

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Published Weekly as the Organ of the Socialist Party of New York, Left Wing Branches.

Vol. 1. - No. 5.

401

Saturday, September 11, 1937

5 Cents per Copy

## National Executive Committee Sells Out Socialist Party To La Guardia Orders Expulsion of all Revolutionists Forward to a Rank and File Convention to Throw Out the Betrayers and Rebuild the Party on A Revolutionary Basis

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, at its meeting held over the Labor Day weekend, approved the Altman-Thomas motion on the New York City election campaign for the withdrawal of the Socialist candidate for Mayor in order to permit support of the capitalist candidate, La Guardia.

The National Executive Committee coupled its sell-out to La Guardia with a unanimous vote ordering the mass expulsion of every revolutionist from the party.

The policy of Jack Altman, identical in its fundamental political meaning to the policies of the Social-Democratic Federation and of the Stalinists, conquered.

Exactly as we had foretold, the Clarityites on the National Committee crumpled before the drive of the Right Wing, handed the Right Wing a majority on the La Guardia issue, and humbly pledged submission and loyalty to the sell-out. At the same time, with not one single exception, the Clarityites joined hands with this Right Wing of liquidators and betrayers to expel the revolutionary opponents of the sell-out policy.

The demand of left wingers throughout the party for the calling of an emergency convention so that the membership might itself decide the fate of the party was cynically disregarded. The dozens of resolutions, motions, and telegrams, proposing such a convention and protesting the La Guardia sell-out, received from branches, locals, and State organizations, were tossed aside.

These gentlemen of the National Executive Committee had assembled for one task only, and this task they carried out, so far as was in their power: to put an end to independent socialist politics, to head the Socialist party toward the home version of Popular Frontism, and to get rid of all revolutionary opposition to their course.

By their shameful and treacherous decisions, they think they have succeeded in their aim, have solidly yoked independent socialist politics under the People's Front harness, have effectively silenced and smashed the revolutionary opposition.

*But they are mistaken.*

The first smashing answer to these heroes of the committee chamber was given by another meeting, held simultaneously with the meeting of the National Executive Committee: by the Ninth Convention of the Young People's Socialist League. By a proud and overwhelming majority, the Young Socialists repudiated the sell-out policy, solidarized themselves with the revolutionists in the party, and steered boldly on a clear revolutionary course.

The actions of the Labor Day session of the National Executive Committee, coming as a climax to its decisions at the Philadelphia session and the Special Session held in July, are a direct and brazen defiance of the party constitution and statutes, the solemn decisions of the Chicago Convention, and the will of the party membership.

By these actions, therefore, the National Executive Committee has placed itself outside of all party legality, and no longer functions in any sense as representative of the membership. No authority or standing can henceforth be granted the National Executive Committee and its decisions.

The great majority of the active membership of the party has already declared in favor of a Special Convention.

Now is the time to translate words into actions.

*Next on the order of the day in the struggle for revolutionary socialism is the immediate summoning of a genuinely representative convention which will throw out the betrayers and rebuild the party.*

The usurping bureaucrats of the National Executive Committee, hoping to solve all problems behind closed doors, and fearing in the depths of their political cowardice to face the membership, have refused to call a convention.

Very well. Now is the time for the revolutionary branches, locals, and State organizations to assert their rights and fulfill their duties. It is now their imperative task to go over the heads of these usurping bureaucrats, and to call the convention in their own name and in the name of the membership.

There can be no doubt whatever of the outcome. There can be no doubt that whatever

is active, militant, and healthy within the party ranks will rally to this call. What self-respecting militant, what conceivable revolutionary socialist, can for a moment longer pretend to accept the "authority" and "discipline" of a "National Committee" which has now so fully exposed itself as a bare-faced alliance of betrayers with capitulators united on the bitter platform of brutal and reactionary opposition to revolutionary socialism? Who can any longer take seriously a Committee which in reality is no more than a clique, representing nothing but a handful of pacifists, People's Fronters, and Stalinists? The movement has passed this Committee by, and its actions now are no more than the last gasps of its political death rattle. There remains to be performed little more than the funeral oration.

*Likewise there can be no doubt that out of the wreckage left by this unholy alliance there will arise a regenerated revolutionary party, a party resolved and able to carry forward triumphantly the mighty tasks of our day and epoch. What Altman, Thomas, and Tyler have wrecked is not the revolutionary tendency nor its adherents. These emerge stronger, more united, more determined, with ranks enlarged and ideas clarified, against the cringing blows of our opponents. No: it is their own pitiful house of cards which Altman, Thomas, and Tyler are bringing tumbling down about their ears.*

The great goal of a revolutionary party in this country, the party of the victory and triumph of the socialist revolution, born and built in the fire of uncompromising struggle and based on the unshakeable foundation of the mighty principles of revolutionary Marxism, is closer and more assured.

**Down with the La Guardia Socialists!**

**Down with the betrayers and liquidators!**

**Forward to a rank and file Convention and a regenerated revolutionary socialist party!**

# TOWARD THE CONVENTION!

# Left Wing Carries YPSL Convention

## Huge Majority Prevails As Gerrymander Flops

The Young People's Socialist League of America becomes the first organization of the Second International to go over to the banner of the Fourth-Internationalist movement by action of its Ninth National Convention last week-end.

By an overwhelming majority, with a discredited handful of right-wingers and centrists walking out after the failure of their vicious campaign to disrupt the organization, the convention endorsed the Marxist principles for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and enthusiastically laid plans for rooting the YPSL among young workers and all the organizations of youth.

The convention met in Philadelphia from Sept. 3-5. Up to the last day, the "Clarity" maneuverers tried every trick to gerrymander the convention. Falsification of dues records, fantastic apportionment of delegates, invalidation of legitimate elections, sale of dues stamps to Clarity circles on credit—every shady device long known to every labor faker was part of the administration's repertory.

### Frantic Centrists

But even with all this they could not make a majority out of a small minority, and were compelled in a last frantic measure to start expelling the majority two weeks before the Convention. In New York mass expulsions of the left wing Yipsels began for the sole purpose of lopping off a large section of the left wing delegation.

The centrist administration made its last desperate stand at the meeting of the outgoing National Committee. Although the convention had been called for

Thursday, they postponed the opening while their majority on the committee, elected over two years ago, attempted to fix the composition of the convention. But the Committee had to work in the face of a large audience of over a hundred left-wing delegates. That already showed who had the majority of the convention.

The first question the committee took up was for the record—a motion against the endorsement of La Guardia. But when National Chairman Ernest Erber amended it to call also for condemnation of all deals with the A.L.P., for reorganization of Local N. Y. for violation of discipline, and for a democratic City Convention of the Party, the centrists sidestepped by tabling it.

### The Key Questions

The second point was the crucial issue—the expulsion of the N. Y. left wing. It came up as a choice between recognizing the left wing District Committee represented by Hal Draper or the splitters' District Committee led by Barshop, author of the notorious dues-falsification letters. Here the pretext for the expulsion—the sale of the *Socialist Appeal*—was ripped to pieces and the political and organizational bankruptcy of the Clarity group concretely demonstrated, in a lengthy discussion. But by the machine vote of 5-2 (in the very face of the great left wing majority of the convention!), the NEC voted to recognize the Barshop committee, thereby expelling some 250 Yipsels. This job finished, they then adjourned, setting the opening of the convention for 10 A. M. the next morning,

By Hal Draper

National Secretary  
Young Peoples Socialist League

ing, Friday.

They met again in the morning for a "short" session, at the S. P. headquarters, taking up the case of the suspension without a hearing of the California Party. Erber's motion to condemn Ward Rodgers and demand the reinstatement of California, backed up by photostatic evidence of Rodgers criminal charges against the California comrades, was met by a motion to—investigate! This debate took till 12:30. At that late hour, with the convention already more than a day over due and with all the delegates tense for the opening of their convention, the centrists made a motion to adjourn till the afternoon to take up still more credentials!

They backed down on this on our vigorous protest. We demanded that Hamilton present his whole report on credentials so that the situation would be clarified. Hamilton refused to make this elementary report, obviously following the tactic of lopping off one section after another piece-meal. Thereupon Comrade Gould demanded to know whether the Barshop delegation from New York, which was contested, would have the right to vote on its own contest.

### Only Convention Can Decide

It is a longstanding rule that the NEC can seat only uncontested delegations, the convention itself voting on the contests. Obviously any other procedure means the hand-picking of the delegates by the outgoing NEC.

At this moment the question was clearly posed: Was the old NEC going to substitute itself for the Convention? The cen-

trists had gone too far to draw back now. By the same mechanical vote of 5-2, they ruled that Barshop's inflated delegation of 58 (the total number allotted to New York) would vote on whether or not to seat themselves! And since Hamilton refused to present a full credentials report, we did not know in how many other cases this procedure would be repeated.

The NEC had exceeded the limit of its powers. The convention was waiting eagerly to swing into action.

The National Chairman of the League, and by his office chairman of the NEC meeting, Ernest Erber, thereupon declared the meeting adjourned and called the convention to order with the singing of the International. The old headquarters rang with the delegates' response, everyone (including the Clarityites) standing up and joining in. When the clenched fists were down, Hamilton jumped up and called upon his loyal cohorts to walk out with him and go to the Young Women's Christian Association. Gathering up his papers, he led the retreat of about a dozen delegates out of the hall, followed by two individuals named Lazarus Becker and Mendel Mendelson.

### Splitters Exposed

In this way, the splitters made clear to the whole world who are the YPSL. They walked out. They walked out of the S. P. and YPSL headquarters where the convention was being held, to foregather in the more genteel halls of the Y.W.C.A. girls. They walked out, after the National Chairman had opened the convention, in accordance with his duties, long after the time set by the organization. After they walked out, the hall, crowded before, still was crowded to the doorway and the window-sills. And as they walked out, the

walls again resounded to the International, louder than before.

The convention got down to business immediately with the election of Erber and Blackie Palla, West Coast seaman, to the chair, and the election of convention committees. The first sessions took up the political problems around which the pre-convention fight had revolved.

### Convention Decisions

The main resolutions on Spain and on the International question were passed unanimously.

The Spanish resolution, declaring for the struggle of Socialism against Capitalism, set forth the Marxist position for which the left wing in the Socialist Party and League had been fighting.

The International resolution noted the bankruptcy of the two existing Internationals and of the so-called "London Bureau", and declared for the building of a new, Fourth International; the NEC was instructed to carry this out organizationally in collaboration with our party comrades. On the separated question of material aid to the Spanish Government a minority of seven was recorded. A resolution on our student tasks was passed almost unanimously, calling for a left wing movement in the American Student Union to fight against the Stalinist leadership's Peoples Front program: collective security, abandonment of militant strike action and keeping away from labor struggles.

The resolution on the labor party led to a vigorous discussion after which a pro-labor-party resolution received four votes; the minority comrades expressed themselves as gratified by the quality and tone of the debate. The resolution on trade unions puts this work in the forefront of our activities for the coming period, calling for concentration of Yipsels in the basic industries. (Continued on page 5)

## Erber Surveys YPSL Progress In Five Years of Development

By Ernest Erber

National Chairman  
Young Peoples Socialist League

Our Ninth National Convention brought us victory in our long battle to convert our organization into a revolutionary youth movement. The decisiveness of the victory is attested to by the pitifully small number of right wing and centrist delegates who walked out of the convention.

The left wing began the struggle in 1932. The Socialist Youth learned much under the terrific impact of the events in Germany, Austria, and Spain, as well as the growing class struggles in which they themselves participated on the industrial front in America. The program of the left wing continually moved in the direction of greater clarity and became ever more firmly based upon the principles of Marx and Lenin.

The personnel of the group changed in conformity with political development. Only a small core of the leading comrades of

1932 remain at the head of the left wing today. People like Altman, Larks, Smerken, Levenstein, and Gomberg have long since passed over to Stalinism, either during its "third period" insanity or its "fourth period" degeneration, or have found their berth in the American Labor Party or the job of a trade union bureaucrat. Others like Fischer, Fish, Friedman, and others have ended up in the camp of Clarity-Altman.

But as some members of the left wing became stultified in their development and dropped into the various opportunist and centrist channels, new blood was being added from several sources. In 1936, several hundred young revolutionists of the Spartacus Youth League joined the ranks of the left wing. To them goes a great deal of credit for the final stages in the training and development of the young Socialists fighting for a revolutionary program. Other hundreds came to the left wing directly from the struggles led by left wing members of the YPSL, on the industrial and student fields.

The theoretical clarity and organizational experience achieved by the membership during this struggle for a revolutionary or-

ganization was seen in the delegates who attended the convention and the high political level upon which discussion took place. Those who had attended several conventions and national conferences of the Y.P.S.L. could not help commenting again and again, as they scanned the assembled delegates, that this easily marked the most competent and best trained group of young Socialists who had ever gathered in a national meeting. This not only speaks well of work done to develop the membership but, of much greater importance, it indicates the work which such a membership can accomplish in the coming period of mass work.

As one of the group whose record includes participation in every national convention since 1932 and service in various capacities and upon various bodies, I cannot help repeating to the membership of the League what I said to the convention upon accepting re-nomination for National Chairman. I have never yet accepted a post in the movement with such confidence in those who go to make up the leading cadres and membership of the organization. We have come together through a severe struggle that has steeled us and taught us to work together. We now face confidently the task of building and guiding a movement that must establish its place at the head of the working and student youth of this country, to rally them around the banner of the revolutionary movement we are building, to struggle for workers' power and Socialism.

## Leaders Elected by Y.P.S.L. Young in Years, Old in Work

ERNEST ERBER, was re-elected National Chairman, having served in that capacity for the last two years. At the age of 24 Comrade Erber has six years of full-time work in the Socialist movement to his credit. He stood at the extreme left of the Militant caucus during the fight against the Old Guard. In 1934 he was one of the leading members of the Revolutionary Policy Committee. He has served as Editor of the *Challenge of Youth* and the *Young Socialist Review*. The Y.P.S.L. sent him to Europe last year to attend the World Youth Congress at Geneva, and to confer with the leaders of the Socialist youth movements in Spain, France and Belgium.

HAROLD DRAPER is the new National Secretary of the Y.P.S.L. At the age of 23, Draper is known throughout the Socialist movement as one of the ablest of the younger writers and speakers on questions of Marxist theory. He has served the Y.P.S.L. in various capacities since joining in 1933; among his offices was that of Student Director in New York City. He has been a member of the National Executive Committee of the American Student Union since its

inception in 1935. He was the editor of "Out of Their Mouths", a compilation of quotations from Stalinist sources upon their changed line on the war question, which had an international circulation. The Old Guard leadership of local New York attempted to keep him out of the Socialist Party for adherence to the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee which called for a dictatorship of the proletariat.

NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, at the age of 24 has been in the revolutionary movement for 11 years, having joined the Young Pioneers in 1922. He was a member of the Young Communist League from 1928 to 1931, at which time he was expelled for "Trotskyism". He organized the Spartacus Youth League in Chicago the following year, and served upon its National Committee until it entered the Y.P.S.L. He served the S.Y.L. as National Secretary in 1935 and in 1936 he became district secretary of the Chicago Y.P.S.L. The Chicago organization has more than doubled its membership under his leadership. He has been a member of the National Organization Committee since last May.

# "SUPPORTING LA GUARDIA BETRAYS SOCIALISM"

## So Said Clarity, But Accepts NEC Betrayal and Leads Expulsions

Two inter-related questions confronted last week's meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, upon the answer to which depended nothing less than the existence of the organization.

The first was the decision taken by the Thomas-Altman administration in New York to sell out the party to the La Guardia Republican-Fusion machine and the American Labor Party bureaucracy—a decision adopted in violation, not only of the best socialist tradition, but directly in violation of the specific decision almost unanimously adopted by the national party convention in Chicago only six months ago.

The second question was the action taken by the rump City Central Committee of the New York right wing in expelling more than 120 left wingers from the party and, in effect, proscribing from membership all other left wingers—an action involving the expulsion of between 400 and 500 comrades in New York City alone. Together with this came the announcement by the right wing combination of its intention to make a drive for the mass expulsion of all the "Trotskyists" all the supporters of the left wing, throughout the party nationally.

### Two Questions Are One

No half-way intelligent person failed to understand, long before the N.E.C. convened, the inseparable connection between these two questions and their significance for the future of the Socialist Party. The La Guardia proposal simply meant the complete abandonment of the class struggle and the drowning of the S.P. in the morass of class collaboration and People's Frontism.

The mass expulsions of the left wing were the indispensable prerequisite for the carrying out of an abrupt termination of the development of the party towards revolutionary Marxism. It was, so to speak, quite in order that the most vigorous initiators and proponents of the first action should at the same time be the ones who most loudly demanded the second. The victory of the right wing could only mean the end of the Socialist Party.

Even more clearly known than the position of the right wing, was the position of the left. Both these tendencies in the party knew where they stood, what they wanted and how to proceed in order to obtain it. Both of them were perfectly well aware that, while it was still possible to occupy a shabby intermediate position on a number of issues in dispute for the past year or two, on these two life-and-death questions, vitally affecting the immediate action and existence of the party, the choice had to be made: either with the liquidators and traitors, or with the revolutionary Marxists.

### Clarity's "Line"

Only the leaders of the Clarity group sought to maintain, until the very eve of the N.E.C. meeting, that it was still possible to take a position distinct from both these "extremes", who annoyingly insisted that everybody quit straddling; only they could (they said) take a definite, vigorous position which, avoiding the Scylla of "Trotskyist sectarianism" and the Charybdis of brazen reformism, would be "thoroughly Marxist" and, at the same time, prevent a split and preserve party unity. They were especially confident of their im-

pending successes, for was not the N.E.C. "theirs", was it not a "left wing" Committee, was it not the mighty rampart of Marxism which the right wing could never scale?

Let us therefore summarize the results of the N.E.C. meeting. It can be done, and all the political conclusions drawn from it, in the space of a few sentences.

(What did Altman demand? The endorsement of the La Guardia line of the right wing, denounced as a "betrayal of Socialism" by the Clarity leaders.

### Altman's Line Carries

What did Altman get? By a vote of eight to seven, the N.E.C. gave the right wing carte blanche in carrying out their decision not to auction off the S.P. but to hand it to La Guardia and the A.L.P. for nothing.

What did Altman demand? The immediate expulsion of the left wing throughout the country, one and all.

What did Altman get? By a unanimous vote of the "left wing" N.E.C. all the supporters of the SOCIALIST APPEAL are to be expelled throughout the country, forthwith and summarily.

### What This Means

For a person capable of thinking politically, these eight sentences are sufficient to demonstrate the complete victory of the right wing on the decisive questions and to indicate the road back to the Old Guard-Stalinist position which the party is now traveling at a furious pace. Yet, a few additional comments on what happened at the N.E.C. meeting are necessary to illustrate fully the wretched role played by what passes for leadership in the Clarity group; for it is precisely about this leadership that vestigial illusions still remain among some of those in the party who earnestly want to fight the right wing.

### "Betrayal", Said Clarity

The Clarity leaders took a position against the La Guardia policy of the right wing. They even forgot themselves so far as to denounce the right wing policy in the most violent terms.

In their statement as the minority of the New York municipal Campaign Committee (Zam and Delson), they characterized the right wing proposal as "capitulation" and "betrayal" and the right wingers as auctioneers ready to sell the S.P. to the capitalist parties backing La Guardia and to the A.L.P. bureaucracy.

Now these are fairly weighty words, and it might have seemed that they were written down with full knowledge of their importance and their implications. The observer unacquainted with the Clarity leadership would have been further impressed by their repeated declarations that they intended to fight against the sell-out to the bitter end without let-up. Those who, like ourselves, were better acquainted with the centrists, knew that they would not and could not fight the treachery to socialism advocated by the right wing. They could not fight (and by fight we do not mean merely the writing of a resolution!) for the simple reason that nobody can fight a battle if he has decided in advance to capitulate to the enemy. And that is precisely what the Clarity leadership did, and what its whole preceding course indicated it was going to do at the N.E.C. meet-

By Max Shachtman

ing, all bluster and braggadocio to the contrary notwithstanding.

### Clarity Capitulates

It was, therefore, not surprising to the left wing when, after the vote had been cast in favor of La Guardia and the People's Front, the Clarity leaders in the N.E.C., not excluding the Oh so radical Tyler and Trager, announced that they would submit to the decision of the majority.

How touchingly noble! What divine humility! What a gesture of restraint! What a model of discipline!

### Never Serious

The fact of the matter is that the Clarity leaders did not take the fight seriously. After the vote for La Guardia (which, always remember, they call a policy of treason to socialism, nothing less!), did they demand of the N.E.C. a referendum of the national membership on the question? Not at all! Did they demand of the N.E.C. the calling of a special emergency convention to allow the membership to express itself against the sell-out, as it undoubtedly would? Not at all! The Clarity leaders allowed this vital question to be settled bureaucratically, at the top, without demanding that the membership be given the opportunity to intervene. It is true that only an irresponsible group would demand a referendum on every little disputed question, or demand an emergency convention every week in the month. But the question involved in this dispute, if we are to take Clarity's own word for it, is whether or not the principles of socialism shall be betrayed!

### Clarity Leads Expulsions

A far more decisive criterion by which to measure the seriousness of the Clarity leadership's fight against betrayal, is their attitude towards the expulsion of the left wing. The prosecutors who arraigned the left wing at the N.E.C. meeting were not the right wingers, not the Altman and Siegels who appeared against us at the Central Committee of the New York Local. This time the distinction belonged exclusively to the Clarity group. Here they showed their power, their strength, their ability to take the leadership away from the right wing! The sub-committee which brought in the report demanding our expulsion was composed of three Clarity leaders and nobody else: Tyler, McDowell and Krueger. The bureaucratic thoroughness with which the mass expulsion of the left wing nationally was recommended in the sub-committee's report exceeded anything that Altman and Thomas had ever proposed. It was a perfect example of how centrists seek to compensate for their impotence against the right wing by brutality and intolerance toward the left. In three weeks, says the Clarity ukase, which the entire N.E.C. endorsed, every supporter of the Appeal must be expelled from the party, and any local or state organization failing to do so is subject to the same penalty.

Bear in mind, in considering this appalling resolution, the following simple facts:

The whole Clarity leadership had not only denounced the expulsion of the left wing by Altman in New York, but had re-

fused to recognize the authority of the City Central Committee on the grounds that it was illegal. At the N.E.C. meeting, it dropped its pretense of opposition to our expulsion and led the campaign to extend it nationally. "You want to take the Trotskyists out of Altman's grave and put them into the Clarity grave?" asked Lewis. "Yes," replied Krueger. (By the way, is it not a little unwise for the dying to speak of graves in any connection?)

### Confusion Confounded

After denying the appeal of the left wing and voting to expel it, the "Clarity N.E.C." thereupon voted to condemn the Altmanites for having expelled the left wing illegally, by means of a fake two-thirds majority! And if this is not sufficiently senseless, Krueger introduced his motion (which carried!) to condemn the branches which, with Clarity's consent, had refused to recognize the illegal Altman Central Committee. According to Krueger, Altman's Committee was illegal, but the branches that refused to accept its illegality were no less illegal! In this N.E.C., such a series of motions passes for wisdom, forthright leadership and a sane sense of balance.

### Clarity Hypocrisy

The Clarity leaders sought to apologize for themselves by declaring that while we were illegally and wrongly expelled by Altman, we had since violated discipline by publishing the Socialist Appeal and that is why we had to be expelled.

How lame and hypocritical! Let us assume for a moment that the publication of the Appeal is a purely formal question (which it is not, for it was suspended on the basis of an "agreement" that an inner-party discussion organ would be issued and, as is known, that did not appear). How did the N.E.C. in the past deal with the Old Guard, with its repeated and flagrant violations of party discipline, with its publication of a purely factional organ, the New Leader? Were the Old Guardsmen summarily expelled by the N.E.C.? Perish the thought! Month in and month out, every attempt was made to conciliate the Old Guard. Two years of inner-party discussion went on before a single action was taken against the Old Guard or its organ.

### Cowardly Toward Rightists

But you don't understand, dear reader. The Old Guard was the right wing. Faced by the right wing, the centrists crawl and dally and whine and beg and capitulate. Their blood turns to water and their bones to rubber. But face them with a left wing and they promptly become vigorous, militant, aggressive, intolerant, intransigent, full of venom.

We were expelled, you see, for a serious breach of discipline. So say the Clarity leaders. But they also said that the right wing was guilty of a gross breach of discipline in selling out the party to La Guardia's machine a breach compounded with treason. What action did they take or even propose to take against the right wing? None!

In this appeal for the left wing, Shachtman referred to no less than twenty instances of gross violations of party discipline and policy by outstanding right wing leaders: Thomas, Edlin, Valenti, Lasser, Sweetland, Clendenia, Lewis, Raskin, Benson, Altman,

Fox, Laidler, etc., etc. Not a single statement could be challenged; none was. Burt announced that an invitation had been telegraphed to Lasser to attend the N.E.C. meeting to discuss his line and position; Lasser did not even answer. Expelled? Not at all. A sub-committee is promptly appointed (for the 50th time) to visit him in Washington, hat in hand, to "discuss" with him.

### Expulsions Are Political

The conclusion is inescapable: the left wing was expelled for purely political reasons. It was not expelled for violating discipline, but for its political opinions, and above all, because its political views were speedily becoming the views of the majority of the party (the majority of the active party membership is already with us), just as they have already become the views of the majority of the Y.P.S.L.

As for the Clarity leadership, the conclusion is annihilating and irrefutable. When all trifles and details are brushed aside, these basic political facts remain:

They are able to remain in one party and under the discipline of those "who are urging the Socialist Party to turn traitor to socialism" (Zam and Delson in the SOCIALIST REVIEW). They drive out of the party those whom, however "sectarian", they acknowledge to be revolutionarists.

They denounce the right wing as capitulators, as the New Old Guard, as people who "surrender to the trade union bureaucrats," as people guilty of a "betrayal of socialism", and are ready to live happily with this right wing. The left wing—revolutionists, fighters, enemies of the trade union bureaucrats, intransigent socialists—they cannot suffer to stay in the same party.

What respect can one have for those who submit quietly to traitors and expel revolutionists? Twist and squirm as they will, the Clarity leaders will not be allowed to escape an answer to this simple question and the responsibility for the consequences of their policy.

### The Fight Begins!

The N.E.C. meeting is over, but not the fight. The bureaucracy of the right wing and the Clarity clique have made their position transparently and conclusively clear. They have taken their stand. It is now up to the party membership, to the revolutionary militants in the ranks, to speak and to take their position. To stand by silently, is to be an accomplice in the La Guardia betrayal and the expulsion crime. To stand by silently, means to allow the revolutionary socialist movement to be cut to pieces. The Clarity-right wing leadership has already done infinite harm to the cause of socialism. It has almost wrecked the movement, it was charged to lead. Roy Burt reported to the N.E.C. that although a re-registration of 5,000 had been expected (a miserable enough figure!), only 2,000 had re-registered as party members to date. A leadership could not record a greater bankruptcy.

Bankrupts have no place in the leadership. Bankrupts should not be entrusted with the leadership and direction of the movement. The membership of the party will not hesitate for another moment—we are convinced—in uniting around the left wing for the rebuilding of the party on a revolutionary foundation.



# LA GUARDIA'S RECORD: A LACKEY OF CAPITALISM

## Fiorello is Wall Street's Cleverest Candidate But His Record is Damning

In New York at present we behold three candidates zealously bidding for the job of "savior" in, of course, the "democratic" American style.

This trio is unanimous in the pledge to save the municipality for doctrines of Americanism as laid down by the Chamber of Commerce, the American Bankers Association, the various manufacturer's groups and the Daughters of the American Revolution. Broadly speaking, this Americanism stands for "good government", "non-partisan rule", "efficient business administration", and all other forms of legalized robbery and exploitation of the city's population.

One of the well-known aspirants, Royal S. Copeland, has an adequate record to fit him for the job. He is a celebrated quack who aids patent medicine manufacturers, with a "health hints" column in one of the local newspapers. During his years in Washington, he has done everything possible for the public utility interests short of introducing legislation to send all the legislators back to their homes and have the vice-president of the Consolidated Gas and affiliated companies take over the whole parliamentary extravaganza.

### "New Dealer" Mahoney

In Jeremiah T. Mahoney, the Senator has an interesting rival and one whose past is the envy of many a politician who also would like to serve the nation's biggest tax dodgers. As a former Democratic Judge, a Grand Sachem of the Tammany Robbers and a corporation lawyer, Mahoney is a reliable guarantor of the "good government" demanded by Rotary, Lions and Kiwanis clubs.

Yet, in spite of their willingness and their overwhelming ambition, neither of these two aspirants compare in subtlety, cunning and demagoguery to the remaining member of the trio—Hizzoner himself, Fiorello H. La Guardia, Republican, Democratic, Fusionist Communist, "Socialist" Progressive Social Democrat and Independent, one in all and all in one. Here you truly have a combination of parts that has won the admiration and appreciation of bankers, industrialists, merchants and manufacturers from one corner of the land to the other.

### Big Capital Backs La Guardia

It is this striking unity on the part of Wall Street reaction and Stalin's representatives for their "all inclusive" candidate that makes it imperative for every toiler to become familiar with La Guardia's anti-working class record. James Burnham already has written a highly enlightening article on the Mayor and The Socialist Appeal in a previous issue has shown how La Guardia is backed by the Democratic New York Times, semi-official organ of Wall Street, the Republican Herald-Tribune, organ of Liberty League interests, and the Daily Worker, organ of the Stalinist Party. He is also supported by the Daily News of the International Harvester Co., a House of Morgan affiliate, the strike-busting Scripps-Howard newspaper and the yellow journalism of the New York Evening Post.

To La Guardia, the alliance in his behalf of reaction with working class deserters is neither strange nor new.

In the Fall of 1922 La Guardia

sought a seat in Congress on a straight Republican ticket. Once elected, however, he announced himself a "progressive" so that he might array new forces to his support in coming campaigns.

### Fiorello and Tammany

And, as though to prove that he meant what he said, La Guardia took on as one of his first "progressive" tasks a retainer to serve as special counsel for the Tammany administration that was then fleecing the City's treasury. Having of late criticized Tammany politicians for their unshakable habit of making "grabs" of tax-payers' money, would it be too rude to remind La Guardia that he, too, likes to cash in, while the sun shines?

On August 31, 1932, La Guardia collected \$8,508 of taxpayers' money from the Tammany gang at City Hall for "services". On December 14, 1923 he received another check from Tammany officials, this time for a \$2,688.

It must be noted here that during the time he was making these collections from Tammany officials, La Guardia was officially a Republican legislator on the Federal government payroll.

Having wooed both Tammany and the Republicans for a spell with a fair amount of success, La Guardia decided to expand and try-out a new field. Thus, in 1924, he bloomed as a full-fledged "Socialist" and a candidate for Congress on the Old Guard-controlled Socialist Party ticket. But in that campaign Fortune lagged a bit and did not reach Fiorello.

### Ham Fish's Man

In 1926 La Guardia was again in the race for Congress, this time as a good Republican, as a standard bearer of Ham Fish's Party and with the blessing of the Herald-Tribune.

What happened? Ham Fish's party, the Herald-Tribune, the Coolidge administration, the House of Morgan and Fiorello won a smashing victory. The working class candidates were defeated.

### Fiorello Defends Tammany

Back to Congress therefore went La Guardia, with a light heart, a fat salary and still burning with ambition. It was during this session that La Guardia won his chance to tell the world what he thought of Tammany Hall. The occasion was a debate on the floor of the House on March 7, 1926 and Tammany's fair name was taken in vain. The impudent offender was Representative Lewis C. Crampton of Michigan. Whereupon, Fiorello got good and sore. His sense of justice was outraged to the breaking point. He jumped to his feet and this is what he told Congress, gallery spectators, the Congressional Record and the whole darned world:

"Tammany Hall is full of heart and full of human interest. Tammany has done more for the welfare institutions of the great city (New York) in one year than any private foundation with its theories and statistics can do from now until the end of time."

So there you have, in plain, healthy English, the official expression of the Morgan-duPont-Browder-Thomas candidate in regard to Tammany Hall.

### Labor Record

Never before in American history have trade union leaders

By James Casey

thrown the full weight of Organized Labor behind a local candidate for public office as in the case this year of La Guardia. Under the circumstances, it would not be amiss to scan his position in labor matters and thus learn whether he merits this unprecedented action.

One need go no further than to the files of the Daily Worker for the first three years of La Guardia's administration. This was before the inauguration of the People's Front line and the Daily Worker, which is now avidly supporting his candidacy, was not then duty bound to conceal La Guardia's anti-labor record. Week after week, the Stalinist organ covered columns of space to show how he used his police force against demonstrations of jobless and his authority as arbitrator against the trade unions in wage and hour dispute. But his soiled record extends back to even before the issuance of the first number of the Stalinist paper that is now swallowing every word that it has printed against La Guardia in other years.

### Against Postal Workers

In the summer of 1919 when the nation's postal employes were pressing for passage of a bill to increase their wages, La Guardia came out flatly against the measure. On September 6, 1919, he made a sharp attack on the postal workers' bill on the floor of the House. Indeed, the subsequent defeat of this bill was in no small measure due to the demagogic opposition of this "progressive."

His speech on August 30th last which was "played up" in all the city's newspaper and which advised trade unionists "to discipline themselves and not call unnecessary strikes" was a subtle assurance to Big Business that he can be counted on to deal with workers.

It must be borne in mind that La Guardia is not a union man and has never been a member of any trade union. Since 1905 he has served the ruling interests in one public capacity or another. The records show that he has spent not a single day as a bona fide member of the nation's working class.

### Jingoism

But the trade union leaders, who hail him as a labor sympathizer, also herald him as a vigorous opponent of imperialist war. On this point, too, the claims and hopes and election campaign stories run counter to the cold and indisputable record. At the outbreak of the World War, La Guardia left his seat in Congress to enlist as an army aviator.

Soon after leaving for the front La Guardia was sent to Italy to whip up a war hysteria among the nation's more or less apathetic people. La Guardia speaks the Italian language fluently and he went from city to city and from village to village exhorting the citizenry to join in the "war for democracy." So well did he perform his task for the jingoists that he was elevated to the rank of major.

La Guardia returned to America and the "fighter for democracy" was again elected to Congress. One of his first official acts was to vote for a \$150,000,000 aviation building program as advocated by the War Department. La Guardia's sole objection to the

measure was that it did not provide for three brigadier generals as flying officers.

### Aids Fascists

Again, La Guardia is looked upon as an anti-fascist. Wall Street is inordinately happy that Stalinists have chosen anti-fascist slogans to strengthen capitalist "democracy." Much is being made of La Guardia's verbal bouts with the Nazi dictator. But what about La Guardia's attitude toward the barbarous and deadly Mussolini regime? Why are the Stalinists silent? Why is La Guardia silent?

In 1935 when anti-fascist groups were preparing for a Columbus Day demonstration, the fascist forces arranged for a rally at Columbus Circle. La Guardia chose to speak at the fascist rally along with Generoso Pope, publisher of Il Progresso, New York's fascist daily. La Guardia addressed the meeting in spite of protests from liberal and working class circles and anti-fascists, who marched to the scene of the fascist meeting, were clubbed and trampled by the police of La Guardia's "progressive" administration.

Casey's next article will deal with La Guardia supporters).

### 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.

### SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. 1 No. 5 Saturday, September 11th, 1937

Published every week by the Socialist Appeal Pub. Assn.

Published at Room 1609 100 Fifth Avenue, New York

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Bundle orders 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.

All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal.

Application for entry as second class matter is pending.

## Harry Lundeberg is Defended by N.M.U. Sailors Against Slander

By Joe Lookout

The Stalinist slander campaign against Harry Lundeberg, leader of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, received a sharp setback when the Headquarters Branch of the Deck Department of the National Maritime Union voted an investigation of an article in The Pilot, N.M.U. organ.

A nearly unanimous vote of the three hundred members present at the August 31 meeting, ordered an investigation of the writer of the article attacking Lundeberg, and a retraction to be printed if he cannot prove his statements. As a check against similar incidents, the membership also voted that similar articles hereafter not be printed until verified.

"Blackie" Meyers, Stalinist floor-leader, vainly sought to prevent the membership's action. This is the first important defeat

suffered by the Stalinist fraction in the N.M.U.

### Moscow Frameup

The article accused Lundeberg of making a deal with the notorious Joe Ryan, dictator of the longshoremen union on the East coast. The absurdity of this "Moscow frameup" is obvious to the many East Coast sailors who, on trips to the West Coast, have been able to see for themselves that the West Coast sailors, under Lundeberg's leadership, have won superior conditions to those on the East Coast. The contrasts between Lundeberg's militancy and the soft-peddling of the Curran leadership of the N.M.U. was brought home to the sailors during the fight against the Copeland "fink book." The West Coast union prohibited its members from accepting the Copeland book, while Curran made it optional.

## MORE PARTY BODIES FIGHT RIGHT WING

A unanimous vote condemning Ward Rodgers was adopted by the State Action Committee of the Colorado Socialist Party, August 30. The resolution follows:

"According to information received by the State Action Committee, Socialist Party of Colorado, Ward Rodgers, as representative of the N.E.C. of the S.P., USA, has brought criminal proceedings against Comrades Glen Trimble and Al Furth, charging them with theft and embezzlement for their failure to turn over to him property belonging to Local San Francisco, Socialist Party of California.

"Regardless of whether or not, as a last resort, a civil suit to recover possession of party funds or records might be justified under any circumstances, the State Action Committee of the Socialist Party of Colorado un-

qualifiedly condemns the resort to a criminal court in any inner-party controversy."

The resolution is signed by Carl Whitehead, Chairman, and Marjorie McCormick, Secretary.

The Louisville (Kentucky) Local of the Socialist Party has passed the following resolution by a unanimous vote:

"It is hereby resolved that Local Louisville of the Socialist Party goes on record as vigorously opposing the mass expulsions, past and pending, due to political beliefs. We urge the immediate reinstatement of those expelled, the abandonment of this method of procedure in the party, and the restoration of the traditional democracy, the abdication of which we can only view with alarm."

# Spanish Anti-Fascist Movement Slandered by Church Hierarchy

By Felix Morrow

Signed by the Catholic hierarchy of Spain and by Cardinal Goma y Tomas, the Vatican's representative (who could scarcely have acted without the Pope's assent), a vicious attack on the anti-fascist forces, dated July 1, has now been published here (New York Times September 3, and the Catholic press). Its appearance undoubtedly signifies a new and unparalleled campaign by the Catholic Church against the loyalist forces. The task of analysing this document and exposing its downright falsehoods is an elementary duty in the fight against Franco.

The unusually reactionary character of the Spanish Church—a monarchial state institution until 1931—and its flagrant support of every reactionary movement of the last six years has alienated the sympathies of many Catholics—in England, France and America—who have grown up in a church without direct state functions.

Nevertheless, liberal-Catholic sympathy will now, at the least, cease to be articulated, due to direct Vatican support to Franco.

## Must Tell Catholic Worker

The case against the Spanish Church is also a damning indictment of the Church everywhere which backs the Spanish hierarchy. The Loyalist Government, anxious to win the sympathy of Catholics abroad, has made the mistake of minimizing the extent to which the clergy and influential laymen of the church have sided with Franco; the Government has paraded such Catholics who support it, to prove that the Church is not an issue in the civil war. But the Church, as a politico-religious institution, with its army of priests, nuns and monks, is on Franco's side; that fact must be underlined, and the damning reasons given, in order to win to the anti-fascist movement every Catholic worker who can be taught to distinguish between his religious beliefs—to which he is entitled—and the reactionary institution and hierarchy who take advantage of his religious beliefs to align him against his fellow-workers.

## Church Still Hypocritical

The Spanish Episcopate's letter still does not dare to admit the active role which the Church played in supporting Gil Robles' fascist movement, which laid the basis for Franco's, nor the Church's part in preparing the present civil war. Despite the testimony of numerous newspapermen and other neutral observers, who saw the caches of arms seized in churches and the clergy who manned machine-guns in the church towers, the letter merely enters a blanket denial. But it more than makes up for this claim of "neutrality", by its fervent defense of Franco's rebellion.

Responsibility for civil war is blamed on the republic. "Disregarding causes of minor bearing, it was the law-makers of 1931... which persisted in roughly twisting the path of our history.... The laws which developed its spirit were a violent and continuous attack against the national conscience. The rights of God being abolished and the church persecuted...." The republic is especially indicted for the burning of churches in 1931 and February-June, 1936.

What are the real facts? Every period of ferment under

the monarchy since 1812 has been accompanied by widespread burning of churches and killing of clergy. The hierarchy was simply part of the reactionary nobility. As a result, the peasantry burned churches for the same reason that they burned the manorial houses of the landowners: to symbolize their hatred of those who oppressed them. Burning of churches is an old and deeply rooted phenomenon in Spain. It is a lie, when the clergy letter claims that "hatred of religion came from Russia exported by Orientals" (a touch of anti-Semitism?).

## Even Kings Fought Clergy

Even the most Catholic King Carlos III had been compelled to expel the Jesuits in 1767; Joseph Bonaparte had to dissolve the religious orders, and Mendizabel suppressed them in 1835. Even King Alfonso, after the Barcelona revolt of 1909, had to announce that he would "give expression to the public aspirations for the reduction and regulation of the excessive number of religious orders", and would establish religious freedom. Rome, however, changed Alfonso's mind for him. The Church frustrated every attempt to liberalize the regime—the last under the monarchy—in 1923, when it vetoed Premier Alhucemas' proposal to call a constituent Cortes and instead backed Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. To "vote liberal" was inscribed, in the catechism, as "mortal sin" (in 1931).

The Church never ceased its struggle for reaction. The Church burnings of May, 1931, of which the letter complains, were the masses' response to the cardinal-primate's injunction to Catholics to vote against the republicans in the pending elections. The government, far from "surrendering their power to the populace" responded as cruelly as Alfonso, shooting down the workers and declaring martial law until the movement subsided.

## Economic Power of the Church

The reactionary role of the Church was intensified by the fact that it was owner of the largest concentration of capital in Spain. To cover up this fact, the hierarchy's letter says: "We are asked from abroad to say whether it is true that the Church in Spain owned one-third of the national territory.... It is an absurd accusation. The Church did not possess more than a few and insignificant portions of land, presbyteries and schools...." This is what is known as formal denial, which covers up the real truth.

The actual claim made concerning the Church's wealth is that it possessed something like a third of the nation's wealth. And this is a fact. Until 1868 the Church possessed more than a third of the land. The land then taken by the short-lived republic was so generously indemnified by the reaction, that the Church was launched on a career in industry and finance. Its monopolistic "agricultural credit" banks were the usurers of the countryside and its city banks the partners of industrial capitalism. Until 1931 the religious orders conducted regular industrial establishments (flour mill, laundries, sewing, clothing, etc.) with unpaid labor (orphans and "students") competing to great ad-

vantage with private industry. The economic power wielded by the Church can be gauged from the estimate, made in the Cortes in 1931, that the Jesuit order alone possessed one-third of the country's wealth. The lying lawyer's answer of the hierarchy cannot hide these facts.

## The Church Army

One startling fact the hierarchy dare not mention: the vast size of the Church's personnel. In 1931 there were eighty to ninety thousand in 4,000 religious houses of the orders, and over 25,000 parish priests!

The claim that the "rights of God" were abolished and the "Church persecuted" under the 1931 Constitution is sheer falsehood. The "rights of God" may be a euphemism to describe the separation of church and state, since the hierarchy dare not defend too openly its opposition to a principle which the civilized world has so long accepted. The separation was, unfortunately, incomplete. Even government subventions to the clergy did not end with the official declaration of disestablishment, for the clergy continued to receive payments for education; the ousting of the Church from the schools was delayed.

The clerical orders were not to be molested, unless proven, like any other organization, detrimental to the commonweal, and there was a gentleman's agreement that this would apply only to the Jesuits, who were dissolved in January 1932, having been given plenty of opportunity to transfer most of their wealth. This was the sum total of the Government's Church program in 1931. The Church has not the flimsiest case for complaint. On the contrary, it is the masses who must complain, since by its leniency toward the Church, the government left its power intact, and the Church used it against the republic and the workers.

## Popular Front Leaves Church untouched

Even after the Church's alliance with Gil Robles in the "two black years" of 1931-1935, the Popular Front Government, assuming control of February, 1936, left the Church unscathed. Only its program on education affected the Church: the Popular Front was pledged to "impel with the same rhythm as in the first years of the Republic the creation of primary schools...." But that rhythm had scarcely touched the Church's unwarranted privileges in education.

The clergy repeat Franco's poppycock about Russia and the Spanish Communists "preparing for the breaking out of a revolution which could be predicted nearly at a fixed period," that on February 27 "the Russian Comintern resolved to decree the Spanish Revolution" and on May day, "hundreds of young people clamored openly in Madrid for bombs and pistols, powder and dynamite for the coming revolution," and that 150,000 armed shock troops and 100,000 reserves were prepared.

The truth unfortunately, is that the Stalinists had abandoned the perspective of revolution altogether, and that the working-class as a whole was unarmed and unprepared for the fascist rebellion. As for the circumstantial bit of detail about the youth on May day, it is curious that it now appears for the first time;

# Y. P. S. L. Convention Organizes for Work

(Continued from page 2)

tries, and provides for surveys and placement drives by the N. E. C. A number of other resolutions were more briefly considered and referred to the incoming National Committee. The age limit for new members was set at 23.

## Workingclass Delegates

The outstanding fact about the convention, other than its directly political significance, was its composition. No other Socialist convention has approached it in its unmistakable demonstration of the existence of a really national movement (and a strong proletarian base) with firm connections with the mass movement. Some facts:

There were 104 delegates, only 29 of whom were from New York City. This proportion is itself unprecedented in the YPSL. It may be compared to the Clarity-Right-Wing rump "convention" in Philadelphia, with about 60 per cent New Yorkers (who represented fewer members than our New York delegation!). It may be compared with the recent convention of the Young Communist League, where over 40% were from N. Y.

## From Coast to Coast

The rest of the delegates were from centers of Young Socialist activity from coast to coast. (There were about 25 "out-of-town" delegates at the Clarity consolation party, including about a dozen or more from Philadelphia alone). Several of our California delegations were unable to come because of their inability to get away from their Socialist work; the delegation of ten Californians, however, gave an excellent cross-section of their work, including three seamen, a young Mexican agriculture worker, Fred Martinez, representing a circle recruited entirely from this field, and other mass workers. Delegations came also from Chicago, Akron, Youngstown, Cleveland, Boston, New Haven, Lynn, Syracuse, Ithaca, Rochester, Albany, Reading, Newark, Philadelphia, Louisville, Detroit, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Eastern Pennsylvania, Indiana Harbor, etc.

There were 65 young workers among the delegates, the large majority active in their trade unions and unemployed organizations. Among them were three seamen; six C.I.O. organizers; three foodworkers; six W.P.A. unionists; two auto workers;

Martinez for the agricultural workers; Ed Parker representing a circle made up entirely of young steel workers in the Chicago area; representatives also of the electrical and radio field; pocketbook workers; stenographers unions; truckdrivers, and others. Two delegates, out on bail, were facing jail sentences as a result of class-struggle activity—Ed. Parker indicted for inciting to riot and a comrade from California for beating up a scab.

## Morale High

Nothing could exceed the unbounded enthusiasm and spirit of the delegates. On Thursday morning, while waiting for the NEC meeting to begin, the hall-full of delegates put on a spontaneous amateur show, with original and topical songs and imitations.

Comrade Cannon's address at the left wing conference preceding the convention met with a resounding reception. At the moment when the Clarityites shambled out of the hall, enthusiasm reached its height. Every last delegate at the completion of the convention, inspired, went back to his locality to build a mass League on the basis laid down by the convention.

## Erber Re-Elected

By unanimous vote of the convention, Ernest Erber of Chicago was re-elected National Chairman. The new National Executive Committee was voted by acclamation to stand as follows: Frank Demby, Hal Draper, Eleanor Fine, Manny Garrett, Anne Kracik, Oscar Schoenfeld, (New York); Yetta Barsh, Irving Bern, Nate Gould, (Chicago); Paula Aragon, Frank Ricco, Howard Rosen, Ray Sparrow (Calif.); Tarmo Hannula (Mass.); Al Lowenthal (Newark); Bob Stiller (Ohio); Alex Wollod (Phila.) The alternates are: Ben Alexander (Upstate N. Y.); Bill Brody (Minn.); Irving Howe (New York); Fred Martinez (Calif.); Paul Mendelson (Newark); Saul Picquet (Chicago); Les Reid (Youngstown, Ohio).

The national officers will be, in addition to National Chairman Erber: National Secretary—Hal Draper; National Organizer—Nate Gould, Editor of the official organ of the League—Manny Garrett; National Student Director—Anne Kracik; Educational Director—Frank Demby. A National

(Continued on page 6)

## Damning Evidence

Yet the priests have blundered. For, imbedded in their letter, is a damning admission of Franco's mass executions of prisoners and workers. It is introduced by the priests, boastfully, to prove that atheism is not deep-rooted. Actually it proves that religious, Catholic workers, fought against the fascist rebellion. "When they were dying under the sanctions of the law, our Communists have been reconciled in their vast majority to the God of their fathers. In Majorca, only 2 per cent have died impenitent in the southern regions no more than 20%; and in the north they do not reach, perhaps, 10%." After this testimony from their own mouths, what becomes of their drivel about "hatred of religion came from Russia"?

The letter of the Spanish Episcopate is contemptible in its hypocrisy, crooked in its facts, revolting in its social outlook. I have touched upon only a few of its more important falsehoods. These must be pointed out to Catholic workers.

it is not to be found in the conservative press stories of that week! To speak less politely: the reverend fathers have constructed a pack of lies.

The most impudent sections of the letter are those dealing with atrocities. Fantastic claims are made against the loyalists, including a daintily-worded charge of wholesale rape: "The honor of women has not been respected, not even of those consecrated to God." Proofs? None, of course.

But Franco's vast and witnessed record of murdering—the tens of thousands executed in the bull-ring of Badajoz, the bombardment of unarmed people as at Guernica, etc. etc.—of this terrible story the priests blandly say: "Rejecting in the name of justice and of Christian charity every excess which may have been committed by error or by subordinates.... we affirm that there is an enormous and unbridgeable distance between the principles of justice, of its administration and of its application, on the one side and on the other."



# PROGRESSIVE LEADERS BUILD N. W. LABOR MOVEMENT

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 3.—Written almost on the third anniversary of the triumphant 1934 strike of the General Drivers Union in Minneapolis, this article will picture briefly for trade union militants of America the progress and growth of the labor movement in this section for the past six months.

In contrast to the early days of the rise of progressive trade unionists to power locally, studded with spectacular strikes, the past half year has been more or less one of steady but relatively quiet growth. Many thousands of new workers, in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and North and South Dakota have been enrolled in the movement for the first time. The spearhead of the organization campaign has been the North Central District Drivers Council, organized one year ago on the initiative of the leaders of General Drivers Local 544 in Minneapolis.

At the present time there are over 20,000 members, working in five states, enrolled in this Drivers Council. Locals have been revived and strengthened, other locals have been set up, in about 20 cities. Today, there are General Drivers Locals, affiliates of the Council, functioning in Austin, Albert Lea, Duluth, Eau Claire (Wis.), Fargo (N. Dakota), Grand Forks (N. D.), Mankato, Minneapolis, Minot (N. D.), St. Cloud, St. Paul, Superior (Wis.), Brainerd, Watertown (S. D.), Mason City (Iowa), Winona, Faribault, Waseca, etc. In every community, working conditions have been bettered, union contracts have been won.

### Strike Weapon Used

At times, the strike weapon has cracked the necks of the bosses. In June, the road construction workers in Minot, members of General Drivers Local 74, won their strike. An exceedingly important struggle took place in July, when on the first day of the month over 800 members of General Drivers Local 120 in St. Paul won an 8-day strike, gaining every demand, and equalizing wage scales in the driving industry of the Twin Cities.

During the struggle, Bill Brown, president of Local 544 in

Minneapolis, was arrested on charges of "highway robbery," placed against him after a scab truck had been damaged. While the charges were pending, 83 delegates of the North Central District Drivers Council met at their quarterly meeting in Duluth and resolved to call a 48-hour general protest strike in four states if Brown were convicted.

Had the strike occurred, it would have been the first political strike of this character in America. The bosses backed down before the threat, however, and on July 26 Judge Clayton Parker dismissed the case against Brown. Prior to the strike threat, information leaked out that the St. Paul employers were determined to railroad Brown to prison, as an example and a warning to progressive labor leaders to stay out of that city.

### Ness-Belov Honored

On Sunday, July 13, hundreds of Minneapolis workers gathered in a parade and demonstration in honor of the memory of Ness and Belov, the two workers murdered by Minneapolis police in the 1934 strikes.

Minor strikes were called during the hot July-August days. On July 19, the milk drivers of Minot walked out and one week later won their demands. Local 544 won a short strike of the heavy hardware workers in Minneapolis. Drivers in Mankato, Minn., struck July 22, and won in 48-hours. The drivers in Eau Claire, Wis., struck on Aug. 3; one day later, they had a splendid contract, calling for wage increases of 15-25 percent, a week's vacation with pay, etc. Cab drivers in Minot went out Aug. 11, and are still carrying on a militant struggle. Ice, coal, transfer and lumber drivers of Winona struck on Aug. 23, and two days later won a victory for 250 men.

In Minneapolis, the General Drivers managed to win working agreements granting wage increases and better working conditions for thousands of workers in many sections—spring water, heavy hardware, market, lumber, package delivery, sand and gravel, excavating, etc. The wage level for drivers is around 75c here at present, compared with the 20c-40c hourly wage in 1934

prior to the rise of the General Drivers Union.

### Whole Movement Advances

The steady progress of the workers in the driving crafts has naturally stimulated unionization in other industries. Other locals, following the progressive policies of the drivers, have won important victories during this period. On March 3, the utility section of Electrical Workers Local 292 in Minneapolis, won a short strike against the Northern States Power Company, gaining union recognition, wage increases, etc. A comparative newcomer, the Warehouse and Inside Workers Local 20316, has gained union contracts at the B. F. Nelson plant, the Buzza plant (through a strike), Butler Brothers, Sears, Roebuck (by strike), Jenny, Semple, Hill, etc.

On May 27, the Gas Workers Union Local 20490 climaxed a year's organization campaign by winning a closed shop contract from the Minneapolis Gas Light Company, gaining seniority, paid vacations and wage increases averaging 19 percent. Miles Dunne was loaned to the gas workers during this successful campaign.

The Woodenware Workers Local 1859, under progressive leadership, has grown into a powerful body. Delegates of the union recently attended a meeting in Oshkosh, Wis., of the Midwest Advisory Conference of Furniture and Woodenware Workers, at which 125 delegates from half a dozen northwest states set up a regional conference along the lines of the Drivers Council.

This, in the briefest possible manner, completes the picture of union developments here since March. It is not hard to see why Minneapolis is today recognized (by both government labor bureaus and union officials) as "the best organized city in America." The seed of militant trade unionism planted in 1934 has been nourished along, and has grown to a mighty oak, casting its welcome shade over five states, and so firmly rooted in the working class that not all the onslaughts of the bosses, the blows of reactionary labor officials nor the machination of the Stalinists have prevailed against it.

# LA GUARDIA ATTACKS MILITANT UNIONISM

NEW YORK. Fiorello La Guardia is now proceeding to make plain just what kind of "labor candidate" he is. Until he had sewed up all of the important labor bureaucracy he kept fairly quiet; but with that done he feels freer to speak his mind.

Two recent addresses, one at the convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the other delivered to a rally of Local 3 of the Electrical Workers, are the most revealing. They read very much like editorials from the New York Times, outstanding spokesman of the pro-LaGuardia movement. Especially is the Mayor at pains to insist that he "does not take sides" in labor disputes. "Although strike situations tend to become complex and confused," he told the electrical workers, "the city authorities throughout are sworn to safeguard the rights of all concerned, whether it be the strikers, the employers against whom the strike is conducted, his customers, the employees who refuse to strike..."

In both speeches, he stressed the point which is being hammered home by the reactionary press throughout the country: "The new rights and powers accorded labor require increasing responsibility..." "Misguided policy, excessive zeal or lack of discipline, leading to unruly demonstrations, minor riots, breaches of the peace or disorders extensive enough to become a nuisance to the public, can only lead to a strengthening of movements, always active, to curtail the rights of labor..." (speech to Local 3).

The half-veiled threat in the last statement means, in plain language, an order to the bureaucrats to keep the workers yoked firmly in the harness of class collaboration or face the whip of

repression from the hand of the Mayor himself.

The bureaucrats evidently understand very well what is required. For example, the Transport Workers Union is dropping its efforts to gain recognition on the City-owned Independent Subway System, where the Union has a substantial majority, until after the elections, in order not to "embarrass" the Mayor. It would, of course, be a great error to expect "labor's candidate" to take a stand on the side of labor. At the same time, the Union has stopped pressing for a formal agreement with the B. M. T. Subway system—where the Union has already overwhelmingly won a Labor Board election. To go ahead might mean a strike; and, comments the Times, "such a strike... would place the City Administration, definitely recognized as friendly to organized labor, in a position where it might have to make the delicate choice between alienating labor support by rigid insistence that transit service go on as usual or antagonizing large sections of the public by real or seeming partiality to the cause of striking transportation workers."

Meanwhile, La Guardia has flung off his earlier coyness about accepting nomination on the Republican ticket. His hat is well into the ring for the September 16th primaries. He has accepted an invitation to speak at a luncheon of the Women's Republican Club on the 13th, where he will put an end to all doubts, and where he is expected to announce his support of the arch-Republicans, McGoldrick and Morris, as his running mates.

The Mayor gives Thomas and Browder a lot to swallow; but they apparently have iron digestions.

# Colorado Party Leader Charges Tyler Factional

By Paul S. McCormick

The role of factionalism on the part of Clarityites occupying official positions in the party is no better exemplified than in the case of Gus Tyler, N. E. C. alternate and editor of the Socialist Call.

Immediately after the Colorado convention of the Socialist Party on June 13, the complete minutes and a tentative news story was sent to the Call. Three weeks passed and not the briefest notice was given. Then comrades from Colorado, San Francisco, Chicago, Kansas, New York and other parts of the country began writing to the Call asking for an explanation.

The State Action Committee of the Socialist Party of Colorado officially denounced the Call editorship for factionalism and discrimination against the left wing of the party. Still no notice of the convention in the Call and still no reply whatever from Tyler. Frank Trager was appealed to, and as National Labor Secretary of the Party and an N.E.C. member, he wrote Tyler asking for an explanation and requesting a copy of the same he sent to the Colorado comrades. Trager's letter was sent weeks ago, and still silence from Tyler.

### Why Tyler Suppressed It

Why this flat refusal to print news from left wing sections of the party and why the uncomradely and discourteous attitude on the part of Tyler? Because the Colorado convention declared itself unanimously for the Fourth International, condemned a labor party, and attacked the N.E.C. resolution adopted at Philadelphia on Spain.

James O Neal, as editor of the New Leader, usually published party news from various sections of the country even though he was not in agreement with it, reserving his editorial column for personal criticism. For instance, he printed notice in 1933 of a resolution adopted by Local Denver calling for the formation of the Fourth International. If O Neal could be brought back into the party and made editor of the Socialist Call, as far as democracy of news selection is concerned, it would be a step forward.

Glen Trimble of California has been seriously reprimanded by the National Action Committee and threatened with disciplinary action for accusing Tyler of factionalism in his editorship. I am herewith submitting my two bits' worth of evidence in support of Trimble.

# YPSL Convention Organizes For Work

(Continued from page 5)

tional Bureau of seven was set up in New York City, the new national headquarters, consisting of: Erber, Draper, Gould, Garrett, Kracik, Demby, plus a representative of the party.

The temporary Headquarters of the League are at 22 East 17th Street, N. Y. C. All circles and correspondents are to get in touch with the secretary at that address.

### Program Mass Work

Finishing with the feeble disruptive efforts of the centrists, the convention turned its face toward the future. After a preliminary tightening up of the organization through re-registration, and reorganization wherever necessary, an extensive program of action will be undertaken.

We will place groups of comrades in the fields of the basic industries, to organize the indispensable working class base of the League.

Field organizers will be assigned to important centers throughout the country.

The Spanish situation will be centered in our propaganda. A special program of activity on this point is to be worked out by the NEC.

For the present at least one popular pamphlet will be published in the immediate period: four district schools in four states will be set up; regular educational outlines will be issued, including specific attention to the radicalized youth around the Stalinists.

At the same time, our student comrades will begin the campaign for a militant program for the American Student Union through the organization of left-wing sentiment in the organization.

All this, and the rest of the program of action, is to be coordinated through national tours to be made by Erber and Gould, covering the entire country; and pointed toward results in a national membership drive.

### Great Future

The possibilities of mass work that open up before the League are almost unlimited. Everywhere, throughout the country, the youth comrades have already turned their minds away from the recent unpleasantness to turn their eyes toward building a mass young Socialist movement in America.

History places tremendous responsibilities upon us, not only as the only revolutionary force in this country, but internationally as the largest youth organization lined up with the movement for the Fourth International. Now, when the regroupment of the revolutionary socialists may coincide with the outbreak of the second World War, when the fate of the Spanish revolution and the preservation and extension of the Soviet October depends more clearly than ever on the revolutionary organization of the workers of the world, when even the most radical representatives of centrism have sold out to the capitalist politicians through Roosevelt or La Guardia, the Young Socialists of America raise high the banner of Marxism.

FORWARD!

# How G.P.U. Hounds Revolutionists

## Old Bolshevik, Tarov, Escapes, Testifies to Inquiry Commission

The author of these lines was born on November 7, 1889, in Shusha in Transcaucasia. The son of a mason, he was a worker, a mechanic by trade. He began his political activity at the age of eighteen, in 1917, when he entered the Bolshevik Communist Party. He took part in the Civil War in the ranks of the Red Army until 1921. After the Civil War, he worked in the party apparatus.

In 1923, the party sent him to the Transcaucasian Communist University. In 1925, he was expelled from the University as a Left Oppositionist for his active struggle against the Rightists and Centrists. He continued to work in the party, occupying rather important posts (as secretary of local party committees, as instructor-organizer of party organizations, as secretary of the press department of the Central Committee, etc. In 1927 he was expelled from the party for oppositionist activities.

### Arrest, Deportation

On September 19, 1928, he was arrested for his opposition work at Erivan, whence he was transferred to Tiflis. After three months in prison, he was deported to Akmolinsk in Siberia. On January 22, 1931, he was again arrested, in exile, for oppositionist work and sentenced to three years imprisonment in a G.P.U. "isolator". He served these three years in the isolator of Verkhne-Uralsk.

### Deportation and Escape

After completing his sentence, in 1934, he was deported to Andijan in Central Asia, whence after five months he escaped abroad to Persia. He was imprisoned by the Persian police. After a month's imprisonment in the Tabriz jail, he was freed, owing to a major flood that overflowed in all the police and prison build-

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A living witness and a direct participant in the struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition against the Rightists and Centrists, the author of these lines hopes that his testimony will be useful to the Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials.

### The Soviet Worker is Not Free

I cannot refrain from saying of all at least a few words on the fact that the workers are not free in the U.S.S.R. There was a time, when Lenin was alive, when they were free. Now they are not. If the worker does not hold his tongue, no qualification will avail him. He will quickly find himself in the street. In the U.S.S.R. there are many unemployed, although they are not considered as such. They are unemployed, not because there is no work, but because the bureaucracy will not give them work and all industry is in the hands of the State. In recent years, hundreds of thousands of men have been expelled from the party, and the immense majority of them are without work. By such means the bureaucracy keeps the working class shackled. The worker dare not say a single word against the apparatus, against the regime.

But that is not all. The worker is obliged not to keep silent; at meetings he must speak and side with the leadership—with the director, the committee, the union bureaucrat, and naturally the higher leadership; nobody dares "gossip", that is to say, speak of the faults of the institution employing him and of its heads, or express his opinion in the intimate circle of his comrades or at home.

But this also does not suffice. If the worker hears any kind of "gossip" he must report it immediately to his superiors. Otherwise he will be considered an accomplice, a double-dealer, a suspect, traitor terrorist, Trotskyist, etc. Neither his skill nor his work will then any longer avail him. At best, he will be dismissed from his job and will have to travel throughout the country in search of other work. If, after long suffering, he finds some, he will not be able to receive wages corresponding to his skill, for he is on the blacklist as a "disrupter"; the local bureaucracy will consider him suspect from the beginning.

Every shop has its "stool". Generally these stool pigeons are not workers, but students, sons of minor functionaries. The sons of the important functionaries play the role of spy in the institutions of the party and the Soviets, in the trade unions and economic organizations, in the educational institutions and the army. They are attached to these institutions as learners, students, instructors, etc. But obviously there are also stool pigeons who have come from the working class, those who have succeeded in obtaining some share of the secret funds. At present these spies constitute one of the essential props of the Stalin regime. The whole Soviet population is terrorized by a network of such stool pigeons. In the U.S.S.R. a man is not only forbidden to speak, but he dare not even think.

### Why the Opposition Functioned Underground

In the discussion meetings (1926-1927), the members of the apparatus generally occupied the seats around the praesidium. The praesidium was not elected; it was appointed in advance. It was always one of the most important functionaries, the secretary, the

director, the head of the G.P.U., or someone of the sort, who served as the chairman of the praesidium. When in 1927, at a general membership meeting in the city of Erivan, one of the participants, Comrade D., opposed the official reporter, the chairman of the meeting immediately silenced him. How dare he speak against the "authoritative" reporter! After that, all those who had placed their names on the speakers' list refused to take the floor. Two weeks later, Comrade D. was expelled from the party and dismissed from his job.

In 1927, in the same city, one of the nuclei elected the Oppositionist Gazarian to the party congress. The political bureau of the Central Committee at once sent Gazarian into the outlying district, and ordered the nucleus to revoke its decision. A supporter of the C.C. went to the congress as a delegate. This is a minor incident. Similar cases can be cited by the thousands.

Such were the conditions everywhere, for the Opposition, in the struggle inside the party. Expulsion from the party, dismissal, arrest, and exile. It was precisely this situation that compelled the Opposition to go underground.

### How the G.P.U. Extorts Capitulations

The extortion of false testimony under the threats of cruel measures began a long time ago, at least ten years ago. If that is now being done in the cells of the G.P.U. prisons, in 1924-1929 it was in the office of the party committees and control commissions.

In 1927, the Opposition Guloyan, now chairman of the C.E.C. of one of the Soviet Republics, was expelled from the party and dismissed from his job on the charge of having stolen 500 rubles from the treasury of the

local committee, of which he was secretary. Guloyan then declared that he was leaving the Opposition, and betrayed all his comrades. The party leadership revoked its charge of theft, and promoted him first to the rank of chairman of the control commission and then to that of chairman of the C.E.C. of the Republic.

But hundreds and thousands of Oppositionists who did not yield to this kind of "training" had to suffer in prisons and concentration camps; their wives and children were doomed to hunger and death. From among these thousands of men, I should like to mention the following Oppositionists: Krapivsky, Popov, Boltoboy Vanush, the machinist Tatekhsian, the locksmith Gornilov, and thousands of others who had three, four, or five, and sometimes more, small children. Each of these was the sole support of his family. After arresting them, the Stalinist apparatus deprived their wives and children of all civil rights.

There were Oppositionists who, frightened by arrests and repressions, wished to leave the Opposition quietly and abandon politics. But the apparatus did not let them off so easily. It demanded that they capitulate, that they betray their comrades with whom they had worked in the Opposition. Many of the capitulators consented to do so, as did the above-mentioned Guloyan, Radek, and others. For this they were rewarded by the Stalinist apparatus with soft jobs. But there were also capitulators who absolutely refused to become traitors. In the offices of the central committees and control commissions, they were threatened that unless they agreed to betray their comrades they would be accused of crimes that would blacken them in the eyes of the masses, that they would be hand-

(Continued on page 8)

OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY  
 Warrant and Bond Department  
 HALL OF JUSTICE  
 Kearny and Washington Streets  
 San Francisco, Aug 21 1937

M. Glen Trumble  
116 E. 4th Street

Dear Mr. Trumble:

Kindly call at this office on the 27th day of August 1937, at 11 o'clock A.M., relative to a complaint which has been made against you by Mark Rodgers, No. 5527 Broadway Street.

on a charge of Left Wing Conspiracy

It is the direction of the District Attorney that you be given an opportunity to present the facts as you understand them before final action is taken. In this way no injustice will be done to either party.

In the event you do not appear at said time, we shall assume that the facts as stated by complainant are correct.

[Signature]  
 Assistant Warrant and Bond Deputy

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(Continued on page 8)

District Attorney 1824

OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY  
Warrant and Bond Department  
HALL OF JUSTICE  
Kearny and Washington Streets  
San Francisco, Aug 21 1937

M. Glen Frimble  
1118 Gough Street

Dear Sir:

Kindly call at this office on the 27<sup>th</sup> day of August 1937, at 11 o'clock P.M., relative to a complaint which has been made against you by Ward Rodgers, No. 5537 San Francisco Street, on a charge of Theft of Property.

It is the direction of the District Attorney that you be given an opportunity to present the facts as you understand them before final action is taken. In this way no injustice will be done to either party.

In the event you do not appear at said time, we shall assume that the facts as stated by complainant are correct.

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# Teachers Convention Adopts CIO Referendum, Organizing Plan

The problem of the CIO was the outstanding issue of the 21st Convention of the American Federation of Teachers held at Madison, Wisconsin, August 23-27, 1937.

At its 1936 convention, the AFT had expressed its adherence to the principles of industrial unionism, protested the suspension of the CIO unions by the Executive Council of the AFL and called for the unification of the labor movement. The New York and Philadelphia delegations, coming to this convention with resolutions for immediate affiliation, found themselves opposed by the Chicago delegation which pressed just as firmly for retaining the present AFL affiliation.

## Move Toward CIO

While the question of immediate affiliation was not put forward at the convention, a resolution was passed which marks an advance of the Federation in the direction of affiliation to the CIO. This resolution provides for:

1. Reaffirmation of its previous endorsement of the principles of industrial unionism;
2. A referendum of the membership on the question of affiliation to the CIO, to be held at the discretion of the Executive Council not before February, 1938;
3. An investigation, prior to the referendum, of the structure, dues, contracts, autonomy, etc., of the CIO in its relation to labor and the significance to the AFT of CIO affiliation in regard to organizational campaign, national and local legislative campaigns and its general program as a CIO affiliate;
4. Protest against the suspension of CIO unions by the Executive Council of the AFL;
5. Refusal to pay the special per capita tax proposed by the Cincinnati conference of the AFL;
6. The introduction of a resolution into the 1937 convention of the AFL, calling for a conference of all bona fide unions, AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and genuine independent unions, for the purpose of unifying the American labor movement.

The minority resolution called for postponement of the whole question until the 1938 convention, where delegates would come specifically instructed for or against affiliation. The majority resolution carried by a vote of 285 to 227.

## Convention Pro CIO

The general sentiment of the convention was one of sympathy for the CIO. This was shown very clearly in the vote for Jerome Davis for president. In his opening speech, Davis very decidedly set the tone for the convention in favor of the CIO. He was elected by a vote of 321 as against 183 cast for George Stillman of Chicago, the candidate of the anti-affiliation bloc.

However, a large number of delegates pressed for continuing AFL affiliation because of local conditions, such as dependence upon AFL central bodies for support of teacher legislation, the absence in many localities of any CIO bodies to work with, the danger of upsetting campaigns for election of pro-labor school boards by the injection of the CIO-AFL controversy and the general fear that the "average" teacher would be afraid to join a CIO union. It was in view of these local problems that the CIO forces agreed to the referendum rather than press for immediate affiliation.

## Three Rival Groups

The convention forces fall roughly into three groups struggling for control: The Chicago group which, due to the amalgamation of the locals in Chicago and an attendant upsurge in organizational work sent a larger delegation than ever before; the New York-Philadelphia group, including the large WPA local of New York, which, with a scattered support from the rest of the country, especially the West Coast, constituted about one fourth of the convention; and between them, acting as the balance of power, the large Ohio delegation which wavers between support of Chicago and support of New York. On the CIO question the Ohio delegation split, accounting for the close vote on the resolution.

The Chicago delegates, together with more than half of the Ohio delegation represent, in the main, the conservative elements of the Federation. Strictly speaking the AFT has no reactionary elements, with the exception of a few individuals who represent only themselves.

The conservatives resent the New York "radical" line—they wish to remain a staid professional organization and organize teachers on a purely "union" basis, keep on good terms with their local central trades bodies and not seem too radical for what they call the "average" teacher. They believe that it is unnecessary, and even dangerous, to bring up such issues as War and Fascism, Spain and independent political action too sharply. However, when obliged to decide on these issues, they usually—and much to their own surprise—find that they have no real disagreements with the present line of the "radical" New York-Philadelphia group.

## Peoples Fronters

The New York-Philadelphia group, with the exception of a small minority in Local No. 5, represent the present line of Stalinism. In the AFT, as in other trade unions, it has but one aim—to gain organizational control by whatever means possible in order to add one more organization to the building of a People's Front in the United States. They straddled the CIO issue last year, and, although in control of the American Teacher, official organ of the AFT, engaged in practically no educational work to further CIO affiliation.

On the issues of War and Fascism, they find themselves in complete agreement with the liberal and conservative forces. On the question of independent political action, they accepted without a word of criticism the resolution of the Milwaukee local calling for the building of Farmer-Labor-Progressive movements in the various States which will include the "Progressive" (pro-New Deal) sections of the Democratic and Republican parties. Why should they criticize? It is their line.

Mary Grossman, in the Legislative Report, says: "I trust rather than in the looming split in the Democratic Party, we will take our place with the progressive forces against the reactionaries so that we may see this new year the birth of a party—let it be named what it will—that will represent truly the farmer-labor power of our country. Let us repudiate at the next election those who have betrayed us, no matter what

their formal political tinge, and support those who have battled side by side with us for measures that would insure our industrial democracy." In other words, the old outworn AFL policy of reward your friends and punish your enemies.

## Main Fight Organizational

The real fight of the New York-Philadelphia group took place on the questions of organizational control. Their crude attempt to force the convention "by a show of hands" to freeze their control of the American Teacher for another year raised so much resentment that they were forced to agree finally to a motion to refer the whole matter to the Executive Council.

They were determined to elect to the WPA vice-presidency a candidate whom they could control completely and for that reason criminally confused the real issue before the convention: a campaign for a federal system of adult education which would absorb and make permanent the WPA teaching projects and open a tremendous field for many more unemployed teachers than WPA could possibly employ under the present precarious set-up. In spite of a solid bloc of about 125 delegates, they received a decided set-back as far as these two questions were concerned.

It is interesting to note that the expression of minority opposition in the New York City delegation was a decided thorn in the side of the leadership of the C.P. bloc and we may expect a decisive move against proportional representation in Local No. 5 this coming year, such as was carried out prior to the convention in WPA Local No. 453.

## Socialist Role

The Socialist forces in this convention were small. However, they played a role entirely out of proportion to their actual numbers. On organizational matters particularly, the strategy of Maynard Krueger with the Chicago and Ohio groups resulted in swinging toward Socialist candidates the support of those groups who were disgusted and repelled by the crude and obvious attempts of the C.P. bloc to again organizational control. This can, in no way, be interpreted as basic support of the principles of Socialism.

## Left Socialists Act

It was only the determined efforts of a small group of left-wing Socialists within the S.P. caucus that made it possible to voice in the convention the only opposition to the betrayal and confusion of the War resolution, giving the revolutionary analysis of the causes of war and showing the futility of reliance on Leagues of Nations, Kellogg Peace pacts and Peoples' Peace Congresses; and to speak out clearly against the infamous Farmer-Labor-Progressive resolution by giving the clear line of independent political action of the workers seeking to ally to themselves the lower middle class, farmers and liberal professionals on a working class program.

The left wing delegates made a vigorous protest against the practice of leaving the most important political, social and economic problems facing the labor movement today to the last session of the convention, where the majority decisions were pushed through with no adequate discussions. The left wing laid the basis for a campaign of open and full discussion of all points of

# Tarou Indicts G. P. U. Before Commission

(Continued from page 7)

ed over to the G.P.U. and executed.

## Suicides

In 1927, in Erivan, after such threats from Tatian, the secretary of the control commission, the capitulator Tonow (I do not remember his name exactly) went home and blew out his brains. He had three children under eight years of age, an old mother, and a wife. He was the sole support of the family. This incident received public notice at the time. The newspaper, *Kharurdeit-Ayastan*, published on the third page an article by the secretary of the control commission, Tatian, with the title: "Unwilling to Betray (the Opposition), Commits Suicide". This article was passed by the censor. The issue was put on sale. Upon receiving the paper, the secretary of the C.C. ordered its sale stopped at once and the replacement of this article by a simple announcement of the suicide of the capitulator. But it was too late; more than half of the copies had been sold. This event casts a glaring light on the suicides of other, more prominent, party members such as Joffe, Lominadze, Tomsky Khandjen, and others.

## His Own Experience

To give a more concrete example, I shall recount my own experience. In April, 1934, from

view on these problems both in the American Teacher and in the local magazines.

## Stalinists-Conservatives Knife Krueger

With the exception of the contest for the presidency, the elections of the convention revolved, not so much around issues, as around the question of control of the Executive Council. Krueger was eliminated from the Council, not on the CIO issue, but because the AFL Chicago group and the C.P. group combined against him, the former because of his opposition to the lifting of the charter of Local No. 5 three years ago, and the latter because of his ability to recognize and block their moves for control. With one or two exceptions, the contests for posts were between candidates who were all CIO.

## Composition of Executive

Of the fifteen members of the Executive Council elected at this convention, four are definitely Stalinist in tendency, four are Socialists (it is very doubtful whether they will act as a solid block) three are definitely AFL and the remaining four are doubtful, but will probably divide evenly between the CIO and AFL tendencies. The Council has a majority for the CIO affiliation, but on organizational questions it would be impossible at the present to predict any permanent set-up.

## Organizing Campaign Planned

The convention made a great stride forward in adopting unanimously a proposal of the old Executive Council to initiate a nation-wide campaign of organization of teachers, with the sending out of paid organizers to sections ripe for organization, the funds to be supplied by an assessment of one dollar on each member of the Federation.

This, should result in a real growth of the Federation and the attainment of the perspective of doubling its present membership of 22,000 by the next convention.

my exile, I subscribed to Rakovsky's first telegram calling for the unity of all proletarian, communist and revolutionary forces in the struggle against Fascist aggression. Even at that time, despite my many long years of experience with Stalinist persecutions, I believed in the communist character of the Central Committee, and I thought that, in the face of the impending danger of world fascism, the C.C. would necessarily go halfway to meet Rakovsky's telegram. I was profoundly mistaken. Stalin proved to be not at all concerned with the working-class movement; what mattered to him and his partisans was first of all the protection of their interests and personal privileges. The question of unity of the revolutionary communist forces was replaced by another question: that of Trotsky and the Trotskyists.

## A Fatal Error

Taking advantage of Rakovsky's first and fatal error, the G.P.U. developed its offensive. It was the same for me as for Rakovsky, although I was not such a well known Oppositionist. After the telegram in which I joined in Rakovsky's appeal, I was summoned to the local section of the G.P.U., where they asked me what I had to say about my convictions, whether I considered them counter-revolutionary or not. I replied that I considered my convictions authentically Marxist and revolutionary and that no one could prove them to be counter-revolutionary. The head of the G.P.U. tried to prove, without success, that my opinions were counter-revolutionary. Observing that he was getting nowhere, that I firmly defended my convictions, the head of the G.P.U. pressed a button. An orderly appeared. "You are not leaving the Opposition; you are defending it," he said to me, making a sign to the orderly to take me out.

It was a clearly, sunny oriental day. To me it seemed black as midnight. "All is over," I thought. "The telegram about my abandoning the Opposition has already been sent." My comrades were avoiding me and looking upon me as a traitor, although I was betraying nothing and nobody. "They consider me a traitor." That thought gnawed at my heart and soul. Yet I had wished only to leave the Opposition honorably. How could I have been so mistaken? Rakovsky's telegram had led me into a trap.

## Terrible Plight

How could a leader as intelligent as Rakovsky have failed to see the real face of the Stalinist bureaucracy? I felt I was losing my reason. I walked to the outskirts of the city into the fields and threw myself on the ground. I well understood what an enormous mistake I had committed with my telegram offering to leave the Opposition. But it is not such a great evil to make a mistake provided it is corrected. But how correct it? I could find no answer. For one month, until I hit upon a solution, I was unable to sleep at night, I could not eat, grew perceptibly thinner. I would sit in front of my house for hours, thinking, always thinking. My oppositionist comrades in exile noticed this but they refused to enter into any discussion with me.

(Continued next week)