# SOCIALST

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

401 Vol. 1. - No. 7.

Saturday, September 25, 1937

5 Cents per Copy

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### Forward to the **Convention**

The need of the hour for the sincere and revolutionary socialists of the country is the speedy convening of an emergency rank and file convention of the Socialist Party.

Throughout the country, the usurpers of the National Executive Committee are splitting the party by the expulsion of the left wingers on the basis of an infamous "loyalty oath".

As a condition for membership in the party, they are seeking to compel the comrades who are earnestly devoted to socialist principles, who are concerned with their socialist integrity—to compel them to condemn the revolutionists who are fighting the betrayal of socialism perpetrated by the National Executive Committee when it sanctioned the support of the capitalist demagogue, La Guardia, and declared the expulsion of all those who opposed this loathsome sell-out.

On the basis of this "loyalty oath", which they know will not be signed by a single self-respecting socialist anywhere in the country, comrades are being expelled Goldrick and Newbold Morris, throughout the party and the locals are being organized both among New York's most on the basis of support for "La Guardia Socialism."

There is no other way of effectively combatting the disruption of the movement, no other way of reconstruc-ting the socialist party on a revolutionary basis, than by the rank and file taking matters into their own hands. Over the heads of the La Guardia socialists on the National the Supreme Court as the guar-Executive Committee, guilty of perfidy and treachery to dian of the people's liberty. socialist principle, the rank and file of the party must mobilize for their own national convention.

The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Ohio has already taken the initiative. By unanimous vote it has called for an emergency convention "for the purpose of throwing out the traitors, determining the will of the membership on all important party problems and reestablishing of the party on the foundation of revolutionary socialism". The Ohio S.E.C. proposes that the convention be held in Chicago on or about the Thanksgiving week-end. It has authorized the City Central Committee of Local New York, Left wing, to act as organizing committee on convention arrangements.

The National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League has already given its unanimous endorsement to the movement initiated by Ohio.

The Executive Committee of Local Cook Country (Chi-

cago) has adopted a similar resolution.

Local Lynn, Mass., has unanimously decided to join hands in the calling of the emergency convention of the rank and file.

Local Rochester, New York, has now gone on record against the La Guardia Socialists and echoes the demand for the emergency convention.

Local Allentown, Penna., has joined the movement for the convention in Chicago on the Thanksgiving week-end. Local Austin, Minn., has given a vigorous reply to the

splitters and reformists of the N.E.C. and called for a special convention. Local Philadelphia, Parkside branch, has taken the

same action and will be represented at the convention. Other local and state organizations throughout the country, from Boston to San Francisco, are expected to

take action on the question in the coming days.. Throughout the country, the local must act immediately to endorse the Ohio resolution. Every day's delay facili-

tates the criminal work of the right wing and their centrist tools. The revolutionary socialist party must be restored and consolidated.

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> (Continued on page 3) To Speak Friday



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## When Willthe New World War Begin

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The Truth
About Spain!

Harry Milton
Just Released from a G.U.P. Prison in Spain
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It has been often noticed that military tacticians are almost always caught off guard in the first stages of a new war. The reason for this is easily explained: At the conclusion of one war. the tacticians set about learning the lessons which its campaigns have taught. They then base their plans for the coming war upon what they have learned from the war just finished, expecting to correct "mistakes" chiefly by extending the scope of operations. But in modern times, during the intervening period of peace, vast technological changes have profoundly altered the instruments of warfare, and social and political shifts have altered ways of handling masses of people. Consequently, the lessons of the past war are discovered not to apply to the new war, or to apply only indirectly. The military staff have to throw overboard most of their studies, and learn afresh, from

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## When Will the New World War Begin

#### Imperialists Now Launch Conflicts Without Formal Declarations of War

(Continued from page 1) concrete reality. Every new historical crisis, deep as may be its roots in the past, is yet novel as likely to be fooled as instructed by memories; and conventional formulas can never do the work of intelligence.

#### Central Task

Every serious person knows that the new world imperialist war is coming, and is in fact not far off. Every Marxist or near-Marxist realizes that in the new war the fate of mankind will be at issue; that out of this war will come either the workers' revolution or a social barbarism more terrible and devastating than ever before known in history. Every revolutionist understands that in the last analysis his central task is to prepare for the challenge of the coming war with the unbreakable determin-.ation that it shall be at once the death of the monstrosity of capitalism and the birth of the new world order.

All the more fatal, then, will be any miscalculation concerning the nature and manner of the new war. A simple major error may well prove a disaster. Nor, to avoid miscalculation, is it enough to rely passively on what ed"? we have learned from the past.

#### The New Aspect

Right on the surface there is a peculiarity of the present world situation which is all-important. This peculiarity is suggested by asking the simple question, How None of these situations is howwill the new war begin?

At no time in the past would the direct analysis of living and this question even have been raised. War was always a social activity with certain convenctional standards and rules. Wars beand unprecedented in certain of gan with a formal announcement its fundamental aspects. We are to that effect, called in modern times a "Declaration of War" by the warring parties. This, in turn, was a modified development from the more elaborate ceremones that preceded armed conflict in feudal society. The Declaration of War, in modern times, has itself almost invariably come as the conclusion of several other standardized actions: an "Ultimatum" of some kind, breaking off of diplolmatic rela-"general mobilization", tions". and then the Declaration of War.

The past three or four years in international relations have witnessed a more complete breakdown in usual "diplomacy", in the conventional ways of doing things, than has ever before occurred. Since the withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations, the act has come first, and the formality is either added on later or dispensed with altogether. Armies march, ships are sunk, cities bombed, treaties violated, all without benefit of the traditional "rules".

Does this mean that the new imperialist war will never be formally initiated, never "declar-

#### No Formalities

There was, as we know, no declaration of war when Japan invaded Manchuria, none when Italy invaded Ethiopia, and there has been none in connection with the Spanish events. ever, exactly comparable to an

WHERE HAVE YOU BEEN shall we do it? GETTING A CRITICAL MARX-ANALYSIS. OF EVENTS IN THE U. S., RUS-STA. SPAIN AND THE ENTIRE WORLD? THE SOCIALIST AP-PEAL, OF COURSE!

result of your financial and moral staff. While the Revolutionary wholesale by the reformist right by return mail: wingers, who are left with an almost defunct organization,) our most potent weapon against organization period every effort, their bureaucratic slander is our is being made to stabilize expen-sailles Treaty, which showed that own SOCIALIST APPEAL. The ditures and income—and until the Versailles system had broken APPEAL will now be used not this reorganization is complete down, and that a new period was only as an internal party organ you must help your own paper beginning. Political questions dealing with the internal party financially. Contribute liberally, were now no longer going to be become a propaganda organ which grow. Every copy of this issue other means", by armed conflict. can and will reach and influence of the Appeal should have this In a world all farmed out among the masses. To make a mass organ | blank torn out and mailed back | the various great powers, all of the APPEAL is now one of to us at once with your subscripour most important tasks. How tion or contribution OR BOTH!

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#### By James Burnham

inter-imperialist war, at least as such a war has been up to now understood. The invasions of Manchuria and Ethiopia were carried out by imperialist powers against backward nations. In the past, such acts have been frequent enough in the history of all the great power; and very often the great power did not see fit to dignfy the colonial aggression with a formal Declaration. Therefore, we are not able to conclude defintely from the evidence of the Manchurian and Ethiopian affairs that the interimperialist war itself will be undeclared.

But there is, when we examine the question more closely, a significant difference between the Manchurian and Ethiopian invasions, on the one hand, and earlier colonial enterprises on the other. During the 18th and 19th centuries there was still left in the world vast "virgin" territories, enormous areas as yet not brought under the sway of capitalist exploitation, and often not even definitely under the influence of any single great nation. But by the eve of 1914, almost the entire world had been divided up among the great powers, either as colonies, dominions, subject nations, or as some other type of "sphere of influence" This meant that capitalism had reached its progressive limit, and was entering its decline as world system. The War of 1914-18 was not a war of capitalist expansion, but a war for the redivision, of the world among the great powers, and out of the war there did in fact come a re-division, enshrined and "legalized" in the Versailles Treaty and the

#### End of Versailles

League of Nations.

The Versailles system summed p the relationship of forces which held at the end of the war, after volutionary party. WE MUST the military defeat of the Central Powers. It could hold only ATION! You can help in this! until intolerable inner conflicts ers or group of powers to attempt to change it. Japan in Manchuria gave the first power-

It was Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, more or less simultaneous with Hitler's de facto repudiation of the provisions of the Versettled by diplomacy, but ' linked together by the chains of world capitalism, Italy's campaign could not be regarded as a mere 'private" subjugation of the single backward country of Ethiopia. It was an armed attack on the whole political structure of the world as it has existed since 1918.

#### Prelude To The War

When Italy struck in Ethiopia, Marxists said that this was "the prelude to the new world war. By that, they meant what has been stated above, that the stage of national and international conflicts had reached a level beyond solution within the framework of the League of Nations and the post-war Peace Treaties, that henceforth the conflicts could manner not forseen by the milinever be forced back within that tarists, to concrete events. framework, that it was now a race toward war on a world scale.

The phrase, "prelude to the new world war", however, may who used it. It is the remarksince the beginning of the Ethioof armed men in conflict in numby month, almost without exhave been engaged chiefly in two But in the Ethiopian war, the were brought into the Mediterranean; in the Spanish War, there have been tens of thousands of men and hundreds of millions of dollars worth of munitions poured in by the great powers, and there have been armed encountand submarines of the powers; and in China there is present a to at least partial intervention.

#### What Next?

It is still, of course, possible that a temporary "solution" can be found for both the Spanish and the Chinese strugglesthough it is not possible that during the past three years now raises also, as another and diswith the invasion of Ethiopia struggles now going on may pass by a series of almost insensible pleted with no formalities whatty; it now becomes related, in a follow.

#### What This Means

The profound importance of this possibility for Marxists have had a more literal meaning should be apparent. If we do that was suspected even by those not take it into account, we may wake up some morning to find, able and indisputable fact that not that war has suddenly started, but that it stared some long pian invasion there have been in while ago. The revolutionists the world taken as a whole bodies would be caught completely off guard, organizationally and polibers steadily increasing month tically. Tactics applicable to a colonial civil war might be apception. In form these armed men plied long after what began as dominantly a colonial or civil "colonial wars" (Ethiopia and struggle had been subordinated China) and in a civil war (Spain). to the inter-imperialist conflicts.

On the other hand, if this posfleets of Great Britain and Italy sibility turns out to be the case, or is even partly true, we may anticipate a different tempo in certain developments associated with the period following the Declaration of War: as for example, the passing of reformists and labor bureoucrats over to fullers between the ships, airplanes blown social-patriotism, measures by Governments for "consolidation of the nation", etc. In fact, considerable concentration of the the voting of the war budgets armed forces of the powers, some by the French Communist and of whose tactics have amounted Socialist Parties in January, and the pro-Armament vote of the British Trades Union Congress this month, which we have tended to point to as an example of a difference in the character of the labor movement now as compared with 1914 (when such votes occurred only after the Declaraany solution could endure for tion of War), might seem to long. But the sequence of events strengthen the possibility which I have been discussing, and to suggest that the difference lies tinct possibility, the alternative rather in the changed form of that the process which began the development of the new war.

'War is a continuation of ponmay continue, and that the armed tics by other means". A war period of peace. Heretofore we have always had an easy congradations into conflict on a vention to distinguish the twoworld scale, into the new imperialist world war. This process might, furthermore, be com- may be, removed, we shall have to look more closely than ever ever, above all with no formal at events themselves. In an ar-Declarations of War. Military ticle next week, I propose to tacticians have already speculated make such an examination of the with this notion from the point Spanish events, and to suggest . of view of its military desirabili- certain political conclusions that

### Erber and Gould on Tours

#### **GOULD**

1. New York, N. Y. Sept. 17 2. Newark, N. J. Sept. 21 3. Philadelphia, Pa. Sept. 22-23

4. Reading, Pa. Sept. 24 .5. Youngstown, O. Sept. 25

6. Cleveland, Ohio Sept. 26-30 7. Akren, Ohio ..Oct. 1.-3

8. Chicago, Ill.. Oct. 4.-12 9. Minneapolis, St. Paul,

Austin, Minn. Fargo, N. D.,

Nebraska .....Oct. 13-20 10. Denver, Col. ....Oct. 24-25

11. Salt Lake City, Utah ...... Oct. 27-28 12. San Francisco,

Berkeley, Oakland, Calif. Oct. 30-Nev. 5

13. Stockton, Fresno, Calif. .......... 6-8

14. Los Angeles, San

Diego, Pasadena, Calif... Nov. 9-14 15. Phoenix, Ariz. Nov. 16

16. St. Louis, Mo... Nov. 20-21

#### **ERBER**

1. Gardner. Fitchburgh, Worces-

ter, Mass .....Sept. 20-26

2. Boston, Lynn,

Mass. ..... Sept. 27-30

3. Albany, N. Y. .. Oct. 1

4. Syracuse, N. Y. Oct. 2

5. Ithaca, N. Y. ....Oct. 3 6. Rochester, N. Y. Oct. 4

7. Detroit, Mich. Oct. 7 8. Toledo, Ohio ... Oct. 8

9. Chicago, Ill. Oct. 9-16

10. Indianapolis, Ind. Oct. 17 11. Louisville, Ky. .. Oct. 18

12. Columbus, Ohio. Oct. 19

13. Washington, D.C. Oct. 20

14. Baltimore, Md. .. Oct. 21

15 Philadelphia, Pa. Oct. 22

16. New York, N. Y. Oct. 23

## Who Does the Constitution Belong To?

#### Should the Working Class Celebrate Its Birthday or Prepare Its Funeral?

States is one hundred and fifty juducial, the greatest contribution 1893. years old. Last week all the of the Constitution to statecraft worshippers at the shrine of and to stable government. The bourgeois democracy held birth- Republican Senator has a keen day parties in its honor. The class sense. The tripartite system Republican presidential aspirant, of "checks and balances" Vanderberg, swore to defend this expressly designed to strangle citadel of capitalist conservatism legislation unfavorable to the from all assault. The Democratic governing group. What could not President rejoiced in "the wisdom be maimed or miscarried in Conof the Constitution" and pledged gress might be vetoed by the himself to defend it against its President; what the Chief Execu-"misinterpreters." The most tive (of the ruling class!) could stalwart, the most belligerent not put out of the way, the Supchampions of the Constitution reme Court could kill. No cleverer, were the Stalinists, who called no more efficient machinery for upon "all liberty-loving Americans" to fight for this palladium popular will in a republic has of their rights against "the princes of privilege.'

The monied and mercantile men, who together with the Southern planting aristocrats, framed the Constitution; the slaveholding oligarchy who employed it to extend and maintain their "peculiar institution;" and the industrial and financial bourgeoisie who have ruled the country since the Civil War, each of these governing minorities has found the Constitution adequate to ensure their souvereignty over the majority of the American people and a few subject peoples to boot.

#### Undemocratic

For the Constitution is essentially an undemocratic document. It was the product of a period of reaction in the development of the first American revolution, the climax of a protracted struggle for power between the pettybourgeois farmers and artisans, who composed the mass of the nation, and the Southern planters and Northern capitalists, who succeeded in suppressing them.

It is a truism for Marxists that such constitutions are always (as Marx put it) a compromise among "contending factions of the ruling class ..... which allow them to continue the struggle between themselves and at the same time to keep the exhausted masses of the people out of it .... it sanctioned the monetary victory of the old society over the revolution.

The Constitutional Convention was a self-constituted group of large property holders, who had no mandate from the people.

They met to consolidate their victory over the masses; to safeguard themselves against further assaults from within and from without; and above all to promote and protect their own immediate and narrow social interests. This conspiratorial clique conducted intruders, no direct representaheld behind closed doors; no notes of the proceedings were allowed to be published. The final draft was forced down the throats of the states by gerrymandering, electoral frauds, and conventions with the most hasty and restricted representation. The whole procedure was in effect nothing but a coup d'etat. So much for the circumstances of the origins of the Constitution.

Could one expect that this bastard child of reaction, conceived by usurpation. brought forth in illegality, and adopted by main force, could be a democratic document?

#### Some Features

to enumerate and describe all of Rebellion" in 1794, the first at- similarity between the two doits anti-democratic features. Let tempt of the bourgeois state to cuments. Both were the offspring us limit ourselves to a few of the suppress its own citizens. It was of usurping and reactionary

of the government into three se- Democratic President Cleveland benevolent masters rather than to the State Constitutional Conparate and autonomous branches, to send Federal troops against formulated and adopted by the vention, a move which, according

obstructing the expression of the ever been devised.

#### Why Two Houses

An important cog in this system is the bicameral Congress with its upper and lower houses, so admirable a check that the French Republican bourgeoisie copied it .. By requiring the concurrence of both houses for the passage of legislation and at the same time allotting two Senators to each state regardless of population, the control of the lawmaking machinery was concentrated in the hands of the masters of the upper house. Thereby the slave oligarchy prolonged their rule long after they had lost popular support. Moreover, biennial election of one third of the did the right of the people to Senators not only facilitates clique control of the Senate through "rotten borough states" but also allows time for popular protest or indignation to expend itself or be extinguished before the Senate can be changed.

#### **Indirect Elections**

Elections were as indirect as possible. The President was to be chosen by an electoral college. In case of tie or a disputed election the election was thrown into the House of Representatives where each state was given one vote. Judges were to be appointed by the President and ratified by the

It must be remembered that the Constitution was a compact between the slaveholders and capitalists. It therefore legalized slavery and although slaves were given no right whatsoever they formed part of the basis of representation and taxation. It required a revolution to root out slavery from the Constitution.

#### Amendments Balked

The method of amendment was Amendents could be made only that five percent of the population in thirteen states can frustrate the demands of ninety five percent of the population.

Witness the fate of the Child-Labor Amendment.

Finally, a most interesting article which we quote in toto: Article IV, Section 4. "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall porate property. protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Washington and Hamilton used ferent epochal historical pethis clause to send Federal troops riods." But the Stalinists refrain A volume would be necessary against the so-called "Whiskey from revealing all the traits of used against the railroad strikers cliques, granted to the exhausted Vandenberg sees in the division of the 1870's. It was used by revolutionary masses by their

The Stalinist defenders of this democratic document" forget that this article affords full legal warrant for a military dictatorship of the capitalist over the working class!

Such is the real character of the Constitution as it was, as it has been, as it is today. Republican in form, anti-democratic in

#### Bill of Rights?

But, the Stalinists expostulate, the Bill of Rights! True, it was offered as a bribe to dissident elements to facilitate adoption and initial operation of the Constitution. But the primary purpose of the Bill of Rights (i.e. the first ten amendments) was to safeguard state rights. They are limitations on the Federal government, but not on the states. Until the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment be came the bulwalk of reaction, Article IV-the most radicalsounding of the Bill of Rightswas the instrumentality for protecting property, especially slave property.

What did Article One, Section One of the Bill of Rights, guaranteeing freedom of speech and of the press mean to Eugene V. Debs in Atlanta prison? What peacefully assemble, mean to the Southern Negroes, the abolitionists, the workers in company towns, striking workers, meetings broken up by the police? Almost every state has laws today restricting or denying Article Two: the right to keep or bear arms shall not be infringed. What did Article Four, asserting the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, property, and effects mean to the thousands involved in the Palmer raids? The whole Bill of Rights has been worth less than five cents on the dollar in wartime, as the Civil War and World Was experiences demonstrate. And the formal political right of the people to "be secure in their persons, property and effects," remains a mockery during peacetime in a social system which condemns the masses to perpetual exploitation, periodic destitution, and deprives them of the opportunity of obtaining the material means of that security.

#### Class Instrument

The point is that the Constition must necessarily be interpits affair in the dark. No hostile made as cumbersome as possible. reted and administered by the ruling class and in its interests. tives of the farmers and artisans by the consent of three fourths were admitted to the sessions of the states. That means today legalized the extension of slavery told the press that the news "will be blind closed doors to notes that the news "will be blind closed doors to notes that the news "will be blind closed doors to notes the states." throughout the country was the mest glaring instance before the The Fourteenth War. Amendment did not give either social equality or political rights to the Southern negro. And for every decision the Supreme Court has rendered in defense of civil liberties under the Fourteenth Amendment, it has rendered ten to safeguard the rights of cor-

According to the Daily Worker. the Constitution of the United States and the Stalinist Constitution are "the two great juridical monuments that mark the progress of the human race at dif-

of the people.

It would be foolish to take a purely negative attitude toward the Constitution, either from the historical or the practical political standpoint.

It accomplished the task that the popular masses proved unable to perform by themselves, the unification of the thirteen states into a single government. It legitimized a bourgeois-democratic republic and made impossible a monarchial restoration. For all its reactionary features the Constitution and the state system it set up was the most advanced of its day, and served as a model for the progressive and democratic forces of the early nineteenth century.

Today, however, it is thorough ly obsolete. The Stalinists are guilty of criminal folly in idealizing, glorifying, and defending this document in competition with the outright spokesmen of the capitalist regime. The American Constitution is not "the property of the people;" it is the property of the reactionary bourgeosie. It is no "bulkwark of democratic ights," it is the ultimate legal entrenchment of the ruling class.

#### How to Fight

for the maintenance of all those political rights that have been wrested from the ruling classes in a century and a half of struggle, and to support any genuinely democratic reform of the constitution, the workers must alall together they will not solve bourgeois Constitution.

The Constitution of the United | the legislative, executive, and | the striking railroad workers in | revolutionary representatives of the social and political problems that confront the working class under capitalism.

> When the capitalist and slaveholders, the original authors of the Constitution, could no longer live together in the same house, and contended for its exclusive possession with arms in hand, the Constitution was nullified. The Confederacy wrote a new one; the Union suspended its own, and then amended it to insure the dictatorship of the bourgeosie.

When the combat between the reactionary bourgeosie and the revolutionary American workers matures, the capitalist reaction will scrap the Constitution and the proletarian revolution will write a new one.

#### **Our Constitution**

The new Constitution of the worker's state will not sanctify private property, appropriation, and accumulation; it will eliminate them entirely and forever. It will not be based upon a parliamentary form of government designed to frustrate the will of the majority but upon a flexible system of workers and farmers councils, democratically elected and controlled, sensitive to the needs, demands, and interests of While it is necessary to fight the masses. It will not create a national state but will envisage itself as one among a federation of world socialist republics.

Not to defend the outworn Constitution that will be the first victim of the coming revolution, but to mobilize the forces in a ways remember that these can struggle for a new socialist consbe obtained under contemporary titution and society. Such is the conditions only as the result of task and the outlook that revoluthe most intransigeant struggle ionary Socialists set for themand direct mass action, and that selves on this birthday of the

### LaGuardia for Harvey

(Continued from page 1)

out of the city. He has time and again openly praised Mussolini and Hitler, and declared that strong arm methods are the only ones to use in dealing with "communists". Probably no man in the country can point to a more consistent anti-working class re-

The endorsement of Harvey brought immediate howls from the La Guardia "Communists" the La Guardia "Socialists", and the La Guardia Laborites. Israel Amter, C. P. State organizer, and Alex Rose, A.L.P. secretary, were "keenly disappointed". come as a great shock".

These gentlemen, apparently, are shocked and keenly disappointed when one capitalist demagogue endorses another.

#### Thomas to Withdraw

No doubt, however, Thomas will have time to get over his "shock" by Saturday. As is known, the La Guardia "socialists" have already decided to withdraw Norman Thomas as the party candidate for Mayor in order that they may be able to complete their sell-out to the A. L.P. bureaucracy and the La Guardia machine.

The withdrawal—the Appeal is in a position to state—will go through on schedule and will be effected in a particularly shamefaced manner. Thomas is to be nominated by his clique as candidate for the delegate-at-large

to the New York State Election Laws, automatically eliminates his name from the ballot as candidate for any City Office. The La Guardia Socialists" do not even have the courage of the Stalinists in presenting in a forthright and unambiguous manner, the Republican-Fusion-Progressive-A. L. P. candidate as their very own. They have decided instead to give him their full support in the most apologetic and hypocritical manner conceivable.

Despite Thomas' withdrawal from the ticket, the revolutionary socialists are determined to carry on the best tradition of the class-conscious labor movement, and to make sure that in this election, the New York workers will have the opportunity, of expressing their class position by a vote for a working class candidate for Mayor.

#### SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol 1. No. 7 Saturday September 25th, 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.

## Stalinism and Bolshevism - An Article Concern the Movement to

Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current. If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly-paid experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy "sectarian". Actually it is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide.

THE REACTION AGAINST MARXISM AND BOLSHEVISM

Great political defeats inevitably provoke a reconsideration of values, generally occurring in two directions. On the one hand the true vanguard, enriched by the experience of defeat, defends with tooth and nail the succession of revolutionary thought and on this basis attempts to educate new cadres for the mass struggle to come. On the other hand the routinists, centrists and dilettantes, frightened by defeat, do their best to destroy the authority of revolutionary tradition and go backward in their search for a "New Word."

One could indicate a great many examples of ideological reaction, most often taking the form of prostration. All the literature of the Second and Third Internationals, as well as of their satellites of the London Bureau, consists essentially of such examples. Not a suggestion of Marxist analysis. Not a single serious attempt to explain the causes of defeat. About the future. not one fresh word. Nothing but clichés, conformity, lies, and above all solicitude for their own bureaucratic selfpreservation. It is enough to smell ten lines from some Hilferding or Otto Bauer to know this rottenness. The theoreticians of the Comintern are not even worth mentioning. The famous Dimitroff is as ignorant and commondace as a shop-keeper over a mug of beer. The minds of these people are too lazy to renounce Marxism: ther prostitute it. But it is not they that interest us now. Let us turn to the "innovators".

The former Austrian communist, Willi Schlamm, has devoted a small book to the Moscow trials, under the expressive title, "The Dictatorship of the Lie". Schlamm is a gifted journalist, chiefly interested in current affairs. His criticism of the Moscow frame-up, and his exposure of the psychological mechanism of the "voluntary confessions", are excellent. However he does not confine himself to this: he wants to create a new theory of socialism which would insure us against defeats and frame-ups in the future. But since Schlamm is by no means a theoretician and is apparently not well acquainted with the history of the development of socialism, he returns entirely to pre-Marxian socialism, and notably to its German, that is to its most backward, sentimental and mawkish variety. Schlamm renounces dialectics and the class struggle, not to mention the dictatorship of the proletariat. The problem of transforming society is reduced for him to the realization of certain "eternal" moral truths with which he would imbue mankind, still under capitalism. Willi Schlamm's attempt to sove socialism by the insertion of the moral gland is greeted with both joy and pride in Kerensky's review "Nevaya Rossia" (an old provincial Russian review now published in Paris): as the editors justifiably conclude. Schlamm has arrived at the principles of true Russian socialism, which a long time ago opposed the holy precepts of faith, hope and charity to the austerity and harstiness of the class struggle. The "novel" doctrine of the Russian "Social Revolutionaries" represents, in its "theoretical" premises, only a return to the socialism of pre-March (1848!) Germany. However, it would be unfair to demand a more intimate knowledge of the history of ideas from Kerensky than from Schlamm. Far more important is the fact that Kerensky, who is in solidarity with Schlamm was, while head of the government, the instigator of persecutions against the Bolsheviks as agents of the German general staff: organized, that is,

the same frame-ups against which Schlamm now mobilizes his motheaten metaphysical absolutes.

The psychological mechanism of the ideological reaction of Schlamm and his like, is not at all complicated. For a while these people took part in a political movement that swore by the class struggle and appealed, in word if not in thought, to dialectical materialism. In both Austria and Germany the affair ended in a catastrophe. Schlamm draws a wholesale conclusion: this is the result of dialectics and the class struggle! And since the choice of revelations is limited by historical experience and... by personal knowledge, our reformer in his search for the Word falls on a bundle of old rags which he valiantly opposes not only to Bolshevism but to Marxism as well.

At first glance Schlamm's brand of ideological reaction seems too primitive (from Marx... to Kerensky!) to pause over. But actually it is very instructive: precisely in its primitiveness it represents the common denominator of all other forms of reaction, particularly of those expressed in a wholesale denunciation of Bolshevism.

#### "BACK TO MARXISM"?

Marxism found its highest historical expression in Bolshevism. Under the banner of Bolshevism the fiirst victory of the proletariat was achieved and the first workers' state established. Nothing can erase these facts from history. But since the October Revolution has led in the present stage to the triumph of the bureaucracy. with its system of repression, plunder, and falsification —to the "dictatorship of the lie", to use Schlamm's happy expression—many formalistic and superficial minds leap to a summary conclusion: one cannot struggle against Stalinism, without renouncing Bolshevism. Schlamm. as we already know, goes farther: Bolshevism, which degenerated into Stalinism, itself grew out of Marxism; consequently one cannot fight Stalinism while remaining on the foundation of Marxism. There are others, less consistent but more numerous, who say on the contrary: "We must return from Bolshevism to Marxism." How? To what Marxism? Before Marxism became "bankrupt" in the form of Bolshevism it had already broken down in the form of Social Democracy. Does the slogan "Back to Marxism" then mean a leap over the periods of the Second and Third Internationals... to the First International? But it too broke down in its time. Thus in the last analysis it is a question of returning... to the complete works of Marx and Engels. One can accomplish this heroic leap without leaving one's study and even without taking off one's slippers. But how are we to go from our classics (Marx died in 1883, Engels in 1895) to the tasks of our own time, omitting several decades of theoretical and political struggles, among them Bolshevism and the October Revolution? None of those who propose to renounce Bolshevism as an historically "bankrupt" tendency has indicated any other course. So the question is reduced to the simple advice to study "Capital". We can hardly object. But the Bolsheviks too studied "Capital" and not with their eyes closed. This did not however prevent the degeneration of the Soviet state and the staging of the Moscow trials. So what is to be done?

#### IS BOLSHEVISM RESPONSIBLE FOR STALINISM?

Is it true that Stalinism represents the legitimate product of Bolshevism, as all reactionaries maintain, as Stalin himself avows, as the Mensheviks, the anarchists, and certain left doctrinaires considering themselves Marxist, believe? "We have always predicted this." they say. "Having started with the prohibition of the other socialist parties, the repression of the anarchists, and the setting up of the Bolshevik dictatorship in the soviets. the October Revolution could only end in the dictatorship of the bureaucracy. Stalin is the continuation and also the bankruptcy of Leninism."

The flaw in this reasoning begins in the tacit identification of Bolshevism, October Revolution and Soviet Union. The historical process of the struggle of hostile forces is replaced by the evolution of Bolshevism in a

vacuum. Bolshevism, however, cy, closely fused with the work with it. And aside from the in the Soviet Union a hundred nationalities, and a heritage o ignorance. The state built up not only the thought and will o cultural level of the country, the population, the pressure of less barbaric world imperialism cess of degeneration of the Sov of pure Bolshevism is to igm name of only one of its elemen One has only to call this eleme name to do away with every t

Bolshevism, at any rate, newith the October Revolution or issued from it. Bolshevism on the factors of history, the "eimportant but not the decisive historical subjectivism. We sat the existing basis of product struggle, not only on a national scale.

When the Bolsheviks made c tendency to private ownership membership in the party, purg ments, prohibited other parties granted enterprises as concessic tic agreements with imperialist drawing partial conclusions fro been theoretically clear to the that the conquest of power, he be in itself, by no means tran sovereign ruler of the historic over the state the party is all the development of society wif it before; but in return it sub greater influence from all other can, by the direct attack of hos of power. Given a more draggi it can degenerate internally wi power. It is precisely this diale cess that is not understood by who try to find in the decay of an annihilating argument agair

In essence these gentlemen party that contains in itself; own degeneration is bad. By vism is naturally condemned: the criterion itself is wrong. So a concrete analysis: how and wate? No one but the Bolshevil the present time, given such an had no need to break with Bols they found in its arsenal all the tion of its fate. They drew to Stalinism "grew out" of Bolshe ever, but dialectically; not as tion but as a Thermidorian neg the same.

#### THE FUNDAMENTAL PROGNOSI

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### An Article Concerning the Roots and Traditions of the Movement for the Fourth International

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vacuum. Bolshevism, however, is only a political tendency, closely fused with the working class but not identical with it. And aside from the working class there exist in the Soviet Union a hundred million peasants, various nationalities, and a heritage of oppression, misery and ignorance. The state built up by the Bolsheviks reflects not only the thought and will of Bolshevism but also the cultural level of the country, the social composition of the population, the pressure of a barbaric past and no less barbaric world imperialism. To represent the process of degeneration of the Soviet state as the evolution of pure Bolshevism is to ignore social reality in the name of only one of its elements, isolated by pure logic. One has only to call this elementary mistake by its real name to do away with every trace of it.

Bolshevism, at any rate, never identified itself either with the October Revolution or with the Soviet state that issued from it. Bolshevism considered itself as one of the factors of history, the "conscious" factor-a very important but not the decisive one. We never sinned in historical subjectivism. We saw the decisive factor—on the existing basis of productive forces—in the class struggle, not only on a national but on an international scale.

When the Bolsheviks made concessions to the peasant tendency to private ownership, set up strict rules for membership in the party, purged the party of alien elements, prohibited other parties, introduced the N.E.P., granted enterprises as concessions, or concluded diplomatic agreements with imperialist governments, they were drawing partial conclusions from the basic fact that had been theoretically clear to them from the beginning: that the conquest of power, however important it may be in itself, by no means transforms the party into a sovereign ruler of the historical process. Having taken over the state the party is able, certainly, to influence the development of society with a power inaccessible to it before; but in return it submits itself to a ten times greater influence from all other elements of society. It can, by the direct attack of hostile forces, be thrown out of power. Given a more dragging tempo of development it can degenerate internally while maintaining itself in power. It is precisely this dialectic of the historical process that is not understood by those sectarian logicians who try to find in the decay of the Stalinist bureaucracy an annihilating argument against Bolshevism.

In essence these gentlemen say: the revolutionary party that contains in itself no guarantee against its own degeneration is bad. By such a criterion Bolshevism is naturally condemned: it has no talisman. But the criterion itself is wrong. Scientific thinking demands a concrete analysis: how and why did the party degenerate? No one but the Bolsheviks themselves have up to the present time, given such an analysis. To do this they had no need to break with Bolshevism. On the contrary, they found in its arsenal all they needed for the clarification of its fate. They drew this conclusion: certainly Stalinism "grew out" of Bolshevism, not logically, however, but dialectically; not as a revolutionary affirmation but as a Thermidorian negation. It is by no means the same.

#### THE FUNDAMENTAL PROGNOSIS OF BOLSHEVISM

The Bolsheviks, however, did not have to wait for the Moscow trials to explain the reasons for the disintegration of the governing party of the U.S.S.R. Long ago they foresaw and spoke of the theoretical possibility of this development. Let us remember the prognosis of the Bolsheviks, not only on the eve of the October Revolution but years before. The specific alignment of forces in the national and international field can enable the

#### COMING AS A PAMPHLET

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proletariat to seize power first in a backward of such as Russia. But the same alignment of forces beforehand that without a more or less rapid vic the proletariat in the advanced countries the w government in Russia will not survive. Left to its Soviet regime must either fall or degenerate. exactly: it will first degenerate and then fall. I have written about this more than once, beginn 1905. In my "History of the Russian Revolution "Appendix" to the last volume: "Socialism in One try") are collected all the statements on this q made by the Bolshevik leaders from 1917 unti They all lead to one conclusion: without a revolu the West, Bolshevism will be liquidated either by nal counter-revolution or by external intervention a combination of both. Lenin stressed again and that the bureaucratization of the Soviet regime v a technical or organizational question, but the po beginning of the degenration of the workers' sta

At the Eleventh Party Congress in March, 1923 spoke of the support offered to Soviet Russia at the of the N. E. P. by certain bourgeois politicians, p larly the liberal professor Ustrialow. "I am for tl port of the Soviet power in Russia," said Ustria though he was a Kadet, a bourgeois, a supporter tervention—"because on its present course it is back into an ordinary bourgeois power." Lenin the cynical voice of the enemy to "sugary comm babble." Soberly and harshly he warns the party danger: "What Ustrialov says is possible, one mu it openly. History knows transformations of all it is absolutely trivial in politics to put one's faith viction, devotion, and other excellent moral quali small number of people have excellent moral qu The historical outcome is decided by gigantic who, if they are not pleased with this small nur people, will treat them none too politely." In a wo party is not the only factor of development and larger historical scale is not the decisive one.

"One nation conquers another," continued Lenin same congress, the last in which he participated. is quite simple and understandable to everyone. Bu of the culture of these nations? That is not so sin the conquering nation has a higher culture than 1 feated, it imposes its culture on the latter, but if the trary is true then the defeated nation imposes its on the conqueror. Did not something like this or the capital of the R.S.F.S.R. and was it not in th that 4,700 communists (almost a whole division: of them the best) were submitted to an alien cul This was said in the beginning of 1923, and not first time. History is not made by a few people, eve best"; and not only that: these "best" can degene the spirit of an alien, that is a bourgeois culture only can the Soviet state abandon the way of soc but the Bolshevik party can, under unfavorable h conditions, lose its Bolshevism.

From the clear understanding of this danger the Left Opposition, definitely formed in 1923. F ing day by day the symptoms of degeneration, i to oppose to the growing Thermidor the conscious of the proletarian vanguard. However, this sub factor proved to be insufficient. The "gigantic m which, according to Lenin, decide the outcome struggle, became tired of internal privations a waiting too long for the world revolution. The m the masses declined. The bureaucracy won the hand. It cowed the revolutionary vanguard, tra upon Marxism, prostituted the Bolshevik party. ism conquered. In the form of the Left Oppositio shevism broke with the Soviet bureaucracy and its intern. This was the actual course of developme

To be sure, in a formal sense Stalinism dic from Bolshevism. Even today the Moscow burea continues to call itself the Bolshevik party. It is using the old label of Bolshevism the better to fe masses. So much the more pitiful are those th cians who take the shell for the kernel and the a ance for the reality. In the identification of Bolsi and Stalinism they render the best possible service Thermidorians and precisely thereby play a clearly tionary role.

## ing the Roots and Traditions of - By Leon Trotsky or the Fourth International

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proletariat to seize power first in a backward country such as Russia. But the same alignment of forces proves beforehand that without a more or less rapid victory of the proletariat in the advanced countries the workers' government in Russia will not survive. Left to itself the Soviet regime must either fall or degenerate. More exactly: it will first degenerate and then fall. I myself have written about this more than once, beginning in 1905. In my "History of the Russian Revolution" (cf. "Appendix" to the last volume: "Socialism in One Country") are collected all the statements on this question made by the Bolshevik leaders from 1917 until 1923. They all lead to one conclusion: without a revolution in the West, Bolshevism will be liquidated either by internal counter-revolution or by external intervention, or by a combination of both. Lenin stressed again and again that the bureaucratization of the Soviet regime was not a technical or organizational question, but the potential beginning of the degenration of the workers' state.

At the Eleventh Party Congress in March, 1923, Lenin spoke of the support offered to Soviet Russia at the time of the N. E. P. by certain bourgeois politicians, particularly the liberal professor Ustrialow. "I am for the support of the Soviet power in Russia," said Ustrialov, although he was a Kadet, a bourgeois, a supporter of intervention—"because on its present course it is sliding back into an ordinary bourgeois power." Lenin prefers the cynical voice of the enemy to "sugary communistic babble." Soberly and harshly he warns the party of the danger: "What Ustrialov says is possible, one must say it openly. History knows transformations of all kinds; it is absolutely trivial in politics to put one's faith in conviction, devotion, and other excellent moral qualities. A small number of people have excellent moral qualities. The historical outcome is decided by gigantic masses who, if they are not pleased with this small number of people, will treat them none too politely." In a word, the party is not the only factor of development and on a larger historical scale is not the decisive one.

"One nation conquers another," continued Lenin at the same congress, the last in which he participated..."This is quite simple and understandable to everyone. But what of the culture of these nations? That is not so simple. If the conquering nation has a higher culture than the defeated, it imposes its culture on the latter, but if the contrary is true then the defeated nation imposes its culture on the conqueror. Did not something like this occur in the capital of the R.S.F.S.R. and was it not in this way that 4,700 communists (almost a whole division and all of them the best) were submitted to an alien culture?" This was said in the beginning of 1923, and not for the first time. History is not made by a few people, even "the best"; and not only that: these "best" can degenerate in the spirit of an alien, that is a bourgeois culture. Not only can the Soviet state abandon the way of socialism. but the Bolshevik party can, under unfavorable historic conditions, lose its Bolshevism.

From the clear understanding of this danger issued the Left Opposition, definitely formed in 1923. Recording day by day the symptoms of degeneration, it tried to oppose to the growing Thermidor the conscious will of the proletarian vanguard. However, this subjective factor proved to be insufficient. The "gigantic masses" which, according to Lenin, decide the outcome of the struggle, became tired of internal privations and of waiting too long for the world revolution. The mood of the masses declined. The bureaucracy won the upper hand. It cowed the revolutionary vanguard, trampled upon Marxism, prostituted the Bolshevik party. Stalinism conquered. In the form of the Left Opposition, Bolshevism broke with the Soviet bureaucracy and its Comintern. This was the actual course of development.

To be sure, in a formal sense Stalinism did issue from Bolshevism. Even today the Moscow bureaucracy continues to call itself the Bolshevik party. It is simply using the old label of Bolshevism the better to fool the masses. So much the more pitiful are those theoreticians who take the shell for the kernel and the appearance for the reality. In the identification of Bolshevism and Stalinism they render the best possible service to the Thermidorians and precisely thereby play a clearly reactionary role.

In view of the elimination of all other parties from the political field the antagonistic interests and tendencies of the various strata of the population must, to a greater or less degree, find their expression in the governing party. To the extent that the political center of gravity has shifted from the proletarian vanguard to the bureaucracy, the party has changed in its social structure as well as in its ideology. Owing to the impetuous course of development, it has suffered in the last fifteen years a far more radical degeneration than did the social democracy in half a century. The present purge draws between Bolshevism and Stalinism not simply a bloody line but a whole river of blood. The annihilation of all the old generation of Bolsheviks, an important part of the middle generation which participated in the civil war, and that part of the youth which took seriously the Bolshevik traditions, shows not only a political but a thoroughly physical incompatibility between Bolshevism and Stalinism. How can this be ignored?

#### STALINISM AND "STATE SOCIALISM"

The anarchists, for their part, try to see in Stalinism the organic product not only of Bolshevism and Marxism but of "State socialism" in general. They are willing to replace Bakunin's patriarchal "federation of free communes" by the more modern federation of free Soviets. But, as formerly, they are against centralized state power. In fact: one branch of "state" Marxism, social democracy, after coming to power became an open agent of capitalism. The other gave birth to a new privileged caste. It is obvious that the source of the evil lies in the state. From a wide historical viewpoint, there is a grain of truth in this reasoning. The state as an apparatus of constraint is undoubtedly a source of political and moral infection. This also applies, as experience has shown, to the workers' state. Consequently it can be said that Stalinism is a product of a condition of society in which society was still unable to tear itself out of the strait-jacket of the state. But this situation, containing nothing for the evaluation of Bolshevism or Marxism, characterizes only the general cultural level of mankind, and above all—the relation of forces between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Having agreed with the anarchists that the state, even the workers' state, is the offspring of class barbarism and that real human history will begin with the abolition of the state, we have still before us in full force the question: what ways and methods will lead, ultimately, to the abolition of the state? Recent experience proves that they are certainly not the methods of anarchism.

The leaders of the C. N. T., the only important anarchist organization in the world, became, in the critical hour, bourgeois ministers. They explained their open betrayal of the theory of anarchism by the pressure of "exceptional circumstances." But did not the leaders of German social democracy invoke, in their time, the same excuse? Naturally, civil war is not a peaceful and ordinary but an "exceptional circumstance." Every serious revolutionary organization, however, prepares precisely for "exceptional circumstances." The experience of Spain has shown once again that the state can be "denied" in booklets published in "normal circumstances" by permission of the bourgeois state, but that the conditions of revolution leave no room for "denial" of the state; they demand, on the contrary, the conquest of the state. We have not the slightest intention of blaming the anarchists for not having liquidated the state by a mere stroke of the pen. A revolutionary party, even after having seized power (of which the anarchist leaders were incapable in spite of the heroism of the anarchist workers) is still by no means the sovereign ruler of society. But we do severely blame the anarchist theory, which seemed to be wholly suitable for times of peace, but which had to be dropped rapidly as soon as the "exceptional circumstances" of the... revolution had begun. In the old days there were certain generals ---and probably are now---who considered that the most harmful thing for an army was war. In the same class are those revolutionaries who claim that their doctrine (Concluded in next issue). is destroyed by revolution.

## The Wave of Trials In The U.S.S.R.

#### Mass Executions, Disrupting Economy, Reveal Reactionary Role of Stalin

The corrosion of the very of "enemies of the people" some by the Stalinist police regime is sabotage. The Civil Aviation Ad-Stalin's next victims will be. But appointed head Petrozhitsky. At even for the least class-conscious Azov in the Black Sea Region 13 worker there emerges from the veterinarians and minor agriculnews the conviction that the So- tural functionaries were placed severe and deep-going crisis. The among cattle in order to disrupt their wholesale character, the were, naturally, in contact with systematic pattern which they Trotskyists. all fellow, lay bare not only the reality of the crisis, but its nature as well.

planning and the usurpation of active. No doubt many spies are special privileges by the Stalinist ruling caste have brought Rus- along the border and along the sian economy to the brink of railroads. But we will perhaps disaster. How explain the fact, never know how many of those after reporting such resounding who were shot, allegedly as spies successes in the fulfillment of the five year plans, that pro- goats or really revolutionists in duction in such varied and important industries as coal, oil, pig iron production, cement, lumber, textiles, should not only be lagging behind the norms set for them, but in many instances should be considerably below the tims. The press of July 5 refigures reported for the year 1936? A similar situation exists in the agricultural field, fruit, Far East. On July 8 we learn writer Suvinsky. Evidently he vegetables, sugar, cotton, flax, butter and margarine showing alarming drops.

#### Stalin's Alibi

Stalin has an infallible explanation which has "worked" by and large up till now. It is the work of Tretskyist wreckers and scoundrels from the right and from the left (some are already included from the center, Stalinists from heginning to end!). Such scapegoats serve a double purpose for Stalin: they divert atthe Kremlin and, so Stalin hopes, allay the discontent among the democratic methods of the Ocmasses by punishing the ones supposedly responsible for goods living conditions of the workers and peasants.

It is impossible to give more than a brief summary of some of the cases reported in the press recently. Most of the trials, even that small number that reaches for Stalin, the Georgian, to act, the press of the outside world, are held (if they are held at all!) coppressor of nationalities. When behind closed doors. Rarely is Stalin and Erdjonikidze first rethe public admitted to the court- moved Mdivani from his leading room and that only when some post in Georgia in 1922-3 Lenin, spectacular, and therefore all the more unconvincing, confession tered into a fierce controversy has been extorted from some unlagainst Stalin precisely on this fortunate prisoner.

#### Some Recent Trials

Thus the press of August 27 reports that "A Show Trial Is plotters. Being Made of Seven Important Agricultural Executives in a Le- mittees, heads of the republic, ningrad Province near the Finn- are removed in such places as ish Border". In this case Chief Uzbekistan and Kazakstan for fessed to disruption of collective tural plans of the bureaucrats farming by false planning to re- who would have caused wholesale duse yields, all for the purpose starvation of the local peasants of seeing capitalism restored, in order to make a "showing" in District Executive Committee of economy. Most recently Tursun the OP, confessed that he led a Khodpieff, Commissar of Domesmanding the death penalty for cultarities of local economy have for the death of Bukharin, their "real" leader!

On Aug. 20 eight people were shot for "Trotskyist counter-revolutionary activities in two facthe lumber industry is chock full! Eleven minor executives are period the mass of falsification people to visit each other. The tionary to the core.

foundations of the Soviet Union of whom have been executed for increasingly exposed to view by ministration is also honey-combed the wave of trials. These trials with "enemies of the people" and occur with such almost mono-numerous engineers and executonous regularity that one pieks tives have been dismissed and up the paper wondering only who arrested, including the recently viet Union is passing through a on trial for spreading disease very mass nature of the trials, the economy. These disrupters

#### Far Eastern Trials

In the Far East the Military The bureaucratic methods of Tribunals have been extremely at work in Siberia, particularly were in actuality merely scapeunyielding opposition to the present bloody regime. For all these trials are shot through and through with the clumsy attempts at amalgams of real scoundrels with framed-up oppositionist vicports laconically that 22 more were executed as spies in the that 64 more were shot, etc. Some of these "spies" were accused of sabotage on the Trans-Siberian Railroad, some of sabotage of gold production. The Orsk Gold Trust in the Urals is raked over the coals for being run by Trotskyists who reported a higher production of gold than was actually achieved!

#### The National Problem

The Stalinist bureaucracy acts as the greatest disrupter not only of the economic system but of tention from the real culprits in the political and social system in USSR. The completely tober Revolution in the handling of the national question served shortages and for the unbearable to tie the national republics firmly together in a close economic union. Stalinism acts as a centrifugal force, driving them apart.

Evidence of this is clear in the trials and executions in the outlying republics. It is nothing new in the fashion of a Great Russian even though on a sick-bed, en-Then a score. Now on July 13 of this "show" can be made of the trial. year Stalin takes his final revenge. After a closed trial Mdi- hachevsky! vani and 7 others are executed as terrorists

Similarly whole executive com-Agronomist Samokhvalov con- resisting the adventurist agricul-One Tarasink, Chairman of the their particular sector of planned group of Rightists since 1935 in tic Trade, has been removed in a campaign to disrupt collective Uzbekistan. The utter disregard agriculture. In resolutions de of national rights and of the peexecutives. significantly brought about a tense situation enough, the demand is also made in the smaller republics which Stalin seeks to "liquidate" by the methods of bureaucratic terrorism.

Since the liquidation of Mdivani, a further drive has been ing the accounts to make things

By Jack Weber

doomed as a Rightist organization which sabotaged and disrupted socialized agriculture and ordered an armed rebellion and assassinations in Georgia. No doubt the resulting trials will include "confessions" to besmirch the name of Mdivani. Already one Zitlidze, former leader of the Signakh regional committee of the CP, has confessed terrorist orders from the premier Mgaloglishvili, removed from office in June, and from the vice-premier Agnyashvili.

#### Some Revealing Trials

Stalin must stop the mouths of all those who are capable of revealing the truth about the frame-ups, whether that involves the death of a Yagoda, one of those mainly responsible and "in the know", or of some obscure relative of a Gamarnick or Tukhachevsky who knows the truth and can prove the falsehood. But as the circle widens the number of such people becomes legion and Stalin's task becomes utterly impossible. The truth will out!

Some of the trials take on a macabre comic air. There is the case of the Izvestia editorial either took the matter of sabotage seriously or pretended so. When certain bureaucrats in the Saratov region hastened to charge the farm workers with deliberate sabotage (thereby getting the jump on some of these workers who might have been inclined to reverse the charge) Suvinsky defended the maligned workers against the heads of the collectives, saying that they were raising the cry of sabotage to cover their own inefficiency. This was too much for the bureaucracy. It touched home too closely and involved by generalization an exposè of the entire bureaucracy. Hence Suvinsky was hastily re-

moved and arrested. The motive behind the attack made on the Young Guard Publishing House, producing works for youth, is transparent also. It is stated that the Director Leschiner, is a friend of Feinberg, recently removed from the Central Executive Committee of the YCL. That is surely reason enough for removing him. But we learn of a far more important motive: the director of the division of history had spent a whole year writing a biography on Tukhachevsky. Could this have been anything but laudatory? What a danger for the youth to know the truth about the brilliant Tuk-

#### Economy & Bureaucracy

In the early stages of planned economy, the bureaucracy, despite all its inefficiency and adventurism, could play a certain 'progressive", role by acting to achieve the plans set. The only method they knew, however, was to whip the workers and peasants into over- exhausting and underpaid labor. The speed-up system in its worst forms was adopted quite naturally by the "fists" put in charge of industry. The extreme top layers put added pressure on the layers just below in order to have them apply the proper pressure to the lowest strata. When the pressure became too great and lack of fulfillment might easily lead to the prison cell, if not worse, the lesser bureaucrats and those further up defended themselves by falsifyof accounts is reacting sharply janitors, are ordered to remove

the various fields of production, plot. Report him! less was available. The top layer of the bureaucracy, which was primarily responsible for creating this situation by its methods, then turned on the lower layers in a fury for having in part misled it. But in doing this, arresting thousands of experts and specialists for "sabotage", the bureaucracy merely disrupted economy all the more by removing (in the process of choosing scapegoats) the ones best acquainted with the industry. Thus we see this peculiar contradiction: the wholesale arrest of scapegoats, and at the same the attempt to reassure these same elements when they are paralyzed by fear and really sabotage by refusing to take any initiative. Thus on July 27 the Donetz Basin coal industry had been so disrupted by the imprisonment of so many of the technicians, that 445 of these specialists had to be released from prison for "false arrest" to try and straighten matters out. Stalin learned that the method ration. of choosing scapegoats has its

Nevertheless the bureaucracy can only continue to act in the fashion of a whip. It can in no sense evoke the initiative that has become essential for the carrying on of planned production by the masses. Such initiative can only be exerted against the bureaucracy and in antagonism to it. Precisely because of that the Stalinist bureaucracy has become a tremendous brake on the forces of production. It is also, of course, a tremendous overhead. Not only by its recognized privileges but by the bribery and corruption, and above all by the diverting of all sorts of raw material and finished products for its own purposes. The Stalinist bureaucracy are the true

#### Hidden Strikes

The masses are beginning to realize that the bureaucracy stands in the way. Under the present apparatus of suppression the workers have not yet managed to organize themselves independently and to strike against the bureaucracy. But the mass walkouts in many plants, the tremendous turnovers of labor, take on the character not merely of individual resentment against low masses of workers and collectivized peasants. It is fearful above everything else that centers may develop around which the masses will rally for political action. Hence Stalin, in the name of the bureaucracy, must act to keep the workers disunited, must establish a completely totalitaran regime.

To create a psychological terror which will prevent one worker

against the whole system of all names of their tenants so planning. The plans were laid that any visitor must inquire on the basis of the swollen figures from the janitor where so-and-so and were therefore bound to be lives. And janitors the world over at variance with the possibilities. are used by the police. If any-Instead of the amount of coal body has too many visitor: he or cotton figured to enter into must be a central figure in a spy

#### Youth Endangers Stalin

But it is the youth especially that must be watched. The youth that grew up under the Soviet regime and knows no other. Even the Stalinized YCL is a constant source of danger, if only because it permits the youth to come together-and youth can be so engagingly frank! Since the youth cannot be kept entirely apart, the next best thing is toestablish the closest surveillance over them. The YCL becomes a tool of the police. Kosarieff performed this function of police agent not so well, hence he is reprimanded and given a warning for next time. Evidently he allowed too much freedom among the youth to suit the apparatus. But freedom and initiative are precisely what the youth de nand. Hence the bureaucracy find: itself at every turn in the sharpest antagonism to the younger gene-

The wave of trials in the USSR. are clear indications, therefore, of the deep-going crisis through which the Soviet Union is passe, ing. The crisis is one which shows the growing antagonism between the bureaucracy and the masses, It reveals that the bureaugraces can play no progressive role in Soviet economy, but can only serve as a brake on the productive forces. The bureaucrace stands in the way of the initiative of the working masses, it stands in the way of planned economy, it stands in the way of the youth. In order to maintain its power the bureaucracy resorts to an oppressive and bloody police regime worse even than that of

#### Stalin Teaches Hitler

For it teaches Hitler the art of extorting confessions by torture for the purpose of bol-tering up a regime. How such confessions are wrung from the victims is heart-rendingly told in the book "I Confess" containing the account of the experiences of the German communist Weiss in the Soviet Union. The entire apparatus of the Stalinist regime, above all the GPU, is devoted to the task of keeping the workers disunited. To terrorize the masses into complete silence Stalin rewages and frightful conditions, sorts to systematic frame-ups on but of a hidden form of strike a scale never before seen in hisaimed at the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy finds itself in the in-trade of Thermidorean reaction, sharpest antagonism to the are used against real and fancied opposition, and also against perfectly innocent victims who are dragged in haphazardly to suit the schemes of the GPU. The earlier frame-ups of the engineers, the Mensheviks, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky and all the Old Bolsheviks, engender the need for more and more. The present wave of trials thus gathers momentum, but at the same from talking frankly to his time represents the death agony neighbor, and which will frighten of the Stalinist regime. For it the worker away from any indicates that the bloody and op-"group", Stalin starts a spy scare pressive regime comes into more campaign. "Russians Are Told and more violent conflict with Informing Is a Duty". The police the masses and their needs. It is regime must establish itself right this sharpening conflict that will among the masses! Every work- inevitably bring about the sweeper must learn to distrust his ing aside of the Stalinist bureautories". On Aug. 12 we learn that made against the Georgians. appear more rosy. In the present neighbor. Make it difficult for cracy as outworn, corrupt reac-

## The Case of Leon Trotsky

#### A Review of the Dewey Sub-Commission's Hearing in Mexico City

room in a suburb of Mexico City, of course, Moscow's brazen dis- cally no? And precisely by that dustrial impasse to which the of Stalin's Thermidorian inquisi-Leon Trotsky made a promise to regard for consistency and elethe Preliminary Commission of mentary fact is due both to the and case take on added import. records has led. Inquiry which may have seemed impossibility of falsifying Trotunsusual, over- amibitious, and, sky's activities and conditions of indeed, incapable of fulfillment. life, regulated and recorded as

Professor Charles A. Beard 4though he indicated that Vyshinsky's puppet-shows were on the same level as the trials of the Inquisition), had stated that it was impossible for Trotsky to "prove a negative by positive evidence." and declared that the burden of proof still rested upon Stalin and not Trotsky.

Trotsky, however, promised "direct and, moreover, quite positive proof of the 'negative fact'"; he pledged not only to raise a reasonable doubt but to establish his innocence beyond the shadow of a doubt, and, by the same token, to prove Stalin guilty of the basest and most blood y frame-up in history. The task which he assumed was not simply a defensive one, a refutation of the charges against him, but vigorously offensive: he undertook to brand his accusers for all time as falsifiers and murderers, the assassins of revolutionaries and the grave-diggers of the Russian Revolution.

#### Verbatim Report

The verbantim report of the Mexican hearings has now been published . (The Case . of Leon Trotsky, Harpers) and it is possible for all to weigh Trotsky's promises against the actual proofs presented.

The investigation has not yet drawn to a close; the Commission of Inquiry is still in session, collating the work of the Mexican, Parisian and New York subcommissions, examining the wealth of new evidence which has come to light, and on this basis will pronounce its verdict.

Nevertheless, these 600 pages of the record, incomplete though they may be, contain such a bulk of persuasive juridical evidence, furnish such weighty political and psychological analysis, offer such complete historical documentation, that hesitations and suspended judgements are now hereft of the slightest foundation. Trotsky has here already proved his case to the hilt, and turned the charges into a terrible indictment of his accusers.

#### **Documentation**

testimony, the documentary evi- allegedly filling dozens upon dence submitted to the Commis- dozens of volumes, could present sion was of two chief types: (a) not one trace of material docua category of purely legal docu- mentary evidence. From a juriments, refuting the few charges dical standpoint, therefore, his factual character those which alleged certain conspirative meetings and correspondence; (b) a political category of historical materials bearing on Trotsky's record in the revolutionary movement, his relations with the various defendants and with Lenin, his attitude over years and decades on the subjects of terrorism, fascism, sabotage and industry, war, etc. (The latter materials, to be sure, are also of basic legal importance, since Vyshinsky made definite allega-tions regarding Trotsky's writings and activities.)

Never, from a purely legal point of view, has a refutation been so completely and relentlessly established in a case of like nature and magnitude. It would almost seem as if Vyshinsky, in the few charges which he dared to fill with some small amount such monstrous lies about their Winfeld-Hansen, who occupied a of precision; deliberately resorted "master", can anyone then place high technical post in Russia, Erwin Wolf's life must be least two people present were

Last April, in a crowded little refutable fabrications. Actually, of their "confessions"? Emphati- strikingly and attest to the in- the record, aims and techniques they are down to the most minute detail, and to a careless cynicism born of bureaucratic impunity.

#### Physically Impossible

The documentation, as indicated by the extracts in the report, is complete in every important case: literally hundreds of documents and affidavits demonstrate the physical impossibility of Trotsky's alleged meeting with Romm in Paris, or with Holtzman, Olberg, David and Berman-Yurin in Copenhagen, of Sedov's alleged presence in Copenhagen, of Pyatakov's alleged flight to Oslo and meeting with Trotsky. Straight down the line, every factual charge of any importance is crushed to bits.

What, then, is left of the whole flimsy framework of falsehoods? If confessions, of and by themselves, do not constitute conclusive proof (and none other than Vyshinsky has so affirmed, in a standard Soviet handbook on criminal procedure), then Stalin's whole case must stand of the trials, reveals their roots or fall with the evidence which in the political exigencies of the Vyshinsky submitted.

Of what did this "substantiating evidence" consist? A callingcard with two letters scribled on it (significance unexplained), a passport proving that Olberg entered Russia as a Honduran citizen, an alleged letter from a 'Japanese diplomat" (not introduced into the court record), a German telephone directory.... and nothing more! Beyond thisonly references to "conspiratorial letters" from Trotsky, and falsified and distorted "quotations" from Trotsky's writings, which any literate person can look up and refute.

#### The Role of Confessions

It is clear why Vyshinsky had to extract from Pyatakov, Romm and others trumped-up stories about meetings with Trotsky and Sedov at which they received their "directives": otherwise the attempt to implicate Trotsky, backed up by not one icta of material proof, would have been too natently absurd to stand the light of day. Vyshinsky, despite the Exclusive of Trotsky's oral preliminary investigations reports case hangs by the slenderest of threads to those few depositions which attempt, however halfheartedly, to name names, give places and dates. The hundreds of documents submitted by Trotsky refute every attempt to establish a concrete link between him and the "conspirators." Thus, even when viewed purely legalistically, the frame-up is crystalclear.

token Trotsky's legal argument bureaucracy's frantic drive for tion conclusively exposed and

"The absence of proofs," Trotsky repeated tirelessly before the Commission, "is the most terrible proof against Stalin." Trotsky's voluminous proofs not only demonstrate the innocence of the chief defendants, but fling the crimes back in Stalin's face. Not only are Trotsky's hands clean, but Stalin's are stained with the blood of hundreds of innocent victims. That is the full significance of Trotsky's legal

#### **Provides Political** Understanding

Although public opion has been increasingly skeptical since the extension of the blood-purge to the Red Generals the question of Stalin's motivation, the why of the trials and persecutions, has been the stumbling-block for considerable sections of bewildered liberal thought. The political documentation in the record, besides exposing the absurdity of the charges of terrorism, sabotage, alliance with Hitler and the Mikado, etc., furnishes indispensable keys to the understanding Stalinist bureaucracy and relates them to events within the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

In lengthy testimony, the salient facts of Trotsky's biography are set forth, showing how devotion and loyalty to the workingclass movement run like a red thread through his career.

The categorical facts of Trotsky's life throw the lie in the face of his accusers, the most vociferous of whom served in the October Revolution..... on the other side of the barricades.

#### The Capitulators

Vyshinsky faced another knotty psychological problem: to explain away the repeated capitulations of all the known defendants, their grovelling and abject bootlicking, their fiery denunciations of the arch-demon Trotsky and the bitter attacks which the Oppositionists have launched for long years against the renegades from their ranks. For him there is a simple explanation: "camoufla-

Trotsky's analysis of the history of the capitulations, his ample quotations from the contemptuous articles of the Oppomiserable writing of the capitu-Cppositionists and the Stalinists.

#### On Sabotage

Concerning the charge of With Trotsky and Sedov's in- sabotage, Trotsky introduces exare hopelessly compromised, analyzed the bureaucratic setting Trotsky was pictured as the of industrial tempos and warned master-mind, the prime-mover of the ruinous outcome of dizzy of the "plot" in whose hands the speeds, making it compellingly others were but passive puppets; clear that the "saboteurs" are Trotsky's name appears on almost scapegoats selected to conceal the usually several times. If Zinoviev, in the economy of the Soviet the others were forced to utter ed from the Danish engineer, only to the most absurd and easily the slightest credence in any part bear out Trotsky's predictions saved.

#### On Terrorism

In relation to terrorism, the record contains long excerpts from Trotsky's writings since the turn of the century, revealing a consistent advocacy of mass propaganda as against the futile and self-defeating violence of desperate individuals. The social roots of the new terrorist tendencies amongst the younger Soviet generation are analyzed and located in the new social stratification and concentration of privilege.

Regarding the charge of allian ce with Hitler and the Mikado, there are introduced Trotsky's published writings, in which a consistent anti-Fascist line is maintained, a class-struggle strategy of combating fascism systematically developed, and the hopeless position of Germany and Japan in the coming war laid forth. Finally, the true political nature of the trials is exposed by a fully documented analysis of the way in which Stalin's charges against the Opposition shifted with the winds of Russia's political alliances and the changing needs of the bureaucracy.

#### A Great Speech

By itself, Trotsky's 136-page concluding speech is a brilliant historical document. Here all the threads are brought together; the factual material summed up ary movement in all its phases. in a running argument; the po- and systematically distribute it litical core and background of the to every radical worker and intrials ruthlessly brought to light, tellectual in the country.

explained. The materials in this speech, plus his fascinating explanations of revolutionary problems, perspectives, strategy and tactics, make of the entire velume an indispensable primer for every revolutionist. The lesson which Trotsky drives home page after page, and which is itself the most crushing condemnation of the accusations and the whole bloody Stalinist regime, is the necessity of firm, patient, and principled education of the masses, as opposed to all sorts of desperate adventures, impatient maneuvers and alliances with the

enemy class. In the era of the People's Front betrayal, Trotsky's teaching, brought out by his testimony and by his still more eloquent life, of undeviating loyalty to and reliance upon the class strenght of the proletariat assumes added significance and timeliness; and this record, which systematically expounds the real nature of the revolutionary spirit and program, will go far toward rejuvenating that spirit and inspiring it with new hope.

The American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky is to be congratulated for providing a special paper-bound edition of this big book at a sales price of two dollars. That means that we can put it into the hand of every comrade—to whom it can serve as a handbook of the revolution-

#### ERWIN WOLF IN SPANISH DUNGEON

(Continued from page 1) telephoned, insisting on seeing Wolf once more and giving him what he called urgent mail that had arrived. Meeting in a cafe, Tioli declared that he had forgotten the mail but would go to his room and bring it back. He did not return, and in his stead appeared the police, now controlled by the G.P.U., who are rested Wolf on the spot. His present whereabouts are unknown.

Konrad Knudsen reports from Oslo the information that a sition press since 1927 on the Norwegian worker who travelled "traitors" and "scoundrels" and through the Soviet Union last the membership. "deserters" as well as from the summer as a tourist, was crossexamined by the G.P.U. concernlators themselves, make it crystalling Erwin Wolf and his wife. A historical and political law that the Appeal has just heard, writes the relationship between the Op- that he fears that the G.P.U. positionists and the capitulators plans to ship Wolf secretly out has befallen so many aiready.

With the memory of Andres minds of all, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that Erwin Prospect Avenue, Cleveland Wolf's life depends upon the most immediate and vigorous protest to the Spanish Government, and a demand for his imevery page of the Court record, industrial crisis which now exists mediate release. We appeal to all groups and individuals to Kamenev, Pyatakov, Radek and Union. Lengthy documents acquir-send cablegrams immediately to the Valencia regime.

#### DULLEA TO RUN IN SPITE OF CLARITYITES

CLEVELAND, Ohio-The Socialist mayoralty campaign, with Robert Dullea as candidate, is being waged in vigorous fashion despite all sabotaging efforts of the right wing.

The last act of the La Guardia Socialists was to announce to the press that they had withdrawn their support from Dullea. Previously the Clarity-right wing combine had moved for no independent political action and had had been decisively defeated by

When Frank Stern, Campaign Manager, and Esther Levine, Adclear that, as he says, "It is a friend of Knudsen from whom ministrative Secretary, returned to Cleveland from the Y.P.S.L. convention, they found that a was all these years more bitter of the country and to the Soviet new lock had been placed on the than the relationship between the Union, where he is doomed to door of the party office by Bob fall victim either to a hideous Parker, Clarity leader, in a desframe-up or a murder in the perate attempt to knife the camdark of the night-the fate that paing for Dullea. Comrade Stern. supported by a majority of the county committee, immediately rented new quarters from which nocence, the bloody proceedings tracts from his writings which Nin's fate still so fresh in the to continue the campaign. The new headquarters are at 737

> At a general membership meeting, a score of members of the Jugoslav Federation, nunny of whom had never attended a Socialist Party meeting, were brought down by the Clarityites to vote the left wing down. A roll call vote disclosed that at not members of the party!

## Save U.S. Business in China, Is C.P. Appeal

## Intervene for American Capital

#### By Li Fu-jen

To meet the situation created by Japan's assault, a revolutionary workers' party would place demonstrations of proletarian solidarity with the Chinese workers and peasants, and efforts to organize workers' sanctions against the robber imperialists, at the center of its activity.

The Stalinists, however, pay only lip service to revolutionary principles. Actually they have emerged as the social-patriotic defenders of American imperialist interests in China and they appeal to the Washington government in thinly-veiled terms to defend those interests against Japan in concert with other "peace-loving" imperialist powers.

In some cases, as we shall show, the appeal for war is not even formally based on defense of the Chinese masses against the Japanese imperialists, but upon the preservation of Wall Street profits and investments. Indeed, the Roosevelt government has not imperialism cannot be driven to voiced anything like the concern fight a war to preserve "peace" over American "interests" in the and "China's sovereignty." They Far East that the Stalinists ex- must prod Washington with more press. As always, the flunkey is more vociferous than the master. Draper!

#### "Collective Security"

The Daily Worker, as the official mouthpiece of the Stalinists, still finds it necessary to use rather guarded language in expounding its betrayal of the principles of revolutionary internationalism. Its editorial comments on the Sino-Japanese war consist in the main of vague mumblings about the necessity for the world.... Our present stake in

and China Today to unfold the business asset." full social-patriotic line in all its vulgar splendor. This is part of the Stalinist system of double bookkeeping. Should need arise, these journals can always be pudiated.

#### Jingoes At Work

In a featured article by Theodore Draper on September 14, the New Masses devotes two full paganda for imperialist war that has sounded the call to arms. has ever disgraced a journal pretending to serve the interests of which describes itself as an organ the exploited and oppressed. The of the "Friends of the Chinese writer, a well-known party People," dispenses similar social-member, copies the style and patroitic poison. In the September ideas of such bourgeois comment- issue, R. A. Howell calls for an ators on Far Eastern affairs as all-in (?) imperialist war against Nathaniel Peffer, notorious as an Japan. Like Draper (perhaps advocate of war by American they are one and the the same imperialism against Japan.

says Draper (the "we' meaning Draper, the New Masses to protect its business interests and the imperialist government in China and, also like Draper, at Washington), have continually postponed coming to grips with laged so that the support of the the real issues." He is complain- masses for the imperialist war ing that the robber barons of may be assured. Listen again: Wall Street have allowed the Japanese imperialists to get away with too much in China and that it is time to call a halt.

#### Recruiting Officer Draper

The pronouns "we" and "our' are used by this Stalinist flagby any bourgeois writer. Not so much as a hint is given that the vernment of the bourgeoisie and in order to get them to fight the necessarily be hostile to all its

tike its predecessors," Draper to arouse the masses and draw representative of a government

the gap between promise and chievement (it has warned Japan, you see, but has never really acted - L.F.J.). The Japanese themselves are keenly aware of our unsatisfactory role in the Far East and they are counting upon it to continue..... The Roosevelt administration, however, is probably faced with a choice far graver than that confronted by previous administrations. The question arises: how much longer is it possible to postpone concrete action to restore peace and China's sovereignty in the Far East?"

#### Poisoned Pill

The references to "peace" and 'China's sovereignty" are the sugar-coating for the poisoned pill of social-patriotism. The traitors of the Second International employed in 1914 such phrases as 'freedom and demo-cracy" and "defense of the fatherland." The Stalinists know full well, however, that American telling arguments. Listen to

"It is good business for the United States to keep China's vast but undeveloped resources out of Japanese control, despite the short-sighted attitude, from the viewpoint of their own selfinterest, of some big business men in this country.

"Secondly, China remains the applying a system of "collective China is but a tiny fraction of security" in the Pacific. our potential stake in a unified It has been left to such unof-ficial organs as the New Masses friendship would be a first-rate

#### Flunkeys in Line

China as a business asset to American imperialism! The Chinese workers as fit subjects for exploitation by the money-bags of Wall Street! Surely enough, American imperialism is girding for the march to its goal of world domination. The Stalinist flunkeys of imperailism have fallen into pages to the most blatant pro- line even before the first bugle

The magazine China Today, person), he wants American imperialism to go to war with Japan he wants the true aims camouf-

#### Plan to Deceive

'Resistance to aggressors will not be effective if it is limited to defense of lives and property, in China. for the broadest support of the peoples cannot be mobilized behind such a policy." From the waver just as they might be used imperialists themselves the Stalinsists have learned how necessary it is to drug the masses with Recevelt government is a go- false ideals and specious promises that the workers must therefore dirty battles of their explociters. Meanwhile the bourgeoissims. Class lines are completely Kuomintang government of China, luence in China, which he said facing certain defeat in the would certainly result from a "The Roosevelt administration, military struggle because it fears Japanese victory." This from the

'New Masses' Ask Roosevelt to Yes, Yes, But What About His Friends?

ROBERT FORSYTHE

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

## EW MASS



Reprinted without permission from the cover-page of the "New Masses" of August 24, 1937.

Japan, also makes groveling ap- Stalinists (as we do not) is puttpeals for imperialist intervention. ing up a "fight to a finish" Wang Chung-hui, Nanking's against Japanese imperialism! foreign minister, in an interview published in the New York Times September 18, emphasized China's regret over the American isolationist attitude toward the Chino-Japanese warfare."

#### Real Intervention

Marines went into action against of the workers and oppressed vote for the independent working striking Chinese flour-mill workers at Shanghai, as a result of which 25 were sent to hospital suffering from the effects of tear gas and scalp wounds. This incident perturbed the Chinese bourgeois minister no more than it did the Daily Worker, which published the report without a single word in condemnation of the use of forces of American imperialism for strike-breaking

Wang "echoed recent Chinese arguments for intervention saying it seemed to him that materialistic, not to mention moral, considerations demanded such a step. He professed his inability to decide whether powers such as Great Britain and the United States were reconciled to abandoning their trade, investments and infcontinues, "is still hamstrung by them actively into the war against which, if we were to believe the Tuesday, 7:00 P. M.—8:30 P. M. details .

#### All In Together

A united front—the bourgeois-Kuomintang government, the "peace-loving" imperialists, and the Stalinists! It remains only for the workers to recognize the fact of this united front and its Only four days earlier U. S. inevitable consequences—betrayal

#### New York Workers: Attention!

Registration of voters for the New York elections will be held the week of October 4th. If you do not register you cannot vote in the elections. Be sure to register so that you will be able to

### Register for the School

The Fall Semester of the Marxist School, organized by the N. Y. Local of the Socialist Party (Left Wing) will open the week of October 18th. There will be five four-week lecture courses and a weekly Sunday open forum. The courses are:

- 1. Elementary Marxism John G. Wright. Monday, 7:00 P. M.—8:30 P. M.
- 2. China and the Far East .-Rob't Graves. Monday, 8:45 P. M.—10:15 P. M.
- 3. Political Currents in American Labor Movement. Maurice Spector.

4. Socialism and War Max Shachtman Tuesday, 8:45 P. M. 10:15 P. M.

5. The American Trade Union Movement.

James P. Cannon. Friday, 7:00 P. M.-8:30 P. M.

mission for each session.

Registration fee will be seventy-five cents in each lecturecourse or twenty-five cents ad-

The school will be held at the Party headquarters 116 University Place, where registration is now open.

Watch the APPEAL for further