

THE JOHN DWYER COLLECTION

FROM THE ORIGINS OF BOLSHEVISM IN AMERICA
THROUGH THE TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT
TO MARXIST-HUMANISM

Papers, 1920-1987

Documents written by John Dwyer under the pen names of John Fredericks,
John O'Brien, and Peter Mallory.

Includes:

- Collected Papers, 1920-1987
- Documents from the Collection of Martin Abern
- Introductory Essays by John Dwyer

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE JOHN F. DWYER COLLECTION

In 1931 John F. Dwyer was living in Lynn, Massachusetts, where he joined the Socialist Party. He became active in the labor movement, organizing shoe, leather and tannery workers with Joseph Massida, who led the union and was a member of the Socialist Party. When the International Ladies Garment Workers Union undertook a national drive to organize runaway shops, he organized local garment shops for the union.

As the Socialist Party moved to the left, the Communist Party was moving to the right, which brought Dwyer into conflict with them in the United Shoe Workers, where they had a substantial faction. During the period of the WPA, he found a teacher's job and founded a branch of the American Federation of Teachers. He also served as its representative on the local American Federation of Labor council in Lynn.

He was appointed New York state organizer of the Socialist Party in 1936 and left Massachusetts to organize locals of the Socialist Party in Rochester and Buffalo during the Presidential campaign of Norman Thomas. During the Spanish Civil War he helped organize the Debs Brigade and was able to send supplies to the Loyalists from Rochester.

At this time the struggle within the Socialist Party between its left and right wings was heating up, and Dwyer's salary of \$15 a week was cut off by the right wing leadership. He was forced to take a temporary job in Springfield, Massachusetts. There he went to work for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and successfully organized the Asinoff factory. After the end of the organizing drive at Asinoff, he worked for the Retail Clerks union, organizing retail clerks and delivery workers on Springfield newspapers. At the founding of the Massachusetts State CIO Industrial Council, he was elected State Secretary.

By 1937, Dwyer was an active member of the left wing of the Socialist Party and was expelled from the party along with other supporters of Trotskyism. James P. Cannon advised him to transfer to New York City to participate more fully in the new Socialist Workers Party, which was founded Jan. 1, 1938. Dwyer was elected a member of the National Committee of the new party.

In New York he held various engineering jobs, working for Texaco during the early part of World War II. The draft exemption he had held during that period was removed in 1944, when the entire engineering group he was working with, except him, was transferred to the Manhattan Project. He served in the U.S. Navy on the aircraft carrier Sangamon and was wounded when the carrier was hit by a Kamakazi at Okinawa.

Discharged in December 1945, Dwyer returned home to find the Socialist Workers Party engaged in an internal dispute. None of the

political positions advanced by the factions seemed to be adequate to the needs of the post-war period. Under the pen name John Fredericks, he wrote "Stalinist Russia, a Capitalist State" in 1947. In that document he espoused the theory of state capitalism, and formed a faction within the party to promote that theory. He did not know of the writings of the state-capitalist tendency in the Workers Party — the Johnson-Forest Tendency -- when he began this work. Within a year, however, the Johnson-Forest Tendency joined the Socialist Workers Party.

The subsequent history of what began as the state-capitalist tendency, from its origins in the 1940s, through its split between Johnson and Forest in 1955, to the founding of a Marxist-Humanist organization, News and Letters Committees, can be found in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, housed in the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs at Wayne State University, Detroit. Mary Obst, who has organized and presented John Dwyer's documents for researchers here, has provided those interested with cross references to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection from appropriate sections of Dwyer's papers.

John Dwyer's 1956 summation of C.L.R. James, entitled "Johnsonism: A Political Appraisal," and written under the pen name of John O'Brien, offers Dwyer's view of the break-up of the state-capitalist tendency. Dwyer's writings as a Marxist-Humanist were published in News & Letters from its inception in 1955 under the pen name of Peter Mallory. He authored the column called "Our Life and Times" for some 27 years.

John F. Dwyer April
7, 1987

NOTES ON THE 1930s — THE DEPRESSION
DECADE by John F. Dwyer

The brief biography that is the Introductory Note to my archives at Wayne State University needs a supplement to bring to the new generation how the industrial face of the nation was dramatically changed by the spontaneous outbursts of the American working class, which shook up the old craft unions of the AFL, and through the establishment of the CIO under John L. Lewis and Walter Reuther, began a new era of American labor history.

It will further serve to supplement and illuminate that part of the archives of Raya Dunayevskaya which cover party history while she was serving as secretary to Leon Trotsky until she broke with him as World War II broke out and devoted herself to the development of the theory of State-Capitalism.

I graduated from high school in 1930 and was thrust into what became known as the "Great Depression". Things we take for granted today — unemployment insurance, social security, and even the basic relief programs — were unknown, and millions of people were out of work. Thousands of people, unable to support themselves, roamed the country, hoping against hope that the next community they hit would be better than the one they left.

In that context, the radicalization of the working class became inevitable. Street corner meetings were held everywhere with appeals to the emotions of the unemployed by every radical tendency -- socialist, communist, anarchist — along with all of the new saviors of humanity with new theories to offer, like the Townsendites, Huey Long, Father Coughlin, etc.

I found the facts of real life a sharp contrast to what I had been taught in school, joined the Socialist Party in 1930, and became active in seeking a better way of life.

At various times I organized for the Shoe and Leather Workers Union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. In Lynn, Massachusetts, we founded the first Teachers Union. The birth of the CIO gave new life to the labor movement. The self-developing idea permeated the movement. I can recall incidents where a delegation would show up at the union office and tell us, "We have formed a union and walked off the job. Come out and sign us up."

To illustrate the degree to which individual militant workers intervened in the building of the new unions, I would like to relate a couple of events.

The tannery workers were, by and large, those who followed the raw skins from Turkey, Greece and Armenia, supplemented with Poles who worked the shoe factories.

Joe Massida was a born agitator, a member of our Lynn Local of the Socialist Party, an Italian who looked like Fiorello LaGuardia. In the

heat of a bitter strike, when his life was threatened by the hired goons of the bosses, these same Turks and Greeks camped outside his door at night and provided him with 24-hour bodyguards.

When scabs were imported to run the tannery, the workers recognized that something had to be done. The union was paralyzed with a flock of injunctions, and all the plant gates were manned by thugs and cops.

The plant in those days was run on water power which turned a huge belt system which ran every machine. One dark night a plant worker walked out over the dam which powered the plant, entered and cut a three-foot section out of the belt that powered all the rest, destroyed it and returned over the dam. He could have been killed on that trip on a 12-inch walkway, but he risked his life to shut down the plant when all else had failed. The union won the strike.

Similar actions among miners, longshoremen, and the auto workers are what made the CIO into a fighting force that would brook no opposition.

The Russian Revolution had a profound effect on both the American workers and the intellectuals. Every intellectual, artist and writer was in one way or another drawn into the discussion of why capitalism had failed and what hope the Russian Revolution had to offer.

The Socialist Party under Norman Thomas, which I joined in 1930, had a great tradition stemming from the labor struggles of Eugene Debs, and had a strong base in the labor unions, which at that point were primarily craft unions, difficult to enter and devoted primarily to their own craft interests.

The Socialist Party was also plagued by the various language federations which provided the mainstay of their strength. The Jewish Federation published *Forwards*, maintained its own Bund, and owned cooperative bakeries and the real estate associated with these enterprises. Each nationality had its own federation. The Finns owned cooperatives; the Swedes had farm associations, etc. Nationalist interests frequently overcame the Socialist goals.

At its peak, the Socialist Party published five English-language dailies, 262 weeklies, eight foreign-language dailies, 36 foreign-language weeklies, ten English monthlies and two foreign-language monthlies. More than one thousand socialists held public office. But its goals were to reform the system; they were not revolutionary.

The Communist Party was a break-off of the Socialist Party. It did not emerge as a single unified force, but as a multi-party tendency, which was immediately beset by the Palmer Raids, one of the most disgraceful periods in American history. Thousands were arrested, their organizations and headquarters destroyed by mobs under police direction. The trials which followed saw hundreds jailed, with Clarence Darrow defending the Communists. The legal battles in the courts lasted for years afterward. The party was thus born as an illegal entity and suffered the consequences of an illegal existence. It was ordered by the Comintern to emerge from its cocoon and become a legal party. (The original order from Moscow ordering the change is included in Part Two of this archive.)

Leon Trotsky fell from power in 1927, was expelled from the Communist Party, and was exiled from Russia in 1929. The grip of Stalin over Russia naturally extended over the various Communist Parties and the effects dominated the American Communist Party.

James P. Cannon was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928. In his history of American Trotskyism, he frankly admits that he knew little or nothing of the internal struggles within the Russian Communist Party that led to Trotsky's downfall; he even voted for Trotsky's expulsion. At the Sixth Congress Trotsky's thesis, "The Draft Program of the Communist International, A Criticism of Fundamentals," fell into the hands of Cannon and Maurice Spector, the Canadian delegate to the Comintern. Both men were impressed with Trotsky's thesis and they smuggled single copies back to their own countries to form the basis of their opposition.

When he returned to the United States, Cannon enlisted the support of Martin Abern and Max Shachtman, both members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The opposition was a very surreptitious one; the document of Trotsky passed from hand to hand to gain supporters. They dared not express open opposition in the Central Committee, but kept playing the game of factional Communist Party politics. It was not until Jay Lovestone forced their hand that they were expelled from the Communist Party on October 27, 1928. They immediately issued the first issue of The Militant.

They held their first convention in Chicago in May 1929. Their goal was to reform the Communist Party and be taken back in. This reflected itself in the name chosen, "Communist League of America, Left Opposition of the Communist Party." Their main political activity consisted of trying to make Trotsky's views known, to combat the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party, and to gain members from them.

This activity continued until 1933, when Hitler came to power. In the last election before Hitler, the combined Social Democrat and Communist vote in Germany reached 12 million. Rather than fight the danger of Hitler, the German Communist Party devoted its entire effort to fighting with the Social Democrats. Hitler made short work of both of them, when they could have prevented his rise to power, but failed.

This signalled the death of the Comintern and the American Trotskyists were forced to abandon their love affair with the Communist Party and call for the formation of a new party.

Outside of these internal tendencies that debated reform vs. revolution, the U.S., as the whole world, faced the Depression decade and everywhere was confronted with spontaneous mass outbursts.

The Socialist Party was showing signs of growth and had developed a strong left wing. A.J. Muste developed the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, attracting a number of militant labor activists, and led a number of successful union strikes including the Toledo Auto Lite strike. The Trotskyists saw an opportunity for recruitment. After a period of assessment and negotiation, the CPLA and the Trotskyists merged to form

The Trotskyists were rankling under the discipline of the Socialist Party and needed their own press to express their politics. In Chicago, Albert Goldman, who was the lawyer for the Minneapolis Teamsters during the strike and a Trotskyist, had entered the Socialist Party early and was publishing an officially recognized paper in Chicago, the Socialist Appeal. The Trotskyists used this medium to express themselves, which irked the right wing immensely. A split was inevitable.

A conference was arranged between the Trotskyist leaders and leaders for the Socialist Party -- Norman Thomas, Gus Tyler, Murray Baron, and Jack Altman -- to see what could be done to delay a convention called to expel the Trotskyists. In a conciliatory frame of mind, the Trotskyist leadership agreed to end local meetings at 11:00 p.m. instead of 2:00 a.m., as was happening in some locals, and Thomas agreed to let them continue with the Socialist Appeal.

At the March 1937 convention, Thomas broke his word and moved that all publications other than the Socialist Call be prohibited. This, if carried out, meant the end of the Socialist Appeal. The Trotskyists broke discipline, continued publication, and the expulsions began.

The Trotskyists set up a National Committee of the expelled branches and came out with an eight-page printed Socialist Appeal.

The Socialist Workers Party was established on New Years Day 1938 and once again they were free to act. Their stay in the Socialist Party had more than doubled their membership, provided them with a wide forum for their ideas, and enabled the Trotsky Defense Committee, under the hand of the Dewey Commission, to function and produce two books on the frame-ups.

I cannot leave the 1930s without at least relating the twists and turns that characterized the Communist Party during this period.

First there was the "Third Period" phase of Stalinism, which labeled all enemies "Social Fascists." The tactic which flowed from it, "the United Front from below," in practice led to trying to form blocs with the ranks when the leadership rejected their overtures. This led to a policy of dual unionism, a policy of setting up a rival "pure" union to compete with an existing union. This inevitably led to betrayals in many union situations and dilution of the class struggle into factional warfare.

On the so-called "Negro Question" they adopted the most backward position in the history of the labor movement, namely that the Blacks in the South constituted a separate nation held in bondage, the solution being the establishment of a separate "Black Republic" in the South. This "gem" was written into Comintern dogma by no less an authority than Otto Kuusinin, the Finnish delegate who had never been in the South and whose contact with Blacks was limited to Moscow.

The Socialist Workers Party was no great improvement. Cannon's The History of American Trotskyism never once mentions Negroes for, in truth, they did nothing to recruit them and understood nothing of the problem until the 1940s. The same applied on their position on Women. Even

the American Workers Party on December 1 and 2, 1934.

Internationally, Trotsky had initiated what has become known as the "French Turn." Recognizing the growing number of militant left wing socialists, Trotsky urged the party to enter the Socialist Party to assimilate these elements into the Trotskyist movement.

In Minneapolis the Trotskyists were active in a coal yard where some of them worked shoveling coal all day. They organized a union through the Teamsters and held a 100 percent successful short strike. This action, followed by the organization of the truck drivers in Minneapolis, led to the first General Strike in the history of the city and became the high point in the history of the Trotskyist movement. (See American City by Charles Rumford Walker for the story of those events.)

The strike of the Teamsters was completely controlled by the Trotskyists, and run on a well-organized efficient basis. Set up were food kitchens, a hospital with a doctor and nurses, and several garages where cars were dispatched to cover trouble spots. A daily paper, The Organizer, was published to counter the lies of the capitalist press. All were paid for by contributions from workers, and cans were set up in bars and workers' gathering places. Despite the opposition of the AFL labor bureaucracy and the Farmer-Labor Governor who sent in troops, they won the strike.

Despite this success, major problems remained for American Trotskyism. The left wing of the Socialist Party was still growing, Trotskyism was not. Opposition to entry was strong: the Plenum of 1935 showed a majority against it, led by Muste, Hugo Oehler and Abern. Oehler was later expelled for violating party discipline, and after two years with the Trotskyists, A.J. Muste was to return to the Church from which he sprung.

In the Socialist Party, the right wing broke off from the party and formed the Social Democratic Federation which again opened opportunities to get on with work within the Socialist Party.

Entry into the Socialist Party entered the negotiation stage where the Socialist Party gave no ground. They demanded and got guarantees that the Trotskyists would give up their independent press -- the Militant and the New International -- get no posts, and enter as individuals -- with the various Socialist Party locals having final voice in who was to be admitted.

Accepting terms of total surrender, they entered the Socialist Party, though some remained outside. Once inside they went to work raising the issues of the day for debate. The issues were many and crucial. The Sit-Down Strikes in France had raised international attention; the CIO was emerging with its strikes; there were debates over craft vs. industrial organization; the Spanish Civil War erupted in 1936; the Moscow Trials began -- all issues that commanded attention. The Trotskyist gained many adherents and irritated many more who were basically Social Democrats at heart.

Their position as members of the Socialist Party enabled the Trotskyists to form the Trotsky Defense Committee and enlist many prominent people to participate in Trotsky's defense against the frame-up.

Cannon's wife, Rose Karsner, often complained that women had no recognition in the party, being relegated to "Jimmy Higgins" work.

The Spanish Civil War aroused a great deal of sympathy in the American labor movement, and union aid was often sent to the Loyalist forces. The Stalinists raised the Lincoln Brigade to fight in Spain. But many dissidents were jailed or killed when they disagreed with the Stalinist line. Included in Part Two of my archives collection are letters from one of the Trotskyists who served in Spain and wound up in jail. The loss of the Spanish Civil War can be traced to the tactics pursued by the Stalinists in that war. The Trotskyists critically supported the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity) who were hunted down and killed by the Stalinists.

One last word on the Stalinists' most successful tactic, the "united front." This policy was, in effect, one of uniting with anyone or anybody for a common goal, no matter how diluted the program was. The best example was the American League Against War and Fascism, goals that most everyone could agree with. They even enlisted U.S. Congressmen on their committees. The basic goal was to promote the Stalinist line within those committees on every issue. Anyone who disagreed was a member of the "Fifth Column," which Franco claimed was in Madrid.

These notes on the 1930s are meant only to serve as a guide to the highlights of Marxist history during that decade. They are in no way complete but may prove helpful to a serious student.

July 10, 1985

For additional reading, the following may prove helpful:

John L. Lewis by Cecil Carnes (Robert Speller, 1936).

American City by Charles R. Walker (Farrar & Rinehart, 1937).

Left, Right and Center by Sidney Lens (Henry Regnery, 1949).

Workers Battle Automation by Charles Denby (News & Letters, 1960).

The American Communist Party by Irving Howe and Lewis Coser (Praeger, 1962).

The History of American Trotskyism by James P. Cannon (Pioneer, 1944).

American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard (News & Letters, 4th edition, 1983).

T H E J O H N D W Y E R C O L L E C T I O N

PART ONE: PAPERS OF JOHN DWYER

Section I

Work in the 1930s

(See also: "From the Spanish Revolution to the Eve of World War II", in Part Two, Sec. IV(F), of The John Dwyer Collection; "Leon Trotsky: Letters, Conversations, Unpublished Documents" # 2211-2407, and "The 1930s--The CIO; The Spanish Revolution; Leon Trotsky", # 8521-8844, of The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.)

A. In the CIO

- 1:1 1. Letters to John Dwyer (May 1936-August 1937) from:
- a Douglas Anderson, Textile Workers Organizing Committee (TWOC), CIO. Minneapolis.
 - b Joseph Salerno, TWOC. Rhode Island.
 - c Hyman Blumberg, TWOC. Boston.
 - d Alice Dodge, CIO. Boston. Three letters.
 - e James Carey, United Electrical and Radio Workers of America, CIO. New York City.
 - f Samuel Wolchok, United Retail Employees of America, CIO. Three letters.
 - g Michael Wildman, CIO. Boston.
 - h. John Brophy, CIO. Washington, D.C.
 - i. Dorothy Bellanca, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL. New York City. Two letters.
2. Letter from Paul Reid, American League Against War and Fascism, to John Dwyer. Aug. 16, 1935.
- 1:2 3. Membership cards issued to John Dwyer: American Federation of Teachers No. 439, Jan. 4 1936, and Lynn Federation of Teachers No. 439, March 6, 1936. Also: article by John Dwyer against "Teacher's Oath". Newsclipping. [c.1936]
4. Agreements by Paper, Book and Stationary Union with New England News Co. [c.1937]
- 1:3 5. Articles and by-laws of Industrial Council of Western Massachusetts, CIO, and minutes of founding meeting of Council, Springfield, Mass. July 29, 1937. Also: newspaper articles on meeting, includes photo of Dwyer.

- 1:14 18. Report of July 24-25 Plenum Conference. National Action
Committee of Left Wing (Appeal Group). New York City.
- 1:15 19. Letter from James Burnham to Glen Trimble. May 17, 1937.
20. Letter from Max Shachtman to "Dear Comrades". May 20, 1937.
- 1:16 21. Arm and Torch. SP, Rochester, New York. Two issues.
Feb. 1937.
22. Western Vanguard. SP, Western New York. John Dwyer, Editor. March
1937.
- 1:17 23. Agenda and reports. New York SP State Committee meeting.
Saratoga Springs, New York. May 1937.
- 1:18 24. Regional Bulletin. YPSL, Upstate New York. May 10, 1937.
25. The Militant Teacher. SP (Left Wing), New York. 1937.
- 1:19 26. Youth Action. YPSL bulletin. Syracuse, New York. Also:
Peoples Forum schedule. YPSL/SP. Syracuse. [1937]
- 1:20 27. "Why The Debs Column?" On SP international brigade,
Spanish Revolution. [1937]
- 1:21 28. Labor Bulletin. Labor Research Front, New York. [1937]

C. Debates on the Spanish Revolution Leading to the Expulsion of Trotskyists/Left Wing from
the Socialist Party

- 1:22 1. Statement of Left Wing, SP, Massachusetts, and cover letter.
Against expulsions from SP, signed by Antoinette Konikow, Lawrence Trainor, John
Dwyer, others. [July and Aug. 1937]
2. Letter from John Dwyer to James Cannon. Aug 8, 1937.
3. Letter from John Dwyer to Frank Trager. Aug 23, 1937.
4. Letter from Mary Dickson to John Dwyer. Aug 24, 1937.
5. Letter from James Cannon to John Dwyer. Aug 28, 1937.
6. Three articles by John Dwyer on his expulsion from SP. Socialist Appeal. Sept.
and Oct. 1937.
- 1:23 7. Statement of Meetings Arrangement Committee, SP. June
18, 1937.
8. "The Crisis in the Socialist Party". Statement of Socialist Appeal Association.
Chicago, [c. July 1937]

- 1:3 6. Articles on CIO organizing campaigns in Massachusetts.
 Newsclippings. [1937]

B. The Socialist Party (SP), the Spanish Civil War

- 1:4 1. Letter from Arne Swabeck to John Dwyer. Jan. 7, 1936.
2. Letter from David Lasser to John Dwyer. [c. Feb. 1937]
3. Letter from Norman Thomas to "Dear Comrades" on Trotskyists in SP, the Spanish
 Revolution. Includes "P.S. to Comrade Dwyer". June 22, 1937.
4. Letter from Lawrence Trainor to John Dwyer. July 27, 1937.
5. Letter from James Cannon to John Dwyer. Aug. 7, 1937.
6. Letter from Glen Trimble to John Dwyer. [1937]
- 1:5 7. Constitution of the SP, Massachusetts. [c.1936]
- 1:6 8. Minutes of SP Annual State Convention. Worcester, Mass.
 June 12-13, 1937; minutes of SP State Executive Committee meeting. Cambridge,
 Mass. July 11, 1937.
- 1:7-8 9. State Organizer. SP, Massachusetts. Three issues.
 Jan.-March 1937.
- 1:9 10. State Bulletin. Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL),
 Massachusetts. Feb. 1937.
11. United Workers. SP. Springfield (Mass.) Unemployed League. Two issues. March
 1937.
- 1:10 12. "Statement of Purpose". Provisional Committee for a United
 Left Wing. YPSL. New York. Jan. 31, 1937.
13. "Meeting of the National Executive Committee of the YPSL." Philadelphia. May
 30, 1937. Report.
14. Discussion Outline for "Communist Manifesto". YPSL bulletin. [n.d.]
- 1:11 15. Proposed agenda and resolutions for Chicago Appeal Associa-
 tion meeting; minutes of proceedings, Feb. 20-22, 1937. Internal bulletin, Socialist
 Appeal Institute, Chicago.
- 1:12 16. Party Affairs. SP bulletin. Nov. 1936 and Feb. 1937.
- 1:13 17. Socialist Clarity. SP bulletin. March 1, 1937.

1:24 9. Letters from James Cannon on Party Convention, "Chicago conflict." Sept. 9 and Dec. 16, 1937.

1:25-28 10. Internal bulletins (4). Organizing Committee for the SP Convention. Oct.-Dec. 1937.

1:29 11. "Declaration of Principles" by James Burnham. Draft type-script, sent to John Dwyer. Dec. 1937.

D. "The Spanish Revolution". Bulletin of the POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification of Spain). Barcelona. Eleven issues. Oct. 1936-May 1937. In English.

E. From the Socialist Party to the Founding of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)--Journalism and Activity; the Moscow Trials

1. The Militant. Nine bound volumes. Nov. 15, 1928-June 1936; Jan. 1941-Dec. 1945.

2. Socialist Appeal. Five bound volumes. Aug. 1937-Dec. 1940.

2:1 3. "Revolt Flares in Morocco" by John Dwyer. Published in Socialist Appeal, Nov. 6, 1937. Also: draft typescript of article.

2:2 4. Socialist Appeal. Four issues. June 1936, Jan.-March 1937.

2:3 5. "Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials." Abstract of Dewey Commission Report. Dec. 13, 1937.

2:4-5 6. Series of articles by General Walter Krivitsky on Moscow Trials. Published in Saturday Evening Post. April-Sept. 1939.

2:6-9 7. Writings by Leon Trotsky from Coyoacan, Mexico, on Moscow Trials. Includes copy for newspaper articles, telegram, letters and statements, Jan.-Feb. 1937, and newsclippings. Also: review by Trotsky of Louis-Ferdinand Celine. Oct. 1935.

2:10 8. Report of speech at Leon Sedoff (Trotsky's son and colleague) Memorial meeting. New York City. Feb. 27, 1938.

2:11 9. Party Training Course. SWP bulletin. [n.d.]

2:12 10. Speakers Guide on "Coming World War." SWP bulletin. [c.1938]

2:13 11. Challenge of Youth. YPSL newspaper. March 5, 1940.

2:14 12. "The Appeal Army". SWP/YPSL bulletin. [n.d.]

2:15 13. Fliers, 1936-38.

Section II

Work in the 1940s

(See also: "Founding of the Fourth International: Crisis in Trotskyism over Defense of Russia" in Part Two, Sec. V of The John Dwyer Collection; "Birth and Development of State-Capitalist Theory," # 51-224, # 324-503, and "Birth of State-Capitalist Theory and Marx's Early Essays," # 8845-9208, in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.)

A. "Stalinist Russia, A Capitalist State"--Writings on Russia and Related Questions

- 2:16 1. Writings by John Dwyer on Russian economy and society. [1946]
- a "Russian Outline." Ten-point outline on Russian economy and its theoretic basis, SWP attitudes to Russia, related questions.
 - b "Theoretic Basis of Stalinist Capitalism." On Marx's laws of capitalist accumulation.
 - c "State Planning in the Soviet Union."
 - d "Russian Agricultural Economy."
 - e "The Role of the Stalinist Parties."
- 2:17 2. "Some New Issues for Discussion" by John Fredericks (John Dwyer).
- a Typescript of article, a critique of SWP on Nuremberg Trials, reactionary role of Catholic Church, nature of Russia. April 7, 1946.
 - b Two letters to Political Committee, SWP. April 10 and May 12, 1946.
 - c Letter to Political Committee, SWP, protesting delay in publishing "Some New Issues..." June 12, 1946. Also: new draft of original article. June 24, 1946.
 - d "Some New Issues for Discussion." Published in SWP Internal Bulletin. July 1946.
- 2:18 3. "Again on Nuremberg and the Church" by John Fredericks.
- a Typescript of article. June 24, 1946.
 - b "Again on Nuremberg and the Church." Published in SWP Internal Bulletin. Oct. 1946.
- 2:19 c. Newsclippings and releases on Nuremberg Trials. SWP. 1946.

- 2:20 4. "Stalinist Russia, A Capitalist State" by John Fredericks and John Hudson.
- a Early draft of "Stalinist Russia..." [c.1946]
 - b Letters to National Committee, SWP, on submittal of "Stalinist Russia..." Oct. 12 and 14, 1946.
- 2:21 c. "Stalinist Russia, A Capitalist State" by John Fredericks and John Hudson. Sept. 29, 1946. Published in SWP Internal Bulletin. Nov. 1946.
- 2:22-23 5. "Dilemma of the "Workers Statists"" by John Fredericks and John Hudson.
- a Typescript of article and mimeographed edition. Outline of discussions of state-capitalism. Aug. 12, 1947.
 - b "Le Dilemme des Partisans de la Théorie de l'Etat Ouvrier". Published by International Secretariat, Fourth International, Paris. Internal Bulletin. Jan. 1948. In French.

B. Creation of a State-Capitalist Tendency in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

- 2:24 1. "Convention Speech on Russian Question" by John Fredericks. [1946]
- 2:25 2. Correspondence of John Fredericks with Morris Stein (Political Committee, SWP), Archie (Bayonne, New Jersey, SWP), Jack (Chicago SWP), Bernie (New York SWP), and Hans Schmidt Jr. Nine letters. Oct. 1946-June 1947.
- 2:26 3. "Speech to New York Membership Meeting" by John Fredericks. On Russian Question. April 27, 1947.
- 2:27 4. "Speech on the Formation of the Faction" by John Fredericks. On Russian Question. May 13, 1947.
- 5. "Call for the Formation of a Faction on the Russian Question." Draft and final version, submitted with 12 signatures. New York. June 14, 1947.
 - 6. Speech on state-capitalism by John Fredericks. [c.1947]
- 2:28 7. Correspondence between John Fredericks and Midwest SWP local organizers. On proposed speaking tour by Fredericks on "Stalinist Russia..." Eleven letters. June and July 1947.
- 2:29 8. Letter from John Fredericks to Political Committee, SWP. Oct. 1, 1947.
- 9. Speech on state-capitalism by John Fredericks. [1949]

C. International Correspondence on State-Capitalism

(See also: "F. Forests's [Raya Dunayevskaya] Trip to Europe as Representative of the State-Capitalist Tendency," # 661-709 and # 9171-9183 in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.)

This section contains correspondence of John Fredericks with:

- 3:1 1. International Secretariat, Fourth International, France. Three letters. Nov. 1946-Jan. 1947.
2. Grandizo Munis (Spanish Trotskyist leader during Spanish Revolution), Mexico. Six letters. Nov. 1946-Feb. 1947. Also: Pamphlet by Munis on Russia and Stalinism. 1946.
 3. Two letters by John Fredericks, on translating and publishing "Stalinist Russia..." in Spanish. Nov. and Dec. 1946.
 4. George Kopp, Lima, Peru. Two letters. Nov. and Dec. 1946.
- 3:2 5. J. Gallieme, Paris. Five letters. Nov. 1946-May 1947.
6. Alfred Rosmer (French anarcho-syndicalist who became a Bolshevik). Letter from Fredericks. Jan. 15, 1947.
 7. "T.M.", Glasgow. Letter to Fredericks. Nov. 7, 1946.
 8. L. Solomon, Glasgow. Letter to Fredericks. [c.Dec. 1946]
 9. Jock Haston (Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section, Fourth International), London. Three letters. Nov. 1946-Feb. 1947.

D. Activity and Disputes in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

- 3:3 1. Articles by John Fredericks, published in bulletins of SWP New York Local:
- a "Report of Minority of Bronx Executive Committee on the Election Campaign." Nov. 1939.
 - b Two articles on the American Labor Party. Dec. 21-22, 1940 and Feb. 16, 1946. Also: "The ALP and its Prospects". Typescript. [n.d.]
- 3:4 2. "Resolution on Reorganization of Branches" by John Fredericks. [1940]
3. Letter from John Fredericks, Director, New York School of Social Science. Jan. 5, 1943. Also: Schedule of classes, Fall Term. [1943]

- 3:5 4. Publicity on Minneapolis Labor Case. SWP. 1943-44.
- 3:6 5. Writings by John Fredericks against IKD (Internationalist Communists of Germany) tendency in the U.S.:
- a Letters by John Fredericks to National Committee, SWP. Against Dave Jeffries-IKD resolution. Oct. 12 and 14, 1946. Also: Letter from Jeffries to Fredericks. Oct. 30, 1946.
 - b "Jeffries, Morrow and the IKD" by John Fredericks. [1947]
 - c Letter from Leo Lyons to John Fredericks. Nov. 28, 1946. Letter from Fredericks to Lyons. Dec. 22, 1946.
 - d "A Reply to Lyons and his IKD Friends" by John Fredericks. [1947]
- 3:7 6. "A Disease in the SWP" by John Fredericks. Against lack of discussion in SWP on Palestine, Stalinism, other questions. [c.1947]
7. "For Unity and the American Revolution" by John Fredericks. Speech supporting reunification of SWP and Workers Party. May 25, 1947.
8. Documents on SWP charges against Benita Richardson. [c. June 1947]

E. Journalism in the Post-War Period

(See also: "Journalism of Peter Mallory [John Dwyer] in News & Letters" in Part One, Sec. IV(B) of The John Dwyer Collection; "Writings and Activity in the Post-World War II Period," # 9126-9208, in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.)

Writings by John Fredericks:

- 3:8 1. "The Irish Free State." [c.1944]
2. "N.Y. Draftsmen Conduct Their First Walkout." Militant, Feb. 9, 1946.
3. On the post-war housing crisis:
- a Two scripts of radio interview with John Dwyer, American Veterans Committee. Radio Station WINS, New York City. July 6, 1946. Also: Editorial article for American Veterans Housing Committee. [1946]
 - b "Vets Housing Crisis". Militant, March 23, 1946. Series of five articles published in Militant. Jan. 11-Feb. 8, 1947.

- 3:9 4. "Western Union Vets Demonstration." [c.Jan. 1947]
5. "Fourth International Plans World Congress." Militant, Jan. 11, 1947.
6. Book reviews:
- a. A Star Pointed North by Edmund Fuller ("novelized biography" of Frederick Douglass). Typescript and review as published in Militant, April 12, 1947.
- b. There Once Was a Slave by Shirley Graham Julian (biography of Frederick Douglass.) Militant, May 24, 1947.
- c. Stalin Must Have Peace by Edgar Snow. Typescript and review as published in Militant, Aug. 25, 1947.
7. "U.S. Oil Rationing and the Marshall Plan." Militant, Dec. 15, 1947.
8. "Oil Moguls Responsible for the Fuel Shortage." Militant, Feb. 9, 1948.
- 3:10 9. " Oil and Labor." Series of three articles on oil industry and role of the worker. Fourth International, May, Aug. and Sept. 1948.
- 3:11 10. "The Church and the State." On Church role in Italian elections. April 21, 1948.
11. "25,000 Homestead Steel Workers Demonstrate Union Solidarity." Typescript and article as published in Militant, Oct. 24, 1949.
12. "The CIO." Typescript of essay. 1953.

Section III Trotskyism in the 1940s: World War II and the Post-War Period

A. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) During World War II

- 3:12 1. Proposed agenda of Fourth (Special) National Convention. SWP. [c.1941]
2. Report on new members. SWP. Nov. 1, 1944.
3. Reports and correspondence on UAW convention. Sept. 24-Oct. 26, 1943.
- 3:13-15 4. Bulletins (3). Education Department. SWP. 1940, 1941, 1944.
- 3:16 5. "Dialectical Materialism." Bound volume of six Internal Bulletins. SWP. 1943.

- 4:1-5:11 7. Internal Bulletins (38). SWP. Jan. 1940-Dec. 1945.
- 5:12-17 8. International Bulletins (7). SWP. July 1940-Feb. 1945.
9. Bulletins and other documents. New York Local. SWP. 1938-44:
- 5:18 a. News bulletins (4). Educational Committee. Nov. and Dec. 1938.
- 5:19-6:5 b. City Convention Bulletins (13). Feb. 1938-Aug. 1944.
- 6:6 c. "Party Action." Bulletin. Nov. 1938.
- 6:7 d. Finance reports. June-Oct. 1939, Dec. 1942.
- 6:8 e. Report on 14th Congressional District Election. Jan. 18, 1940.
- 6:9-10 f. Women's Committee Bulletins (2). 1943.
- 6:11 g. "In Defense of Marxism..." Bulletin. April 8, 1943.

B. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the Post-War Period

- 6:12 1. "The Militant's Record on Stalinist Foreign Policy" by Eugene Sharp and Dan Shelton. [c. June 1946]
- 6:13 2. Proposals for Convention schedule. SWP. Nov. 15-18, 1946. Also: Constitution as amended by Convention. Nov. 1946.
- 6:14-24 3. The Party Builder. National Education Department. SWP. Eleven issues. Aug. 1944-March 1947.
- 6:25 4. Bulletin of American Committee for European Workers Relief. Sept. 1947.
- 6:26-7:2 5. Bulletins (4). New York Local. SWP. Jan. 1946-April 1947. Also: Finance report. March 1946-Feb. 1947.
- 7:3 6. Bulletin. Los Angeles Local. SWP. Nov. 1947.
- 7:4-8:13 7. Internal Bulletins (35). SWP. Jan. 1946-June 1950.
- 8:14-19 8. International Bulletins (6). SWP. Sept. 1946-Sept. 1950.
- 8:20 9. Reports from 13th National Convention. SWP. April-July 1948. Also: 1948 Election Platform. SWP.
- 8:21 10. "Leon Trotsky on the Labor Party." Bulletin. SWP. May 1948.
- 8:22 11. "The Stalin-Tito Conflict." Open letter to Communist Party. SWP. Sept. 15, 1949.

C. Post-War Trotskyism: The International Scene

(See also: "International Correspondence on State-Capitalism," Part One, Sec. II(C), in The John Dwyer Collection.)

- 8:23-25 1. Internal Bulletins (3). International Secretariat (IS), Fourth International. Paris. June-Aug. 1947. In French.
- 9:1 2. Draft resolution and theses. IS, Fourth International. Nov. 1947.
- 9:2 3. Resolution of Chaulieu-Montal tendency. Feb. 1948.
4. Theses on Fourth International Movement. Dec. 1950.
- 9:3-8 5. Internal Bulletins (9). Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI). French Section, Fourth International. Paris. April-Sept. 1947. In French.
- 9:9-12 6. Report on Internationalist Communist Party of Italy conference, Jan. 1, 1946. Published by Gauche Communiste Internationaliste. Also: Three issues of "Internationalisme." July-Sept. 1947. In French.
- 9:13-23 7. Solidaritat. Published by Revolutionary Communist Party, Britain, for distribution to German prisoners of war in W. Europe. Twenty-one issues. Aug. 1946-July 1948. In German.
- 9:24 8. Spartakus. In German. Oct. 1947.
- 10:1-9 9. Internal Bulletins and Conference Documents. Published by Revolutionary Communist Party. British Section, Fourth International. London. 1946-48.
- 10:10 10. "Workers International News." Revolutionary Communist Party, Britain. Aug. 1948.
- 10:11-15 11. Documents published by "Left Fraction" on their expulsion from British Section, Fourth International. 1942-47.

D. The SWP and the Workers Party (WP)--Debates on Reunification and Other Questions

(See also: "Final Split Documents of the Johnson-Forest Tendency from the WP," # 641-659 and # 91 66-9170; and "1947-1951--From the 'Interim Period' to the Final Split from the Socialist Workers Party," # 660-1475, in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.)

- 10:16 1. Letter from Natalia Sedova (Trotsky) supporting SWP-WP reunification. Aug. 28, 1945.
2. "Where I Stand" by Felix Morrow. Aug. 29, 1945.

- 10:16 3. Letter from Max Shachtman to James Cannon. Sept. 15, 1945.
4. Resolutions on unity proposal with WP. SWP Majority (Cannon, Frank, Stein) and SWP Minority (Bennett, Goldman, Morrow, Williams). Oct. 6, 1945.
5. Letter from Albert Goldman. Oct. 30, 1945.
- 10:17 6. Bulletin of SWP Minority. Dec. 8, 1945.
7. Resolution and motions. Political Committee, SWP. Feb. 12 and April 9, 1946.
8. "The Political Committee's Principal Mistake..." by Felix Morrow. April 14, 1946.
9. "An Open Letter to the Minorityites..." by Albert Goldman. Nov. 15, 1946.
- 10:18 10. "International Resolutions of the Fourth..." by Dave Jeffries. June 27, 1946.
- 10:19 11. "The Fetishism of Formulas..." by Jack Weber. Nov. 1946.

E. Documents from the Workers Party (WP)

- 10:20 1. Letter of resignation from the WP by James Burnham. May 21, 1940.
- 10:21 2. "The High Road or No Road" by IKD Faction. WP. April 18, 1947. Also: IKD statement of resignation from WP. Aug. 1947.
3. Bulletin No. 5. Active Workers Conference. WP. July 24, 1945.
- 10:22-23 4. Bulletins (2). WP. Sept. 1947 and March 1948.

Section IV Marxist-Humanism: Philosophy, Organization, Journalism

A. Founding of News and Letters Committees

(See also: "New Beginning, New Paper," # 2410-2466, and "First National Convention, First Constitution," # 2467-2619, in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.)

- 10:24 1. "Johnsonism: A Political Appraisal" by O'Brien (John Dwyer). Discussion Bulletin. News & Letters. April 1956.

B. Journalism of Peter Mallory (John Dwyer) in News & Letters

This section contains selected writings by John Dwyer, published under the pen name Peter Mallory in News & Letters, the newspaper of the Marxist-Humanist organization, News and Letters Committees. Selections begin with the first "Our Life and Times" column, a regular feature by Mallory in each issue. Also included are lead articles and a cartoon on Mao drawn by Mallory. For a complete collection of News & Letters, see bound volumes (June 24, 1955-May 1984) and individual issues to date, available at the WSU Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs. Articles in Sec. IV(B) include:

- 10:25-27
1. Algerian Revolution; Poznan workers revolt. Sept. 18, 1956.
 2. "Let 100 Flowers Bloom". Copy of original cartoon, drawn as Mao moved to crush dissent within China. July 16, 1957.
 3. South African women's anti-pass law protests. Sept. 1957.
 4. Latin America in revolt; the Congo crisis. Dec. 1960, Feb. 1961.
 5. Sino-Indian war. Nov. 1962.
 6. Anti-war views of Irish revolutionary James Connolly. May 1963.
 7. China's first nuclear bomb blast. Nov. 1964.
 8. Crisis in Rhodesia. Dec. 1965.
 9. Dominican Republic elections after U.S. invasion. June-July 1966.
 10. Chinese opposition to Mao. August-Sept. 1967.
 11. Anti-Vietnam War movement ("Stop the War Now!"). Nov. 1969.
 12. "China-Japan treaty paves way to build a new world power axis in Asia." Nov. 1972.
 13. "The worldwide energy crisis and the merchants of death." March 1975.
 14. "Anti-Semitism is new focus of Communist, fascist and Arab amalgam." Nov. 1975.
 15. "Oil industry greed befouling world's waterways." Jan.-Feb. 1977.
 16. "Anniversary of Mao's death marked by China's revision of Mao's Thought." Oct. 1977.
 17. "Bonn summit gives no relief for capitalists' ills -- crises, revolt." August-Sept. 1978.

18. "Oil companies use Iran as excuse for huge consumer price rip-off." April 1979.
19. "Iran-Iraq war and its ramifications: points for discussion." Nov. 1980.
20. "Falklands, Antarctica, the oceans of the world." June 1982.
21. "'Star Wars Schemes' step up arms race." May 1983.
22. "1983 Convention: UAW in deep decline." June 1983.
23. "Saturn's 'new' norms: a vicious spy system." Oct. 1985.

Appendix One

Photographs -- the SWP and the CIO

Appendix One includes photographs, from the late 1930s to approximately 1943. Included are photographs of Socialist Workers Party members James Farrell, Max Shachtman, Joe Hansen, Farrell Dobbs, James Cannon, Vincent Dunn, George Novack, Grace Carlson, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, John Fredericks, and others. Events include CIO demonstration (New York, late 1930s?), funeral procession for Leon Trotsky in Mexico City (1940), SWP fundraising commemoration of 25th anniversary of Russian Revolution (1942), picket line at theatre showing movie "Mission to Moscow" (c.1943), SWP defendants on way to jail in Minneapolis (1943). Also includes a photograph of John F. Dwyer, March 21, 1985, taken at the lecture exhibit program for Raya Dunayevskaya, sponsored by the WSU Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs.

"The 'Appeal' in the Making" [c. 1938-39]

Film issued by the Educational Committee of Local New York, Socialist Workers Party. The film presents the production and distribution of the Party's newspaper, Socialist Appeal. Scenes includes editing discussions, the press room, mailing the newspaper, and street sales. No sound; approximately 10 minutes.

A NOTE ON MARTIN ABERN

At the time of Martin Abern's death in 1947, John F. Dwyer was able to obtain part of the large collection of documents of the American Communist and Trotskyist movements that Abern had assembled from the period of the Russian Revolution through the outbreak of World War II.

Abern joined the youth section of the Socialist Party around 1917. He left the Socialist Party in 1919, along with the entire Left Wing which supported the Russian Revolution. By 1921, when the Communists in America united as a single party, Abern was a member of its youth group. In 1922, he attended the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow as the leader of the youth delegation from the United States.

In the late 1920s, he joined James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman in the work of the International Labor Defense, publicizing the cases of labor activists under attack, and working for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

These same three men -- Cannon, Shachtman and Abern -- were put on trial by the Central Control Commission of the U.S. Communist Party in October, 1928, charged with support of Leon Trotsky. Expelled from the party, they formed a Left Opposition organization and issued Vol. I, No. 1 of the Militant. Abern was a member of the leadership of the U.S. Trotskyist party throughout the 1930s -- from the formation of the Communist League of America, through the merger with the Musteites in 1934 after the San Francisco general strike and the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, to the period of the Spanish Civil War when the Trotskyists were members of the Socialist Party.

PART TWO: PAPERS OF MARTIN ABERN

Section I Bolshevism in America: Early Documents of the Communist Party (CP) of the U.S.

(See also: "Early Years, 1924-28," # 8470-8520, in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection.)

- 11:1 1. "To The American Communist Party." Original letter from Executive Committee of the Communist International (CI). On decision of Fourth Congress of CI ordering American CP to cease illegal work. Dec. 18, 1922.
2. The Communist. Official Organ of the United CP of America. Nos. 8 and 9. [c.1920]
- 11:2-3 3. The Communist. Official Organ of the CP of America. No. 4, Oct. 1921 and No. 13, 1923.
- 11:4 4. Souvenir Program, John Reed Memorial. New York. Oct. 17, 1921. Published by National Defense Committee, New York Division. Includes poems by Louise Bryant.
- 1.1:5 5. Soviet Russia. New York. Dec. 1921. Includes articles by Lenin, Trotsky, Kollontai, Serge.
- 11:6 6. "Manifesto of the Communist Party of America on the Workers' Party." [c.1922]
- 11:7 7. "Why Every Worker should be a Communist and join the Workers Party" by C.E. Ruthenberg. Chicago. [c.1922]
- 11:8 8. "Official Report of the Opening Session of the Third Congress of the Young Communist International." Supplement to the Young Communist. [London]. Feb. 1923.
- 11:9 9. "For a Communist Party of Action: An Appeal to the Members of District No. 2, Workers Party." New York. [c.1924]
- 11:10-11 10. Minutes, resolutions and minority reports of Plenum of National Executive Committee, Young Workers (Communist) League of America. Chicago. May 10-12, 1927.
- 11:12 11. Speech by William Z. Foster. Thirteenth Session of CI Sixth World Congress. [Moscow]. [July] 1928. Stenographic typescript.
18. Speech by [William F.?] Dunne. CI Sixth World Congress. [Moscow]. July 24, 1928. Stenographic typescript.
- 11:13 13. Course outline. Workers School. March 14, 1928.

- 11:13 14. Three lecture outlines on the "History of the Communist Movement in America" by Alexander Bittleman. [c.1929]

Section II Early Documents of the U.S. Socialist Party

- 11:14 1. Letter by Elsie Latimer, J. Anderson, A. Hanson, of the Minnesota Socialist. On problems of consolidation with New Times Publishing. Minneapolis. June 1915.
2. The Bulletin. Issued by the National Office, Socialist Party. Against the left wing. Chicago. June 15, 1919.

Section III Other Documents of the 1920s

- 11:15 1. "The International." Playbill for play by John Howard Lawson. New Playwrights Theatre. New York. 1927-28.
2. "What is International Labor Defense?" Issued by National Office, ILD. New York. [c.1928]
3. Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party election leaflet. Primary, June 18, 1928.
4. "Down with government by injunction!" Workers (Communist) Party leaflet. [c.1929]
- 11:16 5. "Lest We Forget" (Sacco and Vanzetti), Sept. 27, 1927, and "Martyrdom of the Bulgarian People", Oct. 27, 1927. Pamphlets by International Class War Prisoners Aid.
- 11:17 6. Labor Unity. Official Organ of the Trade Union Educational League. New York. March 1929.
- 11:18 7. "The Tyrant" (Mussolini). Pamphlet by Canadian Labor Defence League. Toronto. [c.1928]
- 11:19-22 8. Die Internationale. Zeitschrift fur Praxis und Theorie des Marxismus. Founded by Luxemburg and Mehring. Leipzig-Berlin. Four issues: July 15, 1921; Aug. 1 and Sept. 15, 1923; April 1, 1926. In German.
- 11:23 9. Sichel und Hammer. Illustrierte Internationale Arbeiterzeitung. Berlin. Sept. 1924. In German.
- 11:24 10. Letter, annual reports, minutes, resolutions and other materials. Solon De Leon, League for Mutual Aid. New York. May 10, 1929.

Section IV Development of Trotskyism, 1928-39: In the U.S. and Internationally

A. Expulsion of Trotskyists from the Communist Party; Organization of the Communist Left Opposition

- 11:25-28 1. Newsclippings on expulsion of Trotskyists from CP. Articles primarily from Daily Worker. Oct. 1928-Feb. 1929.
- 11:29 2. Telegram from Jay Lovestone to Martin Abern. Oct. 26, 1928.
- 11:30 3. The Militant. Semi-Monthly Organ of the Opposition Group in the Workers (Communist) Party of America. Vol. I, No. 1. Nov. 15, 1928.
- 11:31 4. Bulletins Nos. 1 and 2. First bulletins of Opposition Group. New York. Nov. 16 and 21, 1928. On expulsion from CP.
- 11:32 5. "Statement to the District Executive Council of the New York District in reply to charges" by M.L. Malken. New York. Nov. 12, 1928.
- 11:33 6. Statement by Arne Swabeck and Albert Glotzer to Central Executive Committee, Workers (Communist) Party. Nov. 22, 1928.
- 11:34 7. Bulletin. Chicago Opposition Group, Workers (Communist) Party. Jan. 24, 1929.
- 11:35 8. Letter from M. Abern to A. Swabeck. Nov. 2, 1928.
- 11:36 9. Bulletin No. 1. Independent Communist League of Boston. Dr. Antoinette Konikow, Secretary. Dec. 1928.
- 11:37 10. "Platform of the Communist Opposition in America." Uncorrected typescript draft. [c.1928]
- 11:38 11. Telegram from Maurice Spector, Toronto, to M. Abern and Max Shachtman. Jan. 15, 1929.
- 11:39-40 12. Earliest leaflets, admission tickets for lectures, dances, picnics of the Opposition Group. New York. Nov. 1928-Aug. 1929.

B. Trotsky in Exile, 1930-33

- 11:41 1. Letter from M. Shachtman, Prinkipo (Turkey) to M. Abern. March 22, 1930.
2. "The Crisis in the German Left Opposition" by Leon Trotsky. Prinkipo. Feb. 17, 1931.
3. "To the I.S. [International Secretariat], to the National Sections of the Left Opposition." Letter from Trotsky. Prinkipo. March 7, 1931.

- 11:42 4. Letter from Trotsky to A. Swabeck. March 7, 1933. Letter from Swabeck to Trotsky. March 8, 1933.
5. Letter from M. Shachtman, Buyukada (Prinkipo). Includes summary of Trotsky's discussion on U.S. factionalism. June 9, 1933.
6. Three letters from M. Shachtman, Buyukada, to M. Abern. June 22, July 6 and 13, 1933.
7. Letter from M. Shachtman, Buyukada. Excerpts from letter to Sara Weber. July 6, 1933.

C. Communist League of America (CLA)

- 11:43 1. "The Organization of the Communists in Opposition." Report (by M. Abern?) to Conference of the Communist Opposition. Chicago. May 18, 1929.
2. Post Office receipt for registered mail from M. Abern to Leon Sedoff in Turkey. Signed by Trotsky. July 25, 1929. Also: Post Office receipt postmarked Shanghai. May 27, 1929.
3. Letter from Finnish Left Wing Labor Movement, U.S., to James Cannon and Jay Lovestone. Dec. 30, 1929.
- 11:44 4. Letter from M. Abern to M. Spector. March 5, 1930.
5. "Our Unemployment Program." Membership discussion material. CLA. May 1931.
- 12:1-10 6. Internal Bulletins (7). Nos. 1-5, 9, 17. CLA. June-Dec. 1932.
- 12:11 7. "International Information Material." Three letters from G. Gourov (Trotsky). Internal Bulletin. CLA. 1932.
- 12:12 8. "The Situation in the American Opposition: Prospect and Retrospect." Statement by Abern, Glotzer, Shachtman. June 4, 1932.
- 12:13 9. "Some Considerations on the Results of the National Committee Plenum" (by Abern and Shachtman?). June 16, 1932.
10. "Statement of Abern and Shachtman on the Results of the Post-Plenum Discussion." Jan. 3, 1933.
11. "Statement by Abern and Shachtman." Jan. 23, 1933.
- 12:14 12. Correspondence between Tom O'Flaherty, Ireland, and M. Abern. Three letters. July-Aug. 1933.
- 12:15 13. Minutes of National Committee, CLA. Five meetings. Nov.-Dec. 1933. Also: Financial statement of National Office, CLA. Nov. 1933.

- 12:16 14. "Towards a New Communist International." Resolutions of National Committee, CLA. [c.1933]
15. Announcement of courses. International Workers School, CLA. New York City. Fall and Winter, 1933-34.
- 12:17 16. Minutes of National Committee, CLA. Eleven meetings. Jan.-Feb. 1934.
- 12:18 17. Documents on expulsion of B.J. Field and A. Caldis. CLA. New York. Feb.-May 1934.
- 12:19 18. Letter from M. Abern to National Committee. April 1, 1934. Letter from M. Shachtman to M. Abern. April 3, 1934.
- 12:20 19. Agenda, declaration of delegates, draft thesis. Third National Convention. CLA. 1934.
- 12:21 20. Minutes of National Committee, CLA. Four meetings. March-April 1934. Also: Financial statement of National Office. March 1934.
- 12:22 21. Minutes of National Committee, CLA. Four meetings. May 19, 1934; Sept. and Nov. 1934.
- 12:23 22. Minutes of National Youth Committee, CLA. Jan. 13, 1934 and Dec. 9, 1934.
- 12:24-26 23. Internal Bulletins (3). CLA. 1934.

D. The International Left Opposition

(See also: "Leon Trotsky: Letters, Conversations, Unpublished Documents," # 2210-2407, in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. For the Russian Bulletin of the Opposition and related documents, see especially # 2318-2348, # 8523-8526, and # 8537-8770.)

- 12:27 1. Minutes of the International Secretariat (IS) on trip to Spain. April 18, 1931.
2. Correspondence between Trotsky and International Sections. Dec. 22, 1931-Jan. 15, 1932. Includes resolutions of Left Opposition, France.
- 12:28 3. Minutes of Plenum. IS. Nov. 18-19, 1933.
4. "The Conference of Four." Minutes of meeting in preparation for Fourth International, with Trotsky present. Paris. Dec. 30, 1933. Includes report on the Spanish situation.
- 12:29 5. "The Building of a New International and the Policy of the United Front" by G. Gourov (Trotsky). Aug. 24, 1933. Also: "Report of the International Conference of the Left Socialist Parties and the Independent Communist Organizations." Aug. 1933.

- 12:29 6. "For the Fourth International." IS, League of Communist-Internationalists. Geneva. March 1934. Also: Announcement of "Special Conference on Fascism." Communist League of Great Britain. May 24, 1934.
- 12:30 7. "Draft of the Economic Part of the Program of the Fourth International" by Fritz Sternberg. [n.d.]
- 12:31-35 8. International Bulletins (5). Communist Left Opposition. Nos. 1, 2, 7, 9/10 (1931) and No. 17 (1933).
- 13:1-2 9. International Bulletin. Communist Left Opposition. No. 2/3. 1933. English and French editions.
- 13:3 10. International Bulletins (2). International Communist League. News Series Nos. 1 and 2. April and Sept. 1934.
- 13:4 11. Bulletins (4). Ligue des Communistes Internationalistes(LCI). Belgium. June 1933; Aug., Sept., Nov. 1934. In French.
- 13:5 12. Bulletin Interieur des Communistes-Internationalistes. Paris. P. Naville, editor. Nov. 15, 1934. In French.
- 13:6-7 13. Bulletin d'Informations (4). Communistes-Internationalistes. Paris. P. Naville, editor. Oct. and Nov. 1934; March 1935. In French.
- 13:8 14. Bulletin de la Ligue des Communistes-Internationalistes (B-L). International Secretariat. Amsterdam. Sept. 1935. In French.
- 13:9 15. "Service d'Information et de Presse." IS. Paris. Three issues. Aug., Sept., Dec. 1936. In French.
- 13:10 16. Lutte Ouvriere. Organe du Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste. Sept. 12, 1936. In French.
17. International youth publications:
- 13:11 a. "Internationale Jugend-Information der I.K.L." Copenhagen. Five issues. June-Sept. 1935, Jan. 1936. In German.
- 13:12 b. "Internationales Jugend-Bulletin." Stockholm. Four issues. Sept. 1934, April, May, Aug. 1935. In German.
- 13:13 c. "International Bulletin of the Youth." Stockholm. Five issues. Nov. 1934-March 1935.
- 13:14 d. Internal Bulletin. International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations. Dec. 1934-Jan. 1935. Also: "Report of the Activity of the Secretariat for 1934." Jan. 1935.
18. Volkswille. Reichsorgan des Leninbundes (Linkekommunisten). Berlin. May 25, 1929-Dec. 11, 1931. In German.

- 13:15-16 19. Unserwort. IKD. Paris and Belgium. Five issues. 1935, 1936, 1939. In German.
- 13:17 20. Bulletin of Left Opposition in China. 1929. In Chinese.
- 13:18-19 21. "Five Years of the Left Opposition in China: An Attempt to Explain its Failure to Make Progress" by Niel Sih (Liu Jen Ching). Peking. July 7, 1934. Manuscript.
- 13:20 22. Communistes. Organ of Greek Bureau of Left Communist Opposition of USA. New York City. Dec. 1931. In Greek.
- 13:21 23. La Verita. Organo della Sez. Italiana della Lega Comunista-Internazionalista. Paris. March 1934. In Italian.
- 13:22 24. La Verdad. Organo del Comite Comunista de Oposicion. Buenos Aires. June 1930. In Spanish.
- 13:23 25. El Soviet. Oposicion Comunista de Izquierda. Barcelona. Oct. 15, 1931. In Spanish.
- 13:24 26. Joven Espartaco. Organo de las Juventudes de la Izquierda Comunista Espanola. Madrid. July 1932. In Spanish.
- 13:25 27. Per Reue Mahnruf. Organ der Kommunistischen Linksopposition. Austria. Nov. 1931. In German.
- 13:26 28. "October Youth". Bulletin of Spartacus Youth Club. Toronto. Three issues. May-Sept. [1933]
- 13:27 29. The Vanguard. Organ of the International Left Opposition of Canada. Four issues. 1932, 1933, 1936.
- 13:28 30. Die Nieuwe Weg. Onafhankelijk Revolutionnair Socialistisch Maandschrift. Amsterdam. Nov. 1934. In Dutch.
- 13:29-30 31. The Red Flag. Britain. Eleven issues. 1933 to 1937.
- 13:31 32. Militant. Organ of Provisional Committee of the Militant Labour League. Dec. 1937.
- 13:32 33. "The Spark". Organ of the Workers' Party of South Africa. Cape Town and Johannesburg. Feb. 1937.

E. Workers Party of U.S.; Debates on Entry into Socialist Party

- 14:1 1. Discussion between American Workers Party (AWP) and CLA. For AWP: Muste, Budenz, Hook, Burnham. For CLA: Cannon, Shachtman, Swabeck. Feb. 26, 1934.
- 14:2 2. Letter from A. Glotzer to M. Shachtman. Oct. 22, 1934.

- 14:3 3. Conference Thesis Draft, Third League National Conference (CLA). Section III: The League and the New Party. [1934] Also: Statement by Revolutionary Workers Party to AWP-CLA Merger Convention.
- 14:4 4. Proposed Program and Declaration of Principles for New Party. Prepared by Joint AWP-CLA Committee. [1934]
- 14:5 5. "Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the Workers Party of the U.S." New York. [c.1934]
- 14:6-7 6. International Information Bulletin. Nos. 1 and 2. National Committee, Workers Party of U.S. New York. 1935.
- 14:8 7. Internal Bulletin. No. 1. Workers Party of U.S. 1935.
- 14:9-10 8. Resolutions, motions, correspondence by Trotsky, Abern, A. Goldman, H. Oehler, others. On entry of French Trotskyists into Socialist Party. [c.Aug.-Dec. 1934]
- 14:11 9. "Summary Report of the IS Delegate to the National Conference of the Belgian Section." March 10, 1935.
10. Letter from G. Vereecken. Belgian Section, International Communist League. March 16, 1935.
- 14:12 11. Organization Bulletin. Workers Party, New York District. March 1935.
- 14:13 12. Resolutions, reports on activity. New York District, Workers Party. Dec. 1934-July 1935.
- 14:14-15 13. Minutes, resolutions, statements by Cannon, Shachtman, Muste, Oehler, others. Plenum of National Committee, Workers Party of U.S. June 15-21, 1935.
- 14:16 14. Letters from Hugo Oehler to Trotsky, to International Secretariat, others. Against entry into SP. Feb.-July 1935.
- 14:17 15. Statements by A.J. Muste. On WPUS factionalism, against entry into SP. [c.July-Aug. 1935]
- 14:18 16. Letter from A. Glotzer to Trotsky. Aug. 29, 1935. Includes notes from Political Committee [WP] minutes. July 29, 1935.
- 14:19 17. Documents on Oehler case, issued by Political Committee, WPUS. Aug. 14, 1935.
- 14:20-23 18. "International News." Published by Left Wing Group, Workers Party USA. New York. Four issues. [Aug.-Sept] and Oct. 1935.
- 14:24-25 19. Resolutions and statements. October (Third) Plenum of Workers Party. 1935. Also: "Draft Statement on Developments in the Socialist Party." Dec. 1935.

14:26 20. Statements against expulsions of Oehler and others from WP. Nov. 1935.

F. From the Spanish Revolution to the Eve of World War II: Debates Leading to the
Expulsion of the Trotskyists/Left Wing from the Socialist Party

(See also: Part I, Sections B and C of The John Dwyer Collection.)

14:27 1. Letter from Muste, Abern, Spector to "Comrades." Feb. 27, 1936.

2. "The Fourth International and the Soviet Union" by Trotsky. On Stalin's new constitution in Russia. July 8, 1936.

3. Report by A.J. Muste from Charleroi, Belgium. July 17, 1936.

14:28 4. Theses, resolutions and appeals of First Conference for the Fourth International. IS, Fourth International. Geneva. July 19-21, 1936. Includes report on Pre-Conference for the New Youth International. Geneva. Aug. 1, 1936.

14:29 5. "Letter to Ten American Comrades" by Bolshevik-Leninist Section of Spain (Fourth International). Barcelona. March 1, 1937.

6. Letter on Spain by Lund (Trotsky). March 20, 1937.

7. Letter from M. Shachtman to William Spencer on the Chicago (SP) Convention. April 9, 1937. Also: "The Imperialist War in Spain" by W. Spencer. Communist Workers Group, New Jersey, [n.d.]

14:30 8. Two letters from Harry Milton, Barcelona, to M. Abern. On situation in Spain. May 1 and 2, 1937.

14:31 9. Four letters from Harry Milton to M. Abern. From prison in Barcelona, on persecutions by Stalinists and government. May 19-July 11, 1937.

14:32 10. "Report to the National Executive Committee, Socialist Party USA, on the work of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky." May 8, 1937.

14:33 11. News Bulletin. American Committee for Defense of Trotsky. Two issues. Jan. and Feb. 1937.

4:34 12. Confidential letter from Wolfe (Trotsky) to Cannon and Shachtman. May 25, 1937.

13. Letters on crisis in functioning in SP:

Joseph Carter to "Comrades". May 28, 1937.

Abern to Ruth Ageloff, Mexico. June 11, 1937.

James Burnham, Spector, Carter to "Comrades." July 7, 1937.

- Cannon, Shachtraan, Glen Trimble to "Comrades." June 29, 1937. 14:35 Cannon to Joe Hansen.
June 9 and 10, 1937.
[A. Glotzer?] to Burnham. June 21, 1937.
Carter to Wolfe (Trotsky). June 22, 1937.
Glotzer to Trotsky. June 22, 1937.
Trotsky to Glotzer. Sept. 27, 1937.
- 14:36 14. Information Bulletin. International Bureau for the Fourth International. On situation in Spain. July 1937.
15. International Bulletin. Youth Bureau for the Fourth International (Bolshevik-Leninist). Aug. 15, 1937.
- 14:37 16. Press Communication. Generalitat de Catalunya. Barcelona. Nov. 20 [1937]
- 14:38 17. "Letter on the Unemployment Question." Toledo Branch, Socialist Party. Toledo, Ohio. Dec. 6, 1937.
18. "Resolution on Internal Situation and Character of the Party." Convention Arrangements Committee, Socialist Party. [1937] Includes draft typescript of resolution.
- 15:1-2 19. Documents on the "Chicago controversy," 1937:
Internal Bulletin No. 4, Organizing Committee for the Socialist Party Convention. Dec. 1937.
"Left-Wing Correspondence" Nos. 2 and 4. Sept. and Dec. 1937. "Conflicts in the Chicago Organization" by Cannon. Dec. 16, 1937.
- 15:3 20. International Solidarity. American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees. No. 1, Sept. 1938. Publishing committee includes Cannon, Abern, Dwight Macdonald, Meyer Shapiro, others.

G. Other Documents of the 1930s

- 15:4-5 1. Class Struggle. Official Organ of the Communist League of Struggle (Adherents to the International Left Opposition). Edited by Albert Weisbord. Five issues. Dec. 1, 1931, Aug. 1932, May and Sept.-Oct. 1933. July 1933 issue in German.
- 15:6 2. "Free Tom Mooney" by Theodore Dreiser. San Francisco. [1933] Pamphlet.
- 15:7 3. "The Unions and the Socialists" by Leo Krzycki. Socialist Party, Chicago. [n.d.]
- 15:8 4. "Perspectives of the Rubber Industry" by B.J. Widdick. [c.1936]
- 15:9 5. New International Bulletin. League for a Revolutionary Workers Party. New York City. [1935]

- 15:10 6. Constitution, Workers Defense League. (Draft of Non-Partisan Labor Defense program). [c.1936] Also: "What is the Non-Partisan Labor Defense?" New York. [n.d.] Pamphlet.
- 15:11 7. "Tampa — Tar and Terror." Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa. [c.1936] Pamphlet.
8. "Trotsky Protests Too Much" by Emma Goldman. Anarchist Communist Federation. London. 1938. Pamphlet.
- 15:12 9. Arbeiter-Jugend. Berlin. Aug. 1932. In German.
- 15:13 10. Deutsche Volks-Zeitung. Berlin. Nov. 23, 1934. In German.
- 15:14 11. The Council. Glasgow. Two issues. Feb. and May 1933. Hyde Park. Glasgow. Sept. 1938.
- 15:15 12. The British Revolutionary Socialist. Official Organ of British Section, International Socialist Labour Party. May 1934.
- 15:16 13. The Socialist Standard. Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. London. Four issues. 1928, 1933.
- 15:17 14. "Spain." United Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. New York. [1936] Photomagazine.
- 15:18 15. "The Communist Election Program" by Earl Browder and James W. Ford. July 1936.
16. "International Press Correspondence." London. Feb. 6, 1937.
17. News release issued by Ben Gitlow, Workers Communist League. May 17, 1933.
- 15:19-20 18. Fliers, pamphlets, booklists and newsclippings.

Section V Founding of the Fourth International: Crisis in Trotskyism Over Defense of Russia

- 15:21 1. "Theses and Resolutions of the Second Congress of the Communist International" (1920). Published by the Socialist Club, University of Chicago. Feb. 10, 1938.
- 15:22 2. Discussion by Crux (Trotsky) and others on international conferences, labor party, war, transitional program. March 20-23, 1938. Stenographic typescript.
3. Letter from Abern to Al [Glotzer? Goldman?] April 25, 1938.
- 15:23 4. International Internal Bulletin No. 2. International Secretariat, Fourth International. April 1938.

- 15:24-16:3 5. Internal Bulletins (15). SWP. 1938-39.
- 16:4 6. International Bulletin. International Executive Committee, Fourth International. Nov. 1939.
- 16:5 7. SWP Constitution as Amended by Second Convention. July 1939.
- 16:6-21 8. Documents on disputes over defense and nature of Russia and related questions, and their ramifications within the SWP leading to splits within the U.S. Trotskyist movement. Includes letters, articles, statements by Trotsky, Cannon, Abern, Burnham, Shachtman, Goldman, Carter, Wright, Hansen, Weber, others. Nov. 1939-March 1940.
- 16:22-23 9. Agenda and resolutions. Third National Convention. SWP. [April 1940]
- 16:24 10. Discussion with Lund (Trotsky). On SWP work in pre-war period, split by Workers Party, other matters. June 12-15, 1940. Stenographic typescript.
- 16:25 11. Special bulletin on the SWP Convention. League for a Revolutionary Workers Party. April 1940.
- 16:26-27 12. Newsclippings on the murder of Leon Trotsky, August 1940. From Mexican, U.S. and other papers.
- 16:28 13. Revised Declaration of Principles. Draft submitted to SWP Plenum Conference. [c.1940]
- 16:29 14. Pre-Plenum Discussion Bulletins (2). SWP. Aug. and Sept. 1940.
- 16:30 15. Documents from Plenum Conference, SWP. Chicago. Sept. 28-29, 1940.
- 16:31 16. "The Federal Prosecution and the Present Tasks of the Party." Draft resolution. SWP. [c.1941]

Appendix Two

Newspapers and Journals, 1928-1948

Appendix Two contains newspapers, journals and magazines, predominantly-published by Trotskyist and Communist organizations, 1928-29 through the 1930s. These materials are located in the library section of the Archives.

1. Daily Worker. Communist Party. New York City. Miscellaneous issues, 1928-29, 1935, 1936.
2. Labor Defender. International Labor Defense. New York City. Feb.-May 1929.
3. Labor Unity. Trade Union Educational League. New York City. Dec. 1928.
4. The Proletarian. [CP] Chicago. Nov. 1928 to Jan.-Feb. 1929.
5. Workers Sports. Labor Sports Union. Brooklyn. No. 1, Jan. 1929.
6. The Railroad Amalgamation Advocate. Chicago. April 1928.
7. The Silk Striker. Associated Silkworkers of America. Paterson, N.J. Nov. 24, 1928.
8. The Struggle Against War. American Committee for Struggle Against War. New York City. No. 1, April 1933.
9. Technocracy Review. Hugo Gernsback, editor. New York City. No. 1, Feb. 1933.
10. Militant. Miscellaneous issues from Opposition Group (1928) to SWP (1947). For bound volumes of Militant, see Part One, Section I(E)1.
11. Class Struggle. Communist League of Struggle. Albert Weisbord, editor. Nos. 1 and 2. May and June 1931.
12. Young Spartacus. National Youth Committee, CLA. New York City. Miscellaneous issues from No. 1, Dec. 1931 to Oct. 1934.
13. Der Kommunist. Zeitschrift der Vereinigten Linken Opposition der K.P.D. Berlin. May 1930. In German.
14. La Verite. Organe de l'Opposition Communiste. Paris. Issues from No. 1, Sept. 13, 1929 to Dec. 1935. In French.
15. La Voix Communiste. Organe de la Section Beige de la Ligue Communiste Internationaliste. Nov. 11 and 25, Dec. 2, 1934. In French.
16. Le Combat des Jeunes. Organe des Jeunesses Leninistes. Ligue Communiste Internationaliste. Paris. June 16, 1934. In French.

17. Lutte Ouvrier. Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste. Paris. Miscellaneous issues, July 11, 1936 to Sept. 2, 1938. In French.
18. La Commune de Paris. Parti Communiste Internationaliste. June 5, 1936. In French.
19. Young Militant. Spartacus Youth Clubs. Toronto. June 1934.
20. Labor Age. New York City. Dec. 1931.
21. American Socialist Quarterly. Official Theoretical Organ of the Socialist Party of the U.S. New York City. Spring 1934.
22. American Socialist Monthly. July and Aug. 1936, May 1937.
23. Modern Monthly. New York City. Dec. 1934, Dec. 1936.
24. Labor Action. Various published by American Workers Party, SP of California, Western Federation of SP, Workers Party. Miscellaneous issues, Oct. 1, 1934 to Aug. 26, 1940.
25. Mass Action. National Unemployed League. May 4 and Nov. 15, 1935.
26. New Militant. Workers Party. New York City. Miscellaneous issues, Mar. 30, 1935 to April 18, 1936.
27. New International. Theoretical Organ of the Workers Party. March 1935.
28. Challenge of Youth. Young Peoples Socialist League. New York City. Oct. 1937, March 1938.
29. Truth About the Moscow Trials. Max Shachtman, editor. April 1937.
30. The Fighting Worker. Revolutionary Workers League. March 1 and June 13, 1936.
31. Labor Front. League for a Revolutionary Workers Party. April 1936.
32. Socialist Call. "Socialist Perspectives 1937." New York City.
33. Labor Power. Socialist Union Party. New York City. Dec. 1939.
34. Challenge. New York City. June 4, 1938.
35. International Review. New York City. Aug. 1937.
36. Workers Age. CP of USA (Opposition). New York City. Miscellaneous issues, Feb. 1, 1933 to Oct. 12, 1935.
37. The Northwest Organizer. Northwest Labor Unity Conference. Minneapolis. April 22, 1936. Teamsters Joint Council. June 2, 1938.

38. Union Guide. Truck Drivers Local 377. Youngstown, Ohio. No. 1, Jan. 10, 1936.
39. United Rubber Worker. Akron, Ohio. Nos. 1-3, April-June 1936.
40. Voice of the Federation. Maritime Federation. San Francisco. Miscellaneous issues, Aug. 6 to Dec. 24, 1936.
41. Weekly News Service. AFL. Washington DC. June 4, 1938.
42. American Spectator. A Literary Newspaper. May and June 1934.
43. Liberty. March 23, 1935.
44. The Nation. May 29, 1929, May 2 and 9, 1934.
45. The New Quarterly. Rock Island, Illinois. No. 1, Spring 1934.
46. New International. Supplement. Oct. 1944.
47. Progressive Painter. Inter-Local Conference of Progressive Painters. New York City. No. 1, June 14, 1946.
48. Michigan CIO News. Detroit. July 7, 1948.
49. The Highland Park Watchword. Ford Local 400, UAW-CIO. July 1948.
50. Ford Facts. Local 600, UAW-CIO. Detroit. July 17, 24 and 31, 1948.
51. Ford Highland Park News. Published for Employees of Ford Motor Company. Highland Park, Michigan. July 1948.
52. Ford Rouge News. Published for Employees of Ford Motor Company. Dearborn, Michigan. July 23, 1948.