents of the Roosevelt war program, the Y.P.S.L. demonstratively broke with the A.Y.C. of New Jersey at the latter's "Model Legislature" session in Trenton on October 16 and 17. The Town Club, representing a strong youth movement in Plainfield, likewise withdrew from the sessions, denouncing the steam-roller procedure of the Stalinist leadership. The representatives of the "Clarity" group youth expressed their protest by refusing a place offered to them on the state committee.

Of the 54 delegates present, at least 25 were member of the Young Communist League or the Stalinist "innocent clubs". No

and his wife for insufficient vigilance and for indecision.

Refused to Confess—Shot!

4. The GPU man, Max Friedman, a Pole, had to be connected with the Zinoviev trial. They asked him to "confess." Friedman refused. He was shot without any trial or judgement.

5. Why do they confess? Those who agree to confess (a minority) think that anyhow one has to die. If one does not confess he is shot. If he does confess perhaps he can escape. Some people confess because of fidelity to the party.

6. She knows also in great detail the "touching up" of Feuchtwanger's latest book. About Feuchtwanger they are singing a little song in the U.S.S.R. which has the following sense: What does Stalin fear? that this Jew should not become an Andre Gide?

7. The case of Cherbinchich: He was wounded during a shooting on the Square Denfert-Rocherau in Paris. Cherbinchich was an agent of the GPU considered to be a provocateur and the GPU decided to kill him. At the beginning they proposed to Ludwig's wife that she help but it seems that she refused. In the spring of 1937 they tried to kill him on the Square Denfert-Rocherau but they wounded him only. Since he left the hospital Cherbinchich has disappeared.

more than 19 of the total delegation were politically unaffiliated (non-YPSL or non-C.L.) delegates. The Stalinists used their mechanical majority to put over their pro-war position without allowing the opposition the right to expression. Minority viewpoints, opposed to the "People's Front" line of the leadership were refused minority reports. The steam-roller was especially worked up to infuse artificial enthusiasm for Roosevelt's war-mongering speech in Chicago; for resolutions defining "national defense" as inclusive of Alaska and Hawaii (they weren't sure, apparently, about the status of the Philippines at this time); as well as in preventing a discussion of Fascism in connection with the "Peace Seminar".

The break came when the Y.P.S.L. representative, Robert Shaw, upon being nominated for the Nomination Committee, refused the nomination in a dramatic speech received with rapt attention by the tense audience. Declaring that the pro-war policy adopted by the Congress and its attendant lack of democracy rendered the A.Y.C. unfit as an instrument for solving the problems of youth, Shaw denounced the presence of reactionaries and Fascist on the National Council of the A.Y.C. and the failure of the New Jersey section to do anything about it, despite previous decisions adopted by that body. He further pointed out the nefarious role of the A.Y.C. in refusing to endorse the Conference to re-open Junior College, an institution which has splendid youth work to its credit, and declared that the Y.P.S.L., as in the past, would persevere in its efforts to build up a fighting united front movement around the American Youth Act and against the threatening war being prepared by American imperialism.

NOTICE TO PARTY BRANCHES

Please send in names of comrades elected to serve as correspondents to the SOCIALIST APPEAL. Special attention must be given to providing us with timely stories on trade union struggles. All copy must be in by Saturday.

Bill's Column

Trail of a Renegade

The Star Spangled Banner

In an interview published in the Daily Worker, Earl Browder declared, that the only people who can really sing the Star Spangled Banner, are the members of the Communist Party. "If you want to hear the Star Spangled Banner sung as it should be, come to a good Communist meeting."

Judas Offers Himself

On Constitution Day, Browder in the name of the Communist Party said that in the event of a war against fascism, the C. P. would be in the foreground in stamping out extremists, "just as are our comrades in Spain". Twelve Anarchist Workers in Catalonia, fighters for their class, tortured, mutilated and butchered, were thrown from a car—dead—with their testicles in their mouths. That's how Browder's stool-pigeon and gangster "comrades" deal with "extremists" in Spain.

"Peace Loving"

"We have in the United States, a group of pacifist societies who, in the name of peace, are counselling unconditional surrender (?) to the International bandits. Whatever their motives, such pacifists have become agents of Hitler and Mussolini."—Browder at the Convention of the Canadian C. P.—That indicates what's in store for pacifists at the hands of the Stalinist gangsters when Wall Street decides that the time is ripe for War.

Scabbing on the Police "Red Squads."

Testifying before the Massachusetts Legislative Committee for investigating "subversive movements", a local leader of the Communist Party called on the Committee to investigate organization activities of the Trotskyists.

A Warning

Let all class conscious workers and opponents of capitalist war take note. Browders storm troops are ready. The day war starts, if not earlier, Browder will place his gang at the disposal of the Department of Justice. He has already pledged that Stalinist stool-pigeons and sadistic brutes will be let loose ever as they are in the U.S.S.R. and Spain.

Clarity Goes underground

The Clarity group in the S. P., finding voting for LaGuardia more than they can bear, have thought up a unique way out. Secretly, they are instructing their supporters to write in the name of—whisper it—a candidate. If you want further instructions go to the home of Zam. Knock three times. Say Gus sent you. The pass-word is, "Tootsie-Fruitsie". Then if you can prove you reliability and there is no Altmanite in sight, Zam will slip you the dope. Of course you may also have to buy a master code book and a Breeder's Guide.

VILLAGE DANCE!!

HOTTEST! LIVELIEST! BEST IN TOWN!

PLACE:

5 Washington Square N.

TIME:

Saturday Night, October 30. Dancing! Dining! Drinking!

A Timely Book:

Trotsky Exposes The Lie Machine

The Stalin School of Falsification by Leon Trotsky. 368 Pages. \$2.50—Pioneer Publishers, New York.

Reviewed by Hal Draper

"ORDJONIKIDZE: Why did you dwell so long on your biography?"

"TROTSKY: ... I was not the one who first brought up the question of my biography. Nothing was further from my mind. There are enough questions as it is. But it is precisely the Stalinist faction that has substituted the question of my biography for all political questions. And I reply to fictions with irrefutable facts."

Therefore this book. There will be liberals who will see nothing in all this except more proof that the Trotsky-Stalin struggle is only a personal quarrel. But the left wing has learned through its own experiences in the Socialist Party, with the Altman and Clarity schools of falsification, that when mud is thrown instead of principled arguments, it is because the latter ammunition is lacking.

Trotsky goes at the task with a bitterly ironic pen and a mass of fact and evidence upon which to exercise it. In the "Letter to the Bureau of Party History" he marshals document after document to answer such questions as: Why didn't Trotsky join the Bolsheviks immediately on returning to Russia? Who organized the insurrection? What is the truth about his alleged disagreements with Lenin? Thus he covers the main Stalinist slanders in the period 1917-1927. An interesting appendix by N. Markin takes up the latter-day tale that it was Stalin who won the civil war, practically single-handed, with a little help from Voroshilov.

Suppressed Documents

Two suppressed documents are reprinted: the report of the March, 1917 Party Conference (just before Lenin returned) and of the November, 1917 session of the Petrograd Committee. It was in March that Stalin took his first flyer at being the party boss; he took over control of Pravda and made the main report at the Conference. The result was: endorsement of a defensist attitude toward the war; political support of the Provisional Government; steps toward unity with the Mensheviks. The atmosphere of this conference which took place under the theoretical guidance of Stalin may be judged from what happened when a misguided delegate made so bold as to mention, timidly to be sure, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the question of power:

"KRASSIKOV: ... If we think that the time has now come to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat, then we ought to pose the question that way. We unquestionably have the physical force for a seizure of power. I believe that we will have sufficient physical force both in Petrograd as well as in other cities. (Commotion in the hall. Shouts: Not true.) I was present..."

"THE CHAIRMAN (interrupting): The question under the discussion involves the practical steps for today. The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not under discussion."

"KRASSIKOV (continues): If we do not pose the question that way then we ought to take steps in relation to the Provisional Government which..."

The Chairman deprives him of the floor.

The revolution was not on the agenda at any time during this first conference of the Party. And today too the program of the Comintern may be summed up in Chairman Nogin's succinct way: The revolution is not on the agenda.

Stalin's Biography

The section on the "Political Biography of Stalin" is rightly called only a "contribution." Souvarine's work; notably, has added greatly to our information, but the essential points that Trotsky makes, if in a sketchy form, are only more thoroughly proved by others' researches: Stalin's Menshevik deviations even before 1917, his record of constant intrigue and treachery, his failure to formulate a single independent idea or to develop a correct line a single time on his own hook, etc.

Souvarine has given further evidence for Trotsky's deduction that Stalin began political life as a Menshevik; but on the other hand, he defends Stalin against Trotsky's attack on his letter of 1911, in which he (Stalin) spoke of Lenin's fight against Menshevism as a "tempest in a tea-pot," worthy only of disdain by practical workers.

"Trotsky tries in vain," writes Souvarine, "after the event, to describe this state of mind as indifference to theory or the myopia of a practitioner," because, forsooth, this was the general condition of the radical workers, which Stalin merely reflected! In his "On the Road of October," Stalin makes exactly the same defense for himself regarding his March 1917 line: the majority of the party held this position too, and he, Stalin, only reflected this. This way of evading responsibility is exactly the same, in turn, as that of the German Social Democratic leaders, who blamed the social-patriotism of the masses for their own betrayal in war-time.

Stalin's Ethics

Much of the book, in effect, matches Trotsky's political biography against Stalin's. And from the mass of detail, one picks out the outlines of Stalin's moral physiognomy. Lenin has already characterized him in his last "Testament". Trotsky gives his own opinion as follows: "... a man in whom energy, will and resoluteness are combined with empiricism, myopia, an organic inclination to opportunist decisions in great questions, personal rudeness, disloyalty and a readiness to abuse power in order to suppress the party." Souvarine sums him up: "... a will to power out of proportion to his will for knowledge... an oriental dexterity in intrigue, absence of scruples, unfeelingness in personal relations, scorn for men and human life."

Fellow Prisoner Testifies

A former prison companion, S. Verechchak, has given a concrete picture of Stalin as a congenital and disloyal intriguer (in an article excerpts from which were reprinted by Pravda as a reliable tribute to Stalin!). Verechchak had been president of the Soldiers Soviet of Tiflis, where Stalin had worked as a

An open Letter to Alfred Baker Lewis On the Mass Expulsion of the Left Wing

By John Hall

I received your letter informing me of my expulsion from the Party a la Stalin. I say "a la Stalin" because I have received no charges and have had no trial, or opportunity to answer your accusations. And I say "expulsion" because you, apparently hoping that I would be as unprincipled as your payroll patriots, have given me until Oct. 1st to recant my heresies. I have no intention of doing so. I remain a revolutionary socialist.

You make a fuss about Left wing violation of discipline. You say the NEC acted to expel us because we were "an opposition political party within the SP" and we "violated a National Convention decision forbidding factional papers..." by publishing, the Socialist Appeal. Let's take the second charge first. You know: 1.—That the decision you refer to was an agreement conditioned by the promise of an internal discussion organ open to all groups in the Party, which organ has not yet appeared,—after six months. 2.—That the right-centrist NEC has refused to carry out that agreement, hoping to muzzle the left. 3.—That the Call is a factional organ of the right and center and has given not one line to the left since the Convention. 4.—That there is no rule of the SP forbidding comrades starting even a public journal if they feel it is needed. If there were, the Call would not have been started. So this charge is hokum.

Hypocritical Charges

On the other, you are inconsistent, not to say hypocritical. Though pathetically anxious to keep the corrupt and worthless Old Guard in the Party, you did help caucus activity against them. You made a pledge to the militant caucus to support me as militant organizer, though you fretted lest I offend Arkin, Bearak and Reivo. Comrade Coolidge might make your complaint, for I heard that he, being

Bolshevik for many years (leaving it a Menshevik stronghold), and where he had been unanimously expelled from the party for intriguing against the leaders of the organization thru systematic spreading of calumnies. "This aptness at striking secretly, by other people's hands, while himself going unperceived, made a shrewd combinationist of Koba (Stalin), one who drew the line at no methods, and evades all accounting, all responsibility. This character of Stalin is evident in the character of all his affairs. And among Stalin's "affairs", Verechchak gives details on several intrigues of Stalin involving his denunciation of other comrades to the authorities. It is clear that the Stalin School of Falsification has not only a political raison d'être but also a personal origin. The least one can say is: the Moscow trials of Stalin and his latest tool, Yezhov, and the unprecedented, systematic viciousness and calumny which informed them, are of one piece with Stalin's whole record. It is quite in order therefore that Comrade Shachtman should have devoted his Introduction to the question of the recent Trials, calling the roll with cumulative impressiveness of the Bolshevik Old Guard "liquidated" by Stalin. For the Stalin School lays bare both the political and personal contexts from which the Moscow nightmares appeared and exposes the organizational methods that made their execution possible.

an honest man, sent Arkin the same size check that he gave us. You saw no harm in a left wing caucus with its "own dues system, contributions, and membership regulations". You see no harm in it today, for you maintain such a caucus in Mass, today, and make your heavy contributions to it both locally and nationally. So you know we were and are organized legally as a caucus, and have every right to continue. Finally, why were 125 expelled in New York, and eight brought up on charges in Mass. long before either the launching of the Appeal or the decision of the NEC?

On the second page of your letter you say we failed to support the campaign and national office last year. You know that's a lie! The best meeting for Thomas in this section was in Lynn,—arranged by Trotskyists! Thomas told a group of us in Lynn after the campaign that his worst meetings were those arranged by the efficient ashcan-collectors of Wisconsin, and the best in the "Trotskyite" state of California. You know that Altman, your political ally, excluded left wingers from campaign activity. And let your National Secretary, Roy Burt, explain the standing of the states in the Fund Drive, which showed the Trotskyite strongholds at the top of the list, and the LaFollette Socialists at the bottom. The saboteurs were your political allies, who were afraid to fight Roosevelt, as they now fear to fight LaGuardia.

Referendums Sabotaged

Again you lie when you say we "made no effort to start a referendum against the NEC resolution on Spain." It was initiated by Local San Francisco and endorsed by thousands of members, along with another on the gag-rule. And you know that the National Office, NEC and the Call have all refused to take the action made mandatory by the Party Constitution.

Again you lie when you say that "When charges were preferred against individual members for so violating discipline, the locals and branches involved declined to hear the charge." Lynn, Boston Central, and Worcester, gave hours to hearing your charges and found the defendants not guilty. Because they refused to become parties to your bureaucratic, undemocratic wrecking, you use your graveyard majority on the SEC to expel them.

Such frantic dishonesty must have a powerful urge behind it! You admit its nature. You cannot endure our loyalty to three basic principles of revolutionary Socialism: 1.—Dictatorship of the proletariat. 2.—Independent policy in the trade unions. 3.—Independent working class political action. With your customary display of ignorance, you phrase them as follows: 1.—"They rejected democracy under worker's control..." and insisted that dictatorship by one party only, their own, was the road to power." 2.—"... the discredited communist position that it is necessary to drive a wedge between the leadership and membership of unions." 3.—"... further declared that any Farmer-Labor Party is reformist in character and must be opposed as bitterly as the Democratic and Republican parties."

What "democracy under worker's control" means I can't hope

to say. Neither can you,—certainly not until you find out the meaning of democracy. But you could find out the meaning of dictatorship of the proletariat if you could ever bring yourself to read the classics of Marxism, instead of the Nation. It has no resemblance to the fantastic caricature you make of it. But how can I hope to explain this principle to you when you haven't learned the other two?

No Crawling to Bureaucrats

You demand that the party give a blank check to John L. Lewis & Co. in the unions. You started fighting about our opposition to this right after you found that the jobs of some of your supporters might be in danger from certain trade union bureaucrats. You sent out a crawling, bootlicking letter to these same fakers, asking them please to be nice to you, and giving half a dozen examples of good work done by Socialists, most of which were actually done by the Trotskyites, whom you denounce like any stoolpigeon. How quickly the injuries suffered by hundreds of militants in the United Mine Workers from Lewis's thugs, strong-arm men, and cops, have healed! To the man who built one of the most ruthless machines in the labor movement, you would entrust industrial unionism in America! We refuse to sell out. The party must and will fight for militant class struggle policies in the unions, and will never hesitate to criticize the conservative leadership, let the jobs fall where they may!

But in your third complaint against us, the heart of your treacherous campaign is exposed. Rather than waste time on the pious phrases in which you try to bury the truth of your policy, let me bring up its application in practice. Today you and your clique are selling out the SP to cheap politicians like LaGuardia, and demand our consent to the sellout. You have protested that you are not backing LaGuardia, but are backing the ALP. Forgive me if I refer that distinction without a difference to the College of Cardinals, to put beside the dual nature of the Pope. You will give up Socialism to support LaGuardia, author of the NYC sales tax, loyal ally of red-baiter George Harvey, sturdy defender of capitalism and honored guest of Italian Fascist organizations, candidate of the bankers and real-estate men, who demand and get lower taxes at the expense of the workers. You would give us this rotten flunkey of big business as a substitute for socialism! You would do this because you are afraid of the hardships of carrying on the fight for socialism, because you have faith neither in the working class nor in socialist principles, because you are not a socialist.

But you may succeed in expelling the revolutionists. In that case you are welcome to the hodge-podge of muddleheads, pie-card artists, and nineteenth century liberals that will remain. The Party name is only two words. We will defend the honor of that name as long as we can. But if you succeed in your campaign to cover that name with dishonor, revolutionary socialism will carry on under another banner, though you cast aside all principle and even common honesty to destroy it. The revolutionists, the overwhelming majority of the active socialists, are with us. We will build the revolutionary party. We will achieve socialism!