La Guardia Endorses George U. Harvey

Erwin Wolf in Spanish Prison

Trotsky Secretary Held
By G.P.U. in Barcelona

Erwin Wolf, young Czech revolu-
tionist who acted as secretary of
Leon Trotsky's group in the ban-
tee's exile in Norway, has been a
cted by the Socialist International in
Barcelona. Over his head hangs the threat
of being arrested or being shipped secretly to
the Soviet Union. His hope is that the
Socialist Secret Police can
get him out of the country.

This dreadful news comes from
Erwin Wolf's wife, Hjordis, daughter of
Korporat, Labor Party member of the Nor-
man Parliament. She accom-
panied her husband several
months ago when they traveled
to Barcelona. After his arrest, she left for France.

Betrayed by G.P.U. spy

In Barcelona, the Wolfes were
recommended to a certain Dr.
Tatti by a Norwegian friend of
Hjordis Knudsen, named Grete Frandsen. She
used his address for the receipt of mail from abroad. On the re-

cord on page 17

VICTOR HARRIS OUSTED

As CONN. SECRETARY

Victor Harris, militant secre-
dary of the Connecticut State
organization of the Socialist Party, has been ousted from his post for
no other reason than his loyalty to the principles of revolution of socialism.

At last Sunday's meeting of the
State Executive Committee, the right-wing majority on the committee, representing the dead-
wood and conservative mem-
bers of the state, and unil-
ed under the direction of
Dwight Allen, chairman of the National Executive Committee, asked con-
mr. Harris to resign the post
which he has occupied for some
time. Harris refused to resign on the ground that he, and not the N.E.C., was faithful to the tradi-
tions of cooperation and socialism. The motion was
then made to oust Harris, which
was carried by a vote of 5 to 2. There
was not even a semblance of
charges of violation of discipline.

When Will the World War Begin

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 explain-
ed:

At the outset of a war, the tacticians are not learning
the lessons which its campaigns have taught. They then have
their plans for the coming war
upon which they have based their courses of action,
expecting to correct "miscalculations" by the other side.

But in modern times, during the interminable period of peace, vast technological
changes have profoundly altered the role of war. The tactical
and political shifts have altered the
war. The military mind has
had to keep pace with these changes, and the result is that
years of peace have

Same in Politics

The same difficulty is so com-
mon in politics as in military
strategy. Painfully, exhaustively,
we learn the lessons of the
last war, only to apply them directly and mechan-
ically to the new crisis, with
left-footing and disoriented,
and hope that it will not
never again. Valuable and
instructive as those political analogies
drawn from the past, they are never a sufficient substitute for
(Continued on page 2)

The Truth About Spain!

Harry Milton

Just Released from a G.U.P. Prison in Spain

Albert Goldman

HARRY MILTON

Irving Plaza

5th St. & Irvine Place

Friday, September 24, 1937

Tickets

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Ampersand, Socialist Party, N. Y. Left Wing
La Guardia Endorses George U. Harvey

Erwin Wolf in Spanish Prison

Trotsky Secretary Held
By G.P.U. in Barcelona

Erwin Wolf, young Czech revolutionary who acted as secretary to Lenin's widow, was arrested and imprisoned by the Stalinist G.P.U. in Barcelona. Over his head hangs the threat of being deported secretly to the Soviet Union. Wolf, a member of the Stalinist Secret Police, can give no clue as to the identity of numerous "confessors" who have imposed on other victims of their frame-up system.

This dreadful news comes from Erwin Wolf's wife, Hjordis, daughter of Konrad Knudsen, Labor Party member of the Norwegian Parliament. She accompanied her husband several months before his arrest and imprisonment to Barcelona. After his arrest, she fled for her life.

Betrayed by G.P.U. Spy

In Barcelona, the Wolfes were recommended to a certain Dr. Troll by a Norwegian friend of Hjordis Knudsen, named Grette Alstam. They were given this address and were asked to use this address for the receipt of mail from abroad. On the eve of her arrest, Wolf's wife fled to France (Continued on page 7)

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tions of revolution and socialism. The motion was then put to the local unit, carried by a vote of 5 to 2.
There was not even a semblance of charges of violation of discipline

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 expul-
sion of the left wingers on the basis of an infamous "loyalty oath.

As a condition for membership in the party, they are seeking to force the comrades who are honestly devoted to socialist principles, who are concerned with their social-
ialist integrity—to compel them to condemn the revolution-
 arists without due process. The fight of the left wing against the National Executive Committee when it sanc-
tioned the support of the Right Wing of La Guardia, and declared the expulsion of all those who opposed this lathomse sell-out.

On the basis of this "loyalty oath", which they know will not be signed by a single self-respecting socialist any-
where in the country, comrades are being expelled throughout the country and the localities are being organized on the basis of support for "La Guardia Socialism."

There is no other way of effectively combating the disaffection of the movement, than by organizing
the socialist party on a revolutionary basis, rather than the rank and file taking matters into their own hands. Over the heads of the La Guardia socialists on the National Executive Committee, guilty of perfidy and treachery to 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 voting to dissolve the N.E.C., and to take all measures for the re-establishment of the party on the foundation of socialist principles." The Ohio S.E.C. proposes that the convention be held in Chicago on or about the Thanksgiv-
 ing-week-end. It has authorized the City Central Com-
mittee of the organization to act as an organizing
 committee on convention arrangements.

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

The Executive Committee of Local Cook County (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, N. Y., has now gone on record against the La Guardia Socialists and echoes the demand for the emergency convention.

Local Allentown, Pa., 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 units set immediately to endorse the Ohio resolution. Every day's delay facili-
tates the criminal work of the right wing and their cent-
rist tools. The revolutionary socialist party must be restored and consolidated.

All hands united! On to the Chicago convention of the rank and file, of the revolutionary socialists!

People's Front' Candidate for New York's Red-Baiter No. 1.

Thomas Is 'Shocked'—But Will Not Run

By a majority even larger than the most daring estimates, Pierre II. La Guardia was nominated by the enrolled Republicans of New York City as the Republican candidate for Mayor.

The Republicans knew their man when they picked him. These enrolled voters were those who registered Republican in the midst of last year's Presidential campaign. They are the real dish-ordered Republicans.

La Guardia has not been slow in showing his gratitude. On the eve of the primaries, in order to make things perfectly clear to the Republican machine, he went down the line for the regular Republican candidates for citywide office in particular, for McGooldrick and Newbold Morris, both among New York's most prominent Labor supporters last year.

Two days after the primaries, La Guardia addressed his followers in celebration of the Convention to an elaborate defense of the Supreme Court as the guar-
dian of the people's liberty.

Red-Baiter Endorsed

But the pay-off came on Monday. The morning's headlines duly announced La Guardia's endorsement of George U. Har-
vey, Republican candidate for citywide offices. Few political figur-
es in the city our better known than this same Harvey. It is granted in all camps that he does not have even a rival or chan-
ge Red-Baiter of New York. He never has an occasion to attack, in public or in private, every and any labor "agitator." (Continued on page 3)

When Will the New World War Begin

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 on the principle that they have learned from the war just finished, ex-
pecting to correct "mistakes" thereby by extending the scope of operations. But in modern times, during the intervening period of peace, vast technological changes have profoundly al-
tered the interpretation of warfare, and social and political shifts have altered ways of carrying on of masses of people. Consequently, the lessons of the past war are discovered not to apply to the new war, or to apply only indi-
rectly.

The military staff have to throw overboard most of their studies, and learn afresh, from reality.

Same in Politics

The same difficulty is so common in political as in military tactic. Painfully, exhaustively, we learn the political analogues from the last war. But, if we apply them directly and mechan-
ically to the new crisis, we are left floundering and disoriented, and have our feet comfortably stuck all over again. Valuable and instruc-
tive as are political analogues drawn from the past, they are never a sufficient substitute for (Continued on page 3)

Speak Friday

To Speak Friday

HARRY MILTON

The Truth About Spain

Hear Harry Milton
Just Released from a G.P.U. Prison in Spain

Alber, Goldman

IRVING PLAZA
15th St. & Irving Place
Friday, September 24, 1937
9 P.M.

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Auspices, Socialist Party, N.Y. Left Wing
Imperialists Now Launch Conflicts Without Formal Declarations of War

By James Burnham

Inter-imperial war, at least as such, is a logical stage in the development of capitalism. The imperialist phase of monopoly capitalism, in which the balance of power is broken down into two blocs, each with its own territorial domination, has reached a new stage. The so-called "cold war" between the United States and the Soviet Union is now only a shadow of the real conflicts that are taking place between the two imperialist blocs.

By 1914, the two great imperialist blocs were already in conflict. The war of 1914-18 was not a war of capital unity, but a war of capital struggle. The war was fought by the imperialist powers to gain control of world markets and to secure the raw materials they needed for their industries.

In the 20th century, the capitalist system has developed to the point where it is necessary for the imperialist powers to engage in armed conflict to maintain their dominant position in the world. This is because the capitalist system is increasingly dependent on foreign markets and raw materials.

The conflict between the two imperialist blocs is not just a matter of economic competition, but is also a struggle for political and military dominance. The imperialist powers are constantly trying to expand their spheres of influence and to gain control of the strategic points of the world.

The war of 1914-18 was a war of capital struggle, and it is the same today. The conflict between the two imperialist blocs is a continuation of the war of 1914-18, and it is only a matter of time before a new world war breaks out.

We must be prepared for this. The struggle between the two imperialist blocs is not just a matter of political and military dominance, but is also a struggle for the survival of the capitalist system.

The capitalist system is in crisis, and it is only a matter of time before the crisis becomes a full-scale world war. The only way to prevent this is to build a world socialist revolution. The socialist revolution is the only way to solve the problems of the capitalist system.

The socialist revolution is the only way to solve the problems of the capitalist system. The socialist revolution will put an end to the war, and it will put an end to the capitalist system.
Who Should the Working Class Celebrate Its Birthday or Prepare Its Funeral?

The Constitution of the United States was signed on September 17, 1787, 206 years ago last week. The work of the philosophers who provided it was not without its controversies, but the result is a document that is the cornerstone of the American political system.

The Constitution established a federal government with three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative branch consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The executive branch is headed by the President, and the judicial branch is headed by the Supreme Court. The Constitution also includes the Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments, which guarantee individual freedoms such as freedom of speech, religion, press, and petition.

The Constitution was written in response to a time of crisis in the United States, with states Rights and Federal Rights ideologies clashing. The document was designed to provide a framework for a united country, with powers shared between the federal government and the states.

In his famous Farewell Address, George Washington warned against the growth of factions and the potential for political corruption. He wrote, "A dependence on foreign influence or opinion, or the Fortune of the Moment, cannot be the basis of solid tranquility and security." This advice has been echoed by later presidents and political leaders.

As we mark the birthday of our Constitution, let us remember its importance in shaping our country and its enduring relevance today. The Constitution is a reminder of the values we hold dear, and a testament to the strength and resilience of the American people.
Stalinism and Bolshevism - An Article Concerned with the Movement to*

Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the level of intellectual activity. The mechanized madness of the ideological re-action of Schla (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 the name of the ideology of the proletariat, to both Austria and Germany the affair ended in a catastrophe. Schla draws a wholesale conclusion: this is the result of dialectics and the class struggle! And since the result of dialectics is limited to 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 Marx as well.

At first glance Schla's brand of ideological reaction seems too primitive (from Marx... to Kerenkes!) 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 first 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 to the present stage to the triumph of the bureaucracy, with its system of repression, plunder, and falsification — to the "dictionnaire of the lie, to use Schla's happy expression—many formalistic and superficial minds leap to a summary conclusion: one cannot struggle against Stalinism, without renouncing Bolshevism. Schla, 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 complex and comprehensive world 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, or Stalinism, together with the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries and certain left doctrinaires considering themselves Marxists, believe? "We have always predicted this," they say. "Having started with the prohibition of the other socialist parties, the suppression of the press, the silencing of free thought, the setting up of the Bolshevik dictatorship in the soviet, the October Revolution could only end in the dictatorship of the bureaucracy. Stalin is the continuation and also the apotheosis of Bolshevism." 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, ce, closely fused with the work with the tasks of Socialism, in the Soviet Union a hundred nationalities, and a heritage o ignorance. It was only built up not only the thought and cultural level of the country, the mass level, the historical process of degeneration of the socket of pure Bolshevism is to huge, name of only one of its elements. One has to turn to the movement to do away with every t Bolshevism, at any rate, ne with the October Revolution or issued from it. Bolshevism or the factors of history, the "important but not the decisive historical subjectivism. We as the existing basis of productive struggle, not only on a national scale.

When the Bolsheviks made themselves private ownership membership in the party, prohibited other parties, unites as conicile with agreements with imperialists, drawing partial conclusions have been theoretically to the extent that the conquest of power, in the words of Lenin, is the most sovereign level of the history over the state the party is the existence of the development society and would be in any case the greater influence from all others can, by the direct attack of men of power. Given a more drastic it can degenerate internally and power. It is precisely this dialectic ease that is not understood by those who try to find in the decay of an ambling argument against.

In essence these gentlemen of the party that contains in itself degeneration is had. By, Bolshevism is naturally condemned: the criterion itself is wrong. So a concrete analysis: how and when, in the eyes of the Bolshevism the present time, given such an had need to break with both Bolshevism in its arsenal all the rest of its fate. They draw they Stalinism "grew out of Bob! over, but dialectically: not as 'ion but as a Thermonuclear by the same.

The FUNDAMENTAL PHENOMEN

The Bolshevics, however, do Moscow trials to explain the reaction of the governing party that foresaw and spoke of this tendency: Because. Let us not Bolshevism is not in the lution but years before. The ep in the national and international COMING AS A II

The essay Stalinism as reprinted here by arrangement with the Publishers. It will appear p by the Publishers are available at 10 cents at reduced rates. Written to the Fifth Ave., New York 1.
An Article Concerning the Roots and Traditions of the Movement for the Fourth International

Evism -

Evism - an upsurge against which Schulum has mobilized the whole of the left-wing socialist movement - is a logical mechanism of the ideological reformation and his like, is not at all complicated. It is a question of landing a politician, a Party, a state, or a whole bloc of states in the class struggle and appealed, in thought, to dialectical materialism. In the mid-Germany the affair ended in a catastrophe, a whole bloc of states, the Bolshevists, the word falls on a bundle of old rag quickly opposed not only to Bolshevism but well.

Sculmm's brand of ideological reformation (from Marx to Kowonsky!) But actually it is very instructive: primitiveness it represents the common denial of other forms of reasoning, particularly in a wholesale denunciation of Bolshevism.

"Back to Marxism"

under its highest historical expression in the banner of Bolshevism the first and the only successful revolution in the world - has been established. Nothing can erase these facts. But since the October Revolution has led to the triumph of the bureaucracy, of repression, plunder, and falsification of the ice", to use Sculmm's happy foretelling and empirical insights leap conclusion: one cannot struggle against these realities. Schulmm, knows, goes farther: Bolshevism, Stalinism, itself evolved out of Marxism; it cannot fight Stalinism while remaining in Bolshevism. There are others, less numerous, who say on the contrary: Leninism is possible, one ml...

"The fundamental Prognosis of Bolshevism"

But Stalinism itself grew out of Marxism; it cannot fight Stalinism while remaining in Bolshevism. There are others, less numerous, who say on the contrary: Leninism is possible, one ml...

"The Fundamental Prognosis of Bolshevism"

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 all the problems of nationalities, and a heritage of oppression, misery and ignorance. The state built up by the Bolshevists reflects not only the thought and will of Bolshevism but also the expectations 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 Marxism, is a distortion of the fundamental premises 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 Marxism, is a distortion of the fundamental premises 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 Marxism, is a distortion of the fundamental premises of the population, the pressure of a barbaric past and no less barbaric world imperialism.

"The Fundamental Prognosis of Bolshevism"

"The Fundamental Prognosis of Bolshevism"

Bolshevism, at any rate, cannot identify 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 silenced 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 Bolshevists made concessions to the peasant tendency to private ownership, set up strict rules for membership in the party, purged the party of alien elements, substantially reduced the volume of the nationalized 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, certain, to influence the development of society with a power incoercible act against it before; but in the moment 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 diachronic 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, this is the argument of 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 successor. But Lenin adds: "We ourselves have a reason to demand a concrete analysis: how and why did the party degenerate?" No one but the Bolshevists 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, those who said in its arsenal all they needed for the clarification of its fate. They drew this conclusion: certainly Stalinism was a new form of Bolshevism, not logically, however, but dialectically not as a revolutionary affirmation but as a Thermodorian negation. It is by no means the same.

The Fundamental Prognosis of Bolshevism

The Bolshevists, however, did not have to wait for the Moscow trials to explain the reason for the disintegration of the governing party of the U.S.S.R. Long ago the Bolshevists themselves have already predicted this development. Let us remember the prognosis of the Bolshevists, 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 proletariat to seize power first in a backward country such as Russia. But the same alignment of forces beforehand that without a more or less rapid vie the proletariat in the advanced countries the world revolution will not be possible. The Soviet regime must either fall or degenerate. Exactly: it will first degenerate and then fall. I have written about this more than once, for example in "The History of the Russian Revolution". In my "History of the Russian Revolution" ("Appendix" to the last volume: "Socialism in One Country") are collected all the statements on this q...
is only a political tendency — class not identical working class there exist 1 million peasants, various sections of oppression, misery, and by the Bolsheviks reflects the social composition of a barbaric past and no end. To represent the people, against the evolution of false reality in the state, isolated by pure logic. mutiny mistake by its real forces been identified itself either with the Soviet state that considered itself as one of "ennemy" factor—a very one. We never sinned in the decisive factor—on fire forces—in the class but on an international concessions to the peasant p set up strict rules for the state. We introduced, the N.E.P., once, or concluded diplomat governments, they were subject in a systematical fact that had on the beginning: however important it may naustain the party into a individual process. Having taken it certainly, to influence is a power inaccessible to itself to a ten times greater, at least. It state forces be thrown out tempo of development by the maintaining itself in the center of the historical process those sectarian politicians the Stalinist bureaucracy at Bolshevism.

I say: the revolutionary guarantee no necessity against such a criterion Bolshe as the U.S.S.R. Long ago a theoretician demands why did the party degener­ series themselves to up in a permanent group, and they Bolshevik. On the contrary, now was the first time. History is not made by a few people, even "the best"; and not only that: these "best" can regenerate in the spirit of an alien, that is a bourgeois culture. Not only state and regime, but the Bolshevik party can, under unfavorable historical 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 in the direction of the Soviet power in Russia, and was not in this way that 4,700 communists (almost a whole division and all of them the best) were submitted to an alien culture? The word "alien" is the right word. In the first time. History is not made by a few people, even "the best"; and not only that: these "best" can regenerate in the spirit of an alien, that is a bourgeois culture. Not only state and regime, but the Bolshevik party can, under unfavorable historical conditions, lose its Bolshevism.

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 existing 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 im­ petuous course of development, it has suffered in the last fifteen years a far more radical degeneration than did the nursery in holy hands, whose support is still a bloody line but a whole river of blood. The an­ nihilation of all the old generation of Bolsheviks, an im­ portant factor in the industrial generation which ruled in the civil war, and that part of the youth which took seriously the Bolshevistic traditions, shows not only a political but a thoroughly physical incompatibility between Bolshevism and Stalinism. How can this be ig­ nored?

**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 represent a new form of the old proletariat plus the new "superman" by the more modern federation of free Soviets. But, as formerly, they are against centralised state power. In fact: one branch of "state" Marxism, social democracy, is coming to power, the other branch 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 Marxism is a product of the state, and the state in which society was still unable to tear itself out of the strait-jacket of the state. But this situation, contain­ ing nothing for the education of Bolshevism or Marxism, characterises only the general cultural level of man­ kind, and above all—the relation of forces between prole­ tariat and bourgeoisie. Having agreed with the anarch­ ists that the state, even the workers’ state, is the off­ spring of the old barbarism and capitalism, and the state in which society was still unable to tear itself out of the strait-jacket of the state. But this situation, contain­ ing nothing for the education of Bolshevism or Marxism, characterises only the general cultural level of man­ kind, and above all—the relation of forces between prole­ tariat and bourgeoisie. Having agreed with the anarch­ ists that the state, even the workers’ state, is the off­ spring of the old barbarism and capitalism, and the state in which society was still unable to tear itself out of the strait-jacket of the state. 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The Wave of Trials In The U.S.S.R.
Mass Executions, Disturbing Economy, Reveal Reactionary Role of Stalin

By Jack Weber

The mass executions, which have been occurring with increasing frequency in the U.S.S.R., are a serious economic as well as a political problem. The economic effects of the purges are already being felt in the Soviet Union and abroad. The fall in productivity, the rise in prices, and the decline in the economy as a whole have been caused by the purges. The purges have also had a political effect, as they have undermined the stability of the Soviet Union and the international situation.

The purges are a direct result of the policies of Stalin. He has used the purges to maintain his power and to silence his critics. The purges have also been used to suppress opposition to his policies, and to silence those who have criticized him. The purges have also been used to create a climate of fear, and to silence those who might dare to speak out against the policies of Stalin.

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The Case of Trotsky
A Review of the Dewey Sub-Commission in Mexico City

September 25, 1937

JOE HILL

Last April, in a revealed little pamphlet, Leon Trotsky made a promise to the people of Mexico. The document, entitled "The Right to Life," sets forth the charges against Trotsky and calls for a democratic trial in accordance with the principles of natural justice. The document has been published in Mexico, but it is not yet available in the United States. The information contained in the document has been verified by press reports from Mexico, and the evidence presented in the document is considered to be reliable.

If Trotsky is found guilty of the charges, the evidence will be used by the Soviet war machine to destroy his memory and to cover up the crimes of Stalin. The record, aims and ideals of Stalin's Marxism-Leninism is not communistic and exploitation of the workers. Trotsky's contributions to Marxism-Leninism are being systematically falsified to show that Trotsky is the enemy of the working class. The Trotskyist movement is being systematically suppressed and its leaders are being persecuted. The Trotskyists are being denied the right to assemble, to publish and to speak.

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

By Li Fu-ye

To meet the situation created by Japan's assault, a revolutionary workers' party would place democracy at the center of its activities. It would advocate the workers' right to organize workers' sanctions against imperialist exploitation at the center of its activity.

The Stalinists, however, pay only lip service to revolutionary principles. Actually they have not appealed to the Washington government in thirdly-reeled terms to defend those interests against Japan in concert with other "peace-loving" imperialist powers.

The gap between promise and achievement (it has warned Japan, but has never really acted - L.F.J.). The Japanese themselves are keenly aware of our insufficientary role in the Far East and they are not depended upon to continue.... The Roosevelt administration, however, probably faced with a choice far graver than that confronted by previous administrations. The question arises: how much longer is it possible to postpone the action to restore peace and China's sovereignty in the Pacific?

Poisoned Pill

The references to "peace" and "China's sovereignty" are the sugar-coating for the poisoned pill of social-patriotism. The editors of the Second International employed in 1914 such phrases as 'freedom and democracy' and "defence of the fatherland." The Stalinists knew full well, however, that American imperialism cannot be driven to the wall by words alone: it reserves "peace" and "China's sovereignty." They must prod Washington with more telling arguments. Listen to Draper:

"The good business for the United States to keep China's coat will be undermined the successful appeal of that coat as a cloak for imperial plunder. This is part of the Stalinist system of double-bookkeeping. Should the need arise, these journals are always available.

Daily Work

In a featured article by Theo. D. Draper on September 13, the New Masses devotes two full pages to the most blatant propagandist efforts of the imperialist war that Wall Street has ever disgraced a journal preceding to its own profit, the exploited and oppressed. The writer, a well-known party member, copies the style and ideas of such bourgeois commentators on Far Eastern affairs as Nathaniel Peffer, notorious as an advocate of war by American imperialism against Japan.

"We," says Draper (the "we" meaning the New Masses, and the imperialist government at Washington), have continually postponed coming to grips with the problem of the oppressed, voting that the robber barons of Wall Street have allowed the exploitation of imperialism to get away with too much in China and that it is time they were stopped.

Recruiting Officer Draper

The pronouns "we" and "our" are used by this Stalinist flag-waving magazine to be justified by any bourgeois writer. Not so much does Draper write in the name of the Roosevelt government as a government of big businesses and that the workers must thereupon necessarily be hostile to all its policies.

Recruiting advertisement.

"Like its predecessor," Draper continues, "is still hamstrung by

Robert Forsythe

A Man with the Right Kind of Enemies

By Wallace Moore

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

New York Workers: Attention!

Registration of voters for the New York elections will be held the week of October 14th. If you do not register you cannot vote in the elections. Be sure to register so that you will be able to vote for the independent workers class candidates!

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 15th. There will be four-week lecture courses and a weekly Sunday open forum. The courses are:

1. Elementary Marxism
   Monday, 7:00 P.M. - 8:30 P.M.

2. China and the Far East
   Monday, 8:45 P.M. - 10:15 P.M.

3. Political Currents in American Labor Movement
   Maurice Schnapper
   Monday, 7:00 P.M. - 8:30 P.M.

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.

Registration fee is seven-tenths of one cent in each lecture course or twenty-five cents admission for each section.

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

Watch the APPEAL for further details.

By Li Fu-ye

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