

4 YEARS OF THE MILITANT

At this moment there is a new and perceptibly growing wave of sympathy and support to the Left Opposition in America. It is taking on a form distinct from the past slow process of winning a worker here and there who became convinced by individual propaganda. Those who have followed The Militant attentively will also have noticed that, in entering the fourth year of its existence, its contents begin more directly to reflect the struggle toward revolutionary developments in the country. That itself is a material expression of the growing support coming in the direction of the Left Opposition.

The reasons, of course, lie in the very conditions of the working class movement. The economic crisis is producing a new orientation. It is generally speaking a Leftward one. A working class force is beginning to emerge in the United States. It is emerging slowly, painfully, with much stumbling and with many bitter experiences in its course. But for the actual proof of its emerging one needs only to cast a glance at the election campaign just concluded. Willynilly, of the main contenders, the capitalist parties, the working class issues forced themselves to the fore. The conditions created are also beginning to put tionary currents more definitely to their test. This, however, will be far more marked in the coming period of more intense struggles. But already now there is evidence that the Left Opposition is commencing to find its place on the solid grounds of the class struggle. And we can say today that an estimate of the significance of this new wave of support quite decisively indicates ou future much greater role.

Some Examples of Growth We have at this moment a series of new contact established, which are becoming included within our active ranks. A new branch of the League is organized Illusions Now Greatest Danger one issue. To do this we need organiin Davenport, Iowa. Branches are in formation in Des Moines, Iowa, in Pittsburgh, Pa., and in New Castle, Pa. Our existing branches with but few exceptions, are in the process of growth.

theoretical foundation-a Marxian foun- the entire working class. It is a victory dation-belongs to the Left Opposition. But we are compelled to carry on by the most primitive means, made so by the isolated position from which we began and by our sadly limited physical on a class basis and fought it that way. the trade union bureaucracy of the A. lost the substantial number of more than resources. Every step toward our ob-

This simpl figure gves evidence to the entire world of the gigantic force which exists in the proletarian state. No one, not even the most optimistic among us, foresaw such vitality. And that is not surprising; the optimism of such a prediction would have had to fear within it pessimism with regard to the international revolution.

The leaders and the masses saw in the October upheaval only the first stage of the world revolution. The thought of an independent building-up of Socialism in isolated Russia was, in the year 1917, neither defended nor sustained nor clearly formulated by anybody. In the following years, too, the economic construction was conceived by the entire party without exception as the substructure of a material basis under the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the preservation of the economic bond (smytchka) between city and country, and finally as the creation of points of support for the coming Socialist society which could only be built up on an international basis.

The ways of the world revolution have shown themselves to be immeasurably longer and more tortuous than we hoped and expected fifteen years ago. To the external difficulties, of which the historic rôle of reformism showed itself to be the most important, came the internal ones, above all, the policies of the epigones of Bolshevism, false in their foundation and fatal in their consequences. The bureaucracy of the the various working class and revolu- first Workers' State does everything decisive-unconsciously, but that is no excuse-to prevent the birth of a second Workers' State. The knots tied by the bureaucracy must be untied or broken to give a free road to the revolution.

> If the delay in the development has gone beyond the framework whch we had sketched, still we have accur-

9 Scottsboro Boys Win Victory

The decision of the Supreme Court enough to allow all conflicting and conof the United States, reversing the low- tradictory tendencies in the labor move er courts in setting aside the trial and ment to meet in a common struggle on ity to compile the results and draw conappeal verdicts in the Scottsboro case, this concrete issue. We need a united clusions adequate for the moment.

The enormous advantage of a correct is a triumph for the nine prisoners and front of the entire working class. militantly won by the party in the face of great terror and repression. It is way of a militant class defense, the Soa vindication of the fighting methods of cialist party which spewed slander at the Communists who placed the struggle the I. L. D. at the height of the fight. But no illusions! The fight is not yet F. of L. which is still hamstringing the two million votes, although they remain von. The end we are fighting for is not Mooney defense, the muddle-headed lib- by far the largest party in the country:

The October revolution is finishing its fifteenth year. ately estimated the fundamental moving forces and their laws. This also applies completely to the problem of the economic development of the Soviet Union. Modern productive forces will not let themselves be confined within national limits by any resolution or any exorcism. Autarchy is the ideal of Hitler, not of Marx nor of Lenin. Socialism and national separatism are mutually exclusive. Today as well as fifteen years ago, the program of a Socialist society in a single country is utopian and reactionary.

The economic successes of the Soviet Union are very tradictions and its difficutlies have taken on a threatentradictionsand its difficulties have taken on a threatening sharpness. Delays, interruptions and disproportions bear witness in the first instance to a wrong leadership. But that is not all. They recall that building up of a harmonious society is possible only through an uninterrupted experience extending over decades and not otherwise than on an international basis. The technical and cultural obstaclesthe break between city and country, the difficulties of import and export trade-all prove that the October demands an international continuation. Internation- the effects of the crisis in order to gain alism is not a ritual convention but a question of life office. or death.

There will be no lack of jubilee speeches and articles. The majority of them will come from those who were, in October, the intransigeant adversaries of D. Roosevelt with his "forgotten man" the proletarian insurrection. We Bolshevik-Leninists way. With a clear majority in Demowill be called "counter-revolutionists" by these gentle- cratic hands the blind protest vote will men. It is not the first time that history permits it- expect immediate action and since the self such jokes and we have nothing against it on that Democrats will carry out the imperialaccount. Even if it is with confusion and slowly, history does its work.

And we too, we will do ours! Prinkipo, October 13, 1932

Roosevelt's Victory

Protest Vote of Middle Class and Labor Hits Republicans

The returns from the elections throws, port of a big section of financiers, like considerable light upon the class reaction Young and Taylor, jingoist and big navy to the crisis. The capitalist press is advocates like Hearst and Baker, propailing Roosevelt as the victor of a gressive" republicans, confused middle tidal wave", of a "landslide" that has class elements, "liberals", the solid rewiped the Republicans out of office. The actionary Jim-Crow south and disconvictory of Roosevelt and Garner has tented and confused workers.

The protest vote of the middle class carried with it complete control of the House and Senate. Throughout the and misled workers will be a good cover under which Roosevelt will be able to country their "landslide" has carried speed up and carry out the imperialist with it many state and local tickets. program. Under cover of the "fight" to Not since the last world war has the repeal the Eighteenth Amendment the Democratic wing of the capitalist reac-Democrats will hid their real activity tionary parties gained such a favorable tor Wall Street and use this at a critical position. moment as crumbs for the hungry, dis-

contented masses.

The Democrats have full control and will have no "excuse" for not carrying out their program and election promises. Roosevelt made lots of promises, just as Hoover did in 1928. Roosevelt was forced to give these promises because he had to straddle different layers of classes and rally the mass discontent from

Teddy Roosevelt started out by "trust busting" and ended with the greatest service rendered to the monopolists. F. and his "new deal" will end in the same ists will the "victory vote" will turn to its opposite, providing the Communists are able to take advantage of the favorable developments.

-L. TROTSKY.¹ Roosevelt rode to power on the sup-



While exact details as to the composi-I their aims by the violent seizure of zational forms broad and democratic tion of the vote cast in last Sunday's power and the more violent extirpation German elections are not yet at hand, of all proletarian movements and inthe total figures afford us the opportun- stitutions. Or, if the necessity for such a step is obviated by the collapse of As compared with the elections of last in October 1923-the bourgeois saves it-

July 31, the social democracy lost ap- self the expense of the inevitably ensuing proximately three-quarters of a million sanguinary conflict, a period of "stabivotes; an almost identical number of lization" sets in, and the Fascist movevotes was gained by the Communist ment begins to decompose. And with party. The Hitlerites, for the first time, it, the revolutionary proletarian party.

From this it does not follow that the store for the reformers. Fascist danger to the German proletariat Our position on the question of a s now eliminated, or even definitively "period" of reformism for America has on the decline. Such a conclusion can been dealt with at different times in the be drawn only by those for whom the Militant. For the moment we want to class struggle begins at the ballot box take up just one phase of the problem and ends with a parliamentary mandate. and we will later return to it for further consideration on the basis of develop-The heavy decline in the social demments. ocratic vote is another repayment made In New York, Hillquit, socialist candiby the socialist workers for the base date for mayor, polled 250,000 votes, the treachery of their leaders which could largest ever polled in New York by the not be committed with impunity. That socialists. Thomas obtained 120,000 some 700,000 socialist workers deserted votes. Thomas' votes were basically their traditional party, surmounted the socialist votes of small shopkeepers and barriers artifically erected against them by the Stalinists, and voted the Commun-

and ruin for large sections of the middle class, with drastic wage cuts, lower living standards and mass unemployment for the workers, has piled up a tremendous blind protest vote of discontent. Roosevelt's material base rests in Wall Street but his votes rest in the discontented middle class and the large layers of the working class who are not yet class conscous. Such was Roosevelt's victory.

The crisis with its effects of bankruptcy

To the Left of this Roosevelt vote is the real and decisive significance of the election for our class-the demand of the reformist party, the socialist party, for a place in the sun and against the Communist Party of Revolution. The complete returns of the socialist and Communist vote are not in but we have sufficient information for the main outlines of this problem.

The socialist party has piled up a large vote. The skeleton party of American social reformism has taken on form. Contrary to the Stalinist analysis of the past--that the base of reformism has been narrowed and therefore we will not have a period of reform in Americathat we are heading toward a period of revolutionary upsurges and the struggle of class against class-we find reformism growing. The editorial of the Daily Worker of Nov. 10 (City Edition) dismisses the socialist vote as unimportant and, as stated in the last issue of the the proletarian movement—as happened Militant, mechanically compares the Communist vote of today with the previous elections. The Stalinists leave unanswered the question of the new relationship of class forces; the relationship of the party of reform and revolution; and the question of what the future holds in

jectives therefore of necessity had to be modest ones.

In both respects, both in regard to a correct theoretical foundation as well as in regard to our limited means the four years history of The Militant, furnishes eloquent proof to our contention. But while the latter is apparent, it is the former, which in terms more convincing than we could possibly utter, has attested to its enormous advantage. Just look at the healthy contrast be tween four years ago and today.

Then we had a handful of comrades coming forward with an unshakable conviction, having from the past received a certain preparation for their position, but also carrying over remnants from the past which still caused some unclarity and lack of experience in applying the America. We made some mistakes; we must, of course, record shortcomings. to the healthy transformation which has (Continued on page 6)

this forthcoming that there will be movement.

greater need than before for the militia. All this means that the Supreme Court has left the door wide open for a reit has indicated how this is to be done. will help.

All that its strictures mean is that if its august solemnity is to be invoked to sanction this kind of butchery all the OPEN FORIM fine technicalities of the law must be complied with,

the working class for the unconditional International Left Opposition platform to freedom of these victims of capitalist class justice is greater than it was be-What we have already accomfore. Yet we are justified in giving emphasis plished most be the stimulus to yet greater efforts. We cannot stop until taken place. We are justified in taking we have forced the bourbon tiger of the south to open his jaws and let our

LEON TROTSKY



The Situation on the Eve of the Second Five Year Plan

The successes of the first two years opportunity to take an interesting trip of the Five Year Plan demonstrated to at reduced rates.

the bourgeoisie of the entire world that the proletarian revolution was a much more serious business than was apparent in the beginning. The interest in the Soviet "experiment" grew apace. Conspicuous groups of eminent bourgeois publications in divers countries began printing comparatively objective economic information.

At the same time the international Communist press played up the most optimistic estimates of the Soviet press, exaggerating them crudely, presumably forming them into an economic legend. Petty bourgeois democrats, who were not at all in a hurry to form an opinion Five Year Plan. Magnanimously, at oism provided many of them with an

It is infinitely more deserving, forsooth, to defend the socialist construction of the first workers' state than to sustain the pretensions of Wall Street or of the City. But one can take as little stock in the lukewarm sympathies of this gentry toward the Soviet government as in the antipathies of the Amsterdam Congress toward militarism.

People, after the type of the Webbs (and they are not the worst of this lot) are, naturally, not at all inclined to break their heads over the contradic in the interests of propaganda, and trans- tions of Soviet economy. Without in any manner committing themselves, they strive chiefly to utilize the conquests of Soviets in order thus to shame or urge about so complex a fact as the October ahead the ruling circles of their land. revolution, welcomed with glee the pos- A foreign revolution serves them as a sibility to discover support for their be- subordinate weapon for their reformism lated sympathies in the statistics of the For this purpose, as well as for their personal peace of mind, "the Friends of last, they "recognized" the Soviet Repu- the U. S. S. R.", together with the inblic in reward for its economic and cul- ternational Communist bureaucracy, retural attainments. This act of moral quire a picture of the successes in U.S. (Continued on page 6)

yet. The boys are still in prison. They erals of the New Republic stripe will the Nationalist party, in turn, picked are to be tried again in March, thus not issue the call for this united front up close to a million additional vote. The far, by the same judge, in the same movement. They have no interest in other bourgeois parties revealed no decourt in which they were railroaded a such a unity of the workers. Only the cisive change in strength; the Centrists little more than a year and a half ago. revolutionary party of the proletariat and their Bavarian co-religionists lost a The statement has been made that at can unite the ranks and organize the few hundred thousand votes; the old

The N. A. A. C. P. which stood in the

That is why we say to the party: Call the united front conferences! We are petition of the death sentences. In fact with you with all our resources. We

The need for a fighting movement of Ihe Meaning of the German Elections

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Friday, November 18, 1932 126 East 16 Street,

near Irving Place

ADMISSION: 15e

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

> DANCINĞ REFRESHMENTS BANQUET

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People's party gained a few hundred thousand; the rest of the vote, slightly less in total than three months ago, was scattered.

From these bare figures, the following situation may be deduced:

The Nazi Setbcak

For the first time in their recent years | ist slate-is at one and the same time of uninterrupted and sensational growth, an arraignment of the reactionary role the Nazis have suffered a distinct set- of the social democratic leadership and

back. As we have pointed out previous- of that obdurate stupidity of the Stalinly in these columns, the Hitlerites can- ists whose course. in the first place, prenot hope to arrive in power by the smooth vented masses of others from rallying parliamentary train. The preceding to the banner of revolution, and in the election already indicated that, so far second place, still deters the vast numas elections are concerned, the Nazi bers of discontented socialist workers social reservoir of voting strength was from moving any closer to the organized well-nigh exhausted. Not a parliament. Communist movement than is necessary ary movement in the ordinary bourgeois for the casting of a red ballot. sense, the Fascists must strive to fulfill (Continued on page 5)

STALINIST'S TAKE MEASUR ES



Wireless and telegraph have flashed expulsion brings to mind their old and news to the entire world of the expul- unaccidental role.

sion of Zinoviev and Kamenev from the Zinoviev and Kamenev were members party, and along with them of more than a score of Bolsheviks. According to the official communication, those who are expelled were, presumably, striving to reestablish capitalism in the Soviet Un- ist International. Together with Rykov of the workers. The socialist party vote ion. The political import of this new repression is imposing in itself. Its symptomotic significance is tremendous.

In the course of many years, Zinoviev and Kameney were the closest pupils and Politbureau and the Soviet of Labor and collaborators of Lenin. Better than any Defense, the highest economic organ of one else, Lenin knew their weak traits; land. but he was also able to utilize their

strong sides. In his "Testament", so In 1923, Zinoviev and Kamenev launchcautions in tone, wherein both praise and censure are equally modulated in order beginning of the struggle, they took This is an indication of an very poor account of its consequences. not to strengthen some too much and weaken others, Lenin deemed it urgent to which, of course does not testify to their cause so many of the workers are disremind the party that the behavior of political far-sightedness. Zinoviev was franchized. In spite of the favorable Zinoviev and Kamenev in October was primarily an agitator, exceptionally tal- gains made by the Communists the gains "not accidental". Subsequent events confirmed these words all too clearly. But or. Kamenev-"a wise politician" in the reformers an advantage in the preno more accidental was also that role Lenin's estimation, but lacking great which Zinoviev and Kamenev played in will power and too easily inclined to adthe Leninist party. And their present (Continued on page 2)

misled workers while Hillquit's vote had the additional protest vote of the middle class, the "good government" and "cheap government" vote against Tammany Hall.

The national vote of Thomas will be far above his 1928 figure of 275,000 votes. In fact indications are, from partial returns, that it will be close to or larger than the Debs vote of 1920 of nearly a million votes. Many of the basic central and western states as well as eastern industrial states are giving Thomas a fair vote.

The New York American of Nov. 10. in listing the elected members of the House presented the names of seven socialist candidates where the results of the election were still in doubt. The New York Times of the same date had already eliminated the socialist names. No doubt socialists and Communists were elected to local office here and there, only to be counted out, mainly the Communists, by capitalist democracy.

A Shift to the Left

One thing can be said upon the incomplete retrns. The socialist vote, in relaof the Politbureau, which in Lenin's time tion to reaction, shows a shift of a laywas directly in charge of the fate of er of workers to the Left. In relation the party and of the revolution. Zin- to the class struggle it shows the party oviev was the chairman of the Commun- of reform has checked Leftward shift and Tsiurupa, Kamenev was Lenin's al- shows that they have done their job well ternate, during the final period of Lenin's as a stone wall between the parties of life, for the office of chairman of the reaction and the Communist party of Soviet of People's Commissars. After revolution in slowing down and holding Lenin's death Kamenev presided over the up the process of workers joining the Communists ranks.

The only returns of our vote we have are New York City. Foster and Ford obtained 24,018 votes compared to 15,500 ed a campaign against Trotsky. At the in 1930 when he ran for Mayor. crease of even greater proportions beented, but almost exclusively an agitat- in relation to the socialist party gives sent stage of the struggle of the reformists and the revolutionists for ideological (Continued on page 6)

at the Headqarters of the

ADMISSION 40c



THE MILITANT

The Expulsion of Zinoviev

(Continued from page 1) apt himself to the intellectual, cultural- essence. We remained true to ourselves.

sence of theoretical preparation, narrow-Stalin, notwithstanding his Bolshevism. in our historical correctness. His enmity toward "Trotskyism" had roots much de p - than that of Zinoviev and Kamenev, and for a long time preexpression. Incapable himself of theroeappropriate for his own aims.

The struggle of the majority of the Politbureau against Trotsky, which began, to a considerable degree, as a per- the Leninist course of the party. sonal conspiracy disclosed all too quickly its political content. It was neither simthe wake of this vanguard, during the vers.

first stages, there dragged along the equipped and even chagrined careerists. the bureaucracy reached its final limits. Only the arduous development of the subsequent struggles liberated the Opposition from its accidental and uninvited fellow way-farers.

Under the banner of the "troika"-Zinoviey-Kameney-Stalin- were united many "old Bolsheviks" particularly those, who, as Lenin advised as early as to the archives; but there also were danger of Leninism being displaced by Trotskyism. However, the further matters progressed the more solidly and cohesively, the growing and intrenching bureaucracy rose up against "the permanent revolution". And it was this that subsequently guaranteed Stalin's

preponderance over Zinoviev and Kamenev. The fight within the "Troika", begin-

ning in a considerable measure also as a personal fight-politics are made by people and through people, and nothing that | explained that Mill was for a time in the is human is foreign to politics-soon, in Administrative Secretariat of the Left its own turn, disclosed its content of Opposition: a man was needed who knew itals. Stalin's chief support was in the claim a degree of confidence. provinces and in the apparatus; in the backward province: the apparatus became all-powerful sooner than in the capicherished his international position. Stalin looked down with contempt upon the Communist parties of the West. He found the formula for his nationalistic limitations in 1924; socialism in one country. Zinoviev and Kamenev counterposed against him their doubts and refutations. But as it turned out, it was sufficient for Stalin to depend upon those forces which were mobilized by the "troika" against Trotskyism in order automatically to overwhelm Zinoviev and Kameney.

Zinoviev's and Kamenev's past.

to the path of making concessions in ly middle class and bureaucratic milieu. Zinoviev and Kamenev came to us. There Stalin's role in this struggle bore a is no need to recapitulate the degree to much more organic character. The spirit which the coming over to the side of of petty-bourgeois provincialism, the ab- the Opposition of 1923, of the sworn enemies of yesterday strengthened the asness of vision-that is what characterizes surance of our ranks and our conviction

However, Zinoviev and Kamenev, on this occasion as well, did not foresee all the political consequences of their step. ers composed of those same elements viously it had sought for its political In 1923 they had hoped, by means of which in 1917 scared the Bolsheviks with a few agitational campaigns and organi- the inevitable flop of the October "adtical generalizations, Stalin urged on in zational maneuvers, to free the party turn Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bucharin from the "hegemony of Trotsky", pushand picked out from their speeches and ing all other things aside, and now it Opposition of 1923, they would quickly Bolshevik-Leninists, was accepted by the

both their own personal positions, and Once again they were mistaken. Perple nor homogeneous. The Left Opposi- the party had already become complete- fundamental questions of Marxism tion included within itself, around its ly the tools of anonymous social forces, authoritative Bolshevik kernel, many of strata and classes. There was its own the organizers of the October overturn, inner lawfulness in the reaction against militant participators of the Civil War, the October overturn, and it was imposand a considerable stratum of Marxists sible to skip over its ponderous rhythm Left Opposition. Theoretical amorphfrom out of the student youth. But in by means of combinations and maneu-

Sharpening from day to day, i he tail-end of all sorts of dissatisfied, ill- struggle between the Opposition bloc and

Mill as a Stalinist Agent

The Left Opposition is placed, from an tative of the great and small bureaucracy organizational point of view, in unusually formed by Stalin.

difficult circumstances; not a single rev-April 1917, should have been relegated olutionary party has ever before had to work under such persecution. Apart many serious underground members, from the reprisals of the capitalist police strong party organizers ,who sincerely of all countries, the Left Opposition is believed that there was impending the exposed to the blows to the Stalinist bureaucracy, which shrinks from nothing. We repeat, from nothing.

> Naturally, the Russian section has the greatest difficulties. Everybody remembers that Blumkin, who tried to establish a connection between Trotsky and his adherents in Soviet Russia, was shot to death. To find a Russian Bolshevik-Leninist abroad, even to fulfill only tech-

nical functions, is extremely difficult. Thus and only thus is the fact to be principle. Zinoviev, the chairman of the the Russian language and was capable These offenses were enough for the lit-Petrograd Soviet, and Kamenev, chair- of carrying out the duties of a secretary. the Philistine to try to enter into a bloc man of the Moscow Soviet, sought the Mill had been at one time a member of with Rosmer and others, against whom support of the workers of the two cap- the official party and in this sense could he had-literally-only the day before

His work in the Secretariat, however, gle. This unworthy, personally-motivated soon revealed his utter practical incom- political turn, led to Mill's removal from petence, not to speak of the lack of any the Administrative Secretariat. The tals. Znoviev, chairman of the Comintern, political schooling. In the latter respect sections, above all the Russian, corrected Mill incidentally was a typical represen- the mistake which had been committed,

> FIRST POPULAR LECTURES SERIES OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

THE HISTORY OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL Max Shachtman

The matter now, no longer concerned dis- | which they had had forced on them to a cussion, even if under the whip, but a great extent, as said before, by difficult break with the official Soviet apparatus, objective conditions. In the course of i. e., the perspective of an arduous strug- the last nine months Mill stood entirely gle for a number of years—a struggle outside of the ranks of the Left Opposisurrounded by great dangers and the is- tion.

But this was by no means the end of sue of which could not be foretold. Zinoviev and Kamenev recoiled. As his career. As the irritation over inin 1917, on the eve of October, they had adequate support had driven him to olution in Russia" by Lenin and Trot- thing here is a hustler come to life. Rosmer, so his removal from the Secrebecome frightened at a break with the petty hourgeois democracy, so ten years tariat led to his negotiations with the highest in the staff in our anniversary say that when he gets started you can't later they became frightened of a break Stalinists: he handed in an official apwith the Soviet bureaucracy. And this was all the more "not accidental" since where his relatives live.

the Soviet bureaucracy was three-quartventure".

The capitulation of Zinoviev and Kam-Left Opposition: that will in fact actueney, before the XVth congress, at the ally constitute his employment in Char- genstern from the down-town city, Philaarticles whatever seemed to him most seemed to them that, allied with the moment of the organized extirpation of kov or Moscow.

> perfidy. Such it was in its essence. Still, even in this capitulation there was its measure of lawfulness, not only psychosonal antagonisms and groupings within logical, but political. On a series of The truth is not dangerous for us. And a very good performance. (the proletariat and the peasantry, "dembroken all and sundry records before ocratic dictatorship", permanent revolu- Mill. tion)-Zinoviev and Kamenev stood betwixt the Stalinist bureaucracy and the ousness avenged itself inexorably, as it always does, in practise.

In one respect we can say the situa-(To be Continued)

Prinkipo, October 1932. -L. TROTSKY.

place.

Marx-Lenin School **Opens in Chicago**

---G. G.

In the course of these tempting nego-

York of the International Workers With these qualities were associated School, the Chicago branch of the Comcertain negative traits of a personal, or more correctly, of a moral character. Af- munist League has opened up the Marx-

ter having reached, in the absence of a Lenin School, with headquarters at 2011 list. wide choice, a responsible even if tech- W. North Avenue, and a series of three MINERS' SUBS nical post, Mill felt himself to occupy the courses which have already begun their role of a "leader". With respect to a enrollments.

number of French comrades who are ten The first course, which opened or heads greater in stature than himself, October 26, and continues every Wedhe began to assert ridiculous claims. Un nesday night, is instructed by comrade der the mask of the offended Stalinist who had passed himself off as an "Op- Marxism". There will be eight sessions, positionist" appeared the personality of beginning with "The Capitalist System a little petty bourgeois from a distant of Society" and ending with "The Dicsmall town of old Czarist Russia. Mill tatorship of the Proletariat."

A more advanced class began on Oct quickly went into opposition with the ober 27, and runs for ten sesions every weeks. Parisian comrades, who in his opinion did not manifest sufficient respect to him | Thursday night. It is a course on "Imand-this must be added-allegedly did perialism and the Proletarian Revolunot "attend" sufficiently to his welfare. tion", instructor comrade Albert Glotzer, Youth Movement", of special importance carried on a bitter "principled" strugand interest to the young militants.

above.

The fee for any of the three courses is only \$1.50 and all workers interested where, redeem the prestige of Communare urged to get in touch with the dir- ism so far as we are able. One way to

DAVENPORT MILITANT JOINS OPPOSITION

I, Betty Rowland, wish to make application to join the Communist League the paper. Step lively. (Left Opposition). I have made a study THE STAFF of the Communist movement and its various groups and I have come to the con-

MILITANT BUILDERS Our Club Plan

THE WINNER

As our comrades will remember, we it. And notice the name of McMillen offered a copy of the "Proletarian Rev- of St. Louis. If the past means anysky to the Militant Builder who stood Look out for Mac. Those who know issue. We are very happy to announce see him for dust. We're waiting to see. plication for employment in Charkov, that the comrade is a newcomer in these THE RECORD BY CITIES lists. He hails from the Smoky City. Together with other local comrades and tiations, Mill proposed his services to comrade Gordon who has gone there from the Left Opposition, evidently already in New York he has been scouring the city the course of his new political functions. for Militant subs. The comrade is P. Now Mill is preparing to "unmask" the Vomas.

Not far behind him are comrades Mordephia: and Dunne from Minneapolis. There is no reason to fear that the And right on their heels, stepping fast cope with the apparatus and reestablish Left Opposition as an act of monstrous little Philistine, who was expelled from are two comrades from across the line, be for long. On your toes everybody. the midst of the Bolshevik-Leninists with II. Nash from Montreal and W. Krehm a discourteous shove, will play any role from Toronto. The other comrades and in the fight against the Left Opposition. the records of all are listed below. It's

in the field of lying, the Stalinists have KEEP UP THE RACE

Now suppose we keep right on with this race. We've got a flying start and it sholdn't be difficult to step it up tion is becoming normal again: the Stal- considerably. Suppose we set the first inist, somehow irritated by the other of the year as the next lap of the race. Stalinists, who temporarily fastened him- We'll keep right on with these records. self to the Left Opposition and was ex_{-1} And to the leader at the first of the year

pelled from its ranks, comes back to the we'll give a copy of "My Life" by com-Stalinists. There he will be quite in his rade Trotsky. MINNEAPOLIS IN FIRST PLACE If Pittsburgh gave us Vomas, Minneapolis still stands at the head of the list of cities. And Chicago and Pittsburgh are in a tie for second place. Boston no discount. and Toronto are tied for four place with Philadelphia in sixth place. We are sure that before we reach the first of the year all of our branches will have entered their names in this list and New York which got away to a slow start

will move up toward the head of the

We hope you haven't forgotten about our campaign for subs for the miners. We're still pushing it with results. This past week comrade Ross of Minneapolis sent in two dollars with a club plan John Edwards on "Fundamentals of blank with just one name on it. He asked us to fill in the names of three miners. We did with the result that a miner in Springfield, one in Taylorville and one in Hillsboro will receive the Militant regularly now for twenty-six

Comrade Carmody who has just returned from the Illinois coal fields tells us Opposition. Both are much needed pamthat the Militant is very well received phlets. They will sell for very little, Glotzer will also conduct a course there. He says that as soon as the minevery Monday night, beginning November ers get some work many of them will 20, on "The History of the International subscribe. But, he adds, they need help now; political guidance and a friendly word. This is our opportunity to sink

roots among the miners. Here, if any ector of the School at the address given do it, and not the least, is to get subs for the miners. Use the club plan. Collect two dollars for four half-year subs. Or do what comrade Ross did. Get only one, or get two names, or even three Send them in with two dollars and we will bring the names up to four from our list of miners who are awaiting for

> V. Vomas 12B. Morgenstern 8

goes after them. That's the way to do

RECORD DI CITIES	
Minneapolis	2
Pittsburgh	1
Chicago	1
Toronto	1
Boston	1
Philadelphia	
Montreal	
St. Louis	
New York	
Vaula in in the collen	1

New York is in the cellar but it won't We're coming up.

Next week the second phase of the club plan.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS

We are just now in receipt of another shipment from England of that invaluable pamphlet by Lenin, "Revolutionary Lessons." Our comrades in England inform us that it is very difficult to get and they may not be able to get your copy if you don't get it now. The price stands at which it was \$.25. There is

LENIN'S SPEECHES

In the same shipment we got eight copies of a cloth bound volume of speeches made by Lenin in 1917, 1918 and 1921. They include: We Must Have Peace. The Land to the Tillers of the Soil, The Nationalization of the Banks, The Dispersion of the Constituent Assembly, The Causes of the World War, From Nep to Socialist Russia, and-but we have whetted your appetite.

Remember that there are only eight and it will be first come, first served. The price is \$.50 plus postage. TWO NEW PAMPLETS

In a week or so we are going to start work on two new pamphlets. One deals with the unemployment question and is written by comrade Arne Swabeck; and the other deals with the question of the nature and role of the Left five or ten cents at the most. We will print them in large quantities. In the next issue we will be able to give more and accurate details. Watch for it.

LEON TROTSKY

Problems of the Develop-

ment of the U.S.S.R.

Just as timely now as when first writen. This is the thesis of the International Left Opposition on the Russian question drafted by our comrades and lonted by the League of its position

Following the establishment in New

years of their joint work with Lenin, the international school of emigrationall this must needs have counterposed them inimically to that wave of selfdependency that threatened, in the last analysis, to sweep away the October revolution. The result of the new fight on top came to many as absolutely astounding: two of the most violent instigators of the hue and cry against "Trotskyism". ended up in the camp of the "Trotskyists"

In order to facilitate the bloc, the Left Opposition-against the objections and warnings of the author of these lines-modulated isolated formulations of their platform, and temporarily refrained from making official replies to the most acute theoretical questions This was hardly correct. But the Left Opposition of 1923 still did not take

Bound Vols.

In connection with the celebration of the fourth anniversary of the Militant there are seventy-one issues of the Militant in every one of these files. They run from Volume One, Number One, November 15, 1929 to Volume 4, Number 12, the Great French revolution, Bonapart- gle against the Left Opposition. Only, June 15, 1931, the last issue of the old format.

cession is as little ordained and inevit- the counter-revolutionary danger. These files constitute a priceless historic record. Anyone familiar with the able as is the certainty of counter-revearly days of the League, with its up- olution altogether; a fusion of the two hill battle for the ideas of revolution- stages, a modification of one or the other represent well-defined class forces and inunder the conditions of a new social ary internationalism against slander. calumny, and physical repression need epoch-these and many other possibilities Centrist apparatus. Classic petty bournot be told that it is all set down, in all are quite conceivable. Throughout the geois force, the graph of its policy resignificance in the columns of the Mill- early years, Lenin kept reminding the veals a broken line of leaps to the Left party of the lessons of the French rev- and to the Right which become shorter tant.

olution and strove to overcome the forces and more frequent with the aggrava-As times passes these files become which threatened the Russian revolution tion of the crisis. It leans now upon gether. Comrades who want a file—and that it may perceive in time, distinguish as during the fight against the Left. It who does not?--should order at once. Money must accompany the order. There is no credit on these files. Orders will be filled strictly as they are received. Remember, comrades, this is probably your last opportunity to get a file.

PRICE: \$10.00

	will speak every Sunday evening, 8 P M. on the following subjects in the course: NOV. 13 The Origin of the Third International NOV. 20: 1919—The Founding of the New International NOV. 27: 1920—The Twenty-One Conditions at the Second Congress.	clusion that the Left Opposition course is the only course that will lead to the development of a real Communist party which will be able to assume the bur- den of the class struggle in this country. Up until a few months ago I was a	H. Nash 7 W. Krehm 6 H. A. 4 J. Hamilton 4	adopted by the League as its position at its second national conference a little more than a year ago. The pamphlet deals with the Economic Contradictions of the Transition Period.
	DEC. 3: 1921—The Struggle for the Conquest of the Masses and the Third Congress. DEC. 10: 1922—The Last Leninist Congress. DEC. 17: 1924—The First Great Victory of the Right-Center Reaction and the Fifth Congress. JAN. 7: 1928—The Triumph of the Epigones at the Sixth Congress.	sympathizer of the Proletarian party, but now I realize that it is impossible to build up a separate national movement or a party that is disconnected from the international working class. And to my opinion there is no room for two Com-	O. Coover 4 S. Lessin 4 J. Sifakis 4 A. Joel 4 E. McMillen 4	The Party in the System of the Dicta- torship, Dangers and Possibilities of a Counter Revolutionary Upheaval. The Left Opposition and the U. S. S. R.48 pages\$.15 plus postage
	JAN. 14: The Future of the Third International: Collapse or Regenera- tion ? INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL 126 East 16th Street New York	munist parties in the United States, as all the energy must be put into one party. Then I do not agree with the theory of socialism in one country and all its harmful effects, which the leadership of the Proletarian party accepts and en- dorses.	J. Weber 4 J. Ross 4 Chicago Friends of the Militant Club 4 C. Shechet 2	\$.10 in bundles of ten or more PIONEER PUBLISHERS S4 East 10th Street New York, N. Y.
	Per Lecture: 15 Cents Complete Course: \$1.00 Nine Years of Struggle of the Left Opposition	—BETTY ROWLAND.		farms but are facilitated by the rupture
	The Burning Question of Thermidor and Bonapartism	The Stalin faction, however, has its strength in the party bureaucracy: it is the party bureaucracy. In the process of watering down the party until it is a bloated, shapeless mass, the apparatus has at the same time raised itself above the party to an unapproachable level and	of the principal guarantees against a de- generation of the proletarian dictator- ship—these are the signs of the present period in the Soviet Union. They reveal "the pre-conditions of the Bonapartist regime in the country." Tacking desperately between the vari-	of the relations between town and coun- try, worker and peasant, rendered inevit- able by the whole course of the Stalin bureaucracy. The French farmers, wrote Marx in his classic study of Bonapartism, "are unable to assert their class interests in
1	(Continued from previous issue) wing was so easily crushed on a party	constituted itself as a pureaucratic caste.	jous classes and social strata, the appar-	their own name, be it by a parliament

scale because it was not prepared to The diffused party mass is unable to atus satisfies none of them. In this or by convention. They cannot repre-The systematic crushing of the leadmake an open appeal for support to reach this caste in order to change it, fact lies the danger that the mounting sent one another, they must themselves ing party of the proletariat, without the class interests it represented: the or to have it reflect the interests of the discontentment of all sections of the be represented. Their representative must which the dictatorship cannot be exerkulak, and the Nepman dependent upon mass itself. The apparatus, on the other population, and above all of the peasan- at the same time appear as their mascized in a revolutionary sense, not only accentuates the danger of Thermidor in him. The victory by the Stalinist cen- hand, after having strangled the party, try, will explode the very foundations ter, as an authority over them, as an the Soviet Union but, at a given point, ter over the Right wing triumvirate must stifle all life within itself. We of the Soviet power, that is, of the pro- unlimited governmental power, that prowe got together 13 files of all the is- also the threat of Bonapartism. On the halted, for the time being, the advance say "must" because it cannot refer any letarian dictatorship. If the crisis tects them from above, bestows rain and sues of the old format. This means that road of degeneration which leads to the of the Thermidorian forces, of those disputes in its ranks to the party mass breaks out into the open and reveals sunshine upon them. Accordingly, the counter-revolutionary triumph, Thermidor dark and backward agrarian interests below for fear of unleashing a force that the proletariat and its party have political influence of the allotment farmand Bonapartism do not present stages which had been whipped up and nur- that is inherently inimical to it. The been so weakened that they cannot act er finds its ultimate expression in an differing in their class foundation. In tured in the reactionary years of strug-

whole bureaucratic system, consequently, moves inexorably to a condition where a ter-revolution will not likely assume the commonweal to its own autocratic will." decreasing number of individuals decide form of Bonapartism, of the iron man Such an executive power is present in ism swiftly succeeded the 9th of Ther- this victory did not result in eliminaism swiftly succeeded the 9th of Ther-midor and the Directory. But this suc-ting other, and more acute, phases of and speak for all; the number of these or men "standing above the classes" and embryonic form in the bureaucratic apindividuals today, to all practical pur- apparently mediating between the con- paratus of the party and the Soviets. poses, is one, and his name is Stalin. tending forces, resting for the time being For it to be fully fledged as a Bona-While both the Right and the Left What are still formally party organisms, wings of the party in the Soviet Union in the words of Marx, 'appear as reversed and the experienced cohesion of the bu-schlemihls, as shadows the bodies of reaucratic apparatus. It is this pro-civil war, that inevitable concomitant to terests, the same cannot be said of the

of the omnipotent Secretariat, or more partist danger. accurately, of the General Secretary.

Devoid of a class basis, the apparatus one to exclude this possibility, as well as party of the proletariat, the crushing of is permeated principally with the desire the possibility of a Thermidorian over- which has made possible the accumulaeven more priceless if we can put it with a similar fate. Even more so to- the proletarian core of the country, as for self-preservation and self-preserva that way. More than that; it becomes day is it necessary to arouse the vigil- during the campaign against the Right tion. Its policies, in all their increasing- uidation of the kulak". If this were ac- and the maturing of the counter-revoluwell nigh impossible to get them to-ance of the revolutionary movement so wing, now upon the reactionary forces, ly feverish zig-zags, are subordinated tually the case, the danger would unessentially to this aim. The sickening doubtedly be considerably diminished, restoration, to bring closer the day of the dangers at every stage and adopt the cannot find for itself a firm class founda- Byzantine flattery of Stalin which is com- although even then, not eliminated. But its attainment, that the strength and measures necessary to cope with them. tion from which to operate; the closest pulsory for every official, the conversion a more careful scrutiny will reveal that activities of the Left Opposition are de-It has been pointed out that the Right it came to such a base was during the of the army and particularly of the G. the "liquidated kulak" is still a substan- dicated. wing in the Russian party had its period of the idealization by the Stalin P. U. into an instrument with which tial force, more threatening in this re-

-SHACHTMAN.

strength essentially in the classes and faction of the "middle peasant", a shifty the Secretariat operates even more ex- spect, that his present activities and pronot in the ranks, more specifically, not social stratum which, far from serving clusively-combined with the suppression gress are not only concealed behind the THE MILITANT IS \$2 A YEAR, in the apparatus, of the party. The Right'as a solid class foundation, requires one of workers' democracy in general and administratively established collective SUBSCRIBE NOW.

trata, the appar- their own name, be it by a parliament decisively and victoriously then the coun- executive power that subjugates the

upon the strength of the military forces partist ruling machine, it must first rewhich have been lost." In its turn, the spect which reveals the Stalinist faction the overthrow of the proletarian dictaapparatus becomes a shadowy projection as the potential reservoir of the Bona- torship which the reaction cannot hope to avert. The overthrow itself, however Superficial examination alone permits can be averted, but only by restoring the

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1932

THE MILITANT

The Fight in the Party for a Bolshevik Government . . . For the Policy of Lenin and Trotsky!

The question is posed of the expulsion) Introduction to the Minutes of the Petrograd Committee, November 7, 1917 phands of the workers. We can count from the party of A. V. Lunatcharsky*. J. G. Fenigstein-Daletsky** is opposed.

The proposition is put to the vote. The expulsion is rejected.

The present situation: Reporter, J. G. Fenigstein.

J. G. FENIGSTEIN

By chance, it is I who am the report- having ceased. It had simply passed er. Perhaps someone else will make the into a new phase. Up to October 25, the report? (Rejected).

Objective: How to coordinate the work in the immediate future. It is a question of the agreement with the other socialist parties (Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists). The considerations on the of proving that the Bolshevik party was "spilled blood" and the lassitude of the incapable of maintaining itself in power workers should not predominate. For a political party that wants to make his-ist parties, that is, with the Social Revtory, these facts should not constitute an olutionists and the Mensheviks. In this obstacle. Task: what to do to satisfy the new stage, the struggle of the Right just demands of the workers and the wingers became exceptionally harsh and peasants? What was the second revolution? It was inevitable. The class contradictions have grown. We have pointed this out. The revolution was not exclusively political. It brought with it should be recalled that this crisis took a series of alterations in the economic place a few days after the conquest of and social domain. A great process has power. been accomplished. Illusions have disappeared. The state of mind of the Soviets and the popular masses has changtion, of those who are at present the ed: they have lost their (collaborationist) Centrists, particularly Stalin? At botillusions. Everybody has reached the tom he was already then a Centrist, in conclusion of the necessity of the existso far as he was obliged to take a posience of the Soviet power. In the pre- tion by himself or to express his own sence of this slogan we have developed opinion, but he was a Centrist who was ourselves and have grown. We have afraid of Lenin. That is why at the elaborated a series of slogans on the most critical moments of the ideological economic struggle, etc. Our party has struggle (beginning with April 4, 1917 grown. We have had the support of the and up to the illness of Lenin) Stalin scarcely existed from the political point

LENIN.

known to you a question which inter- when he had taken possession of the I cannot make a report but I will make ests everybody a great deal. It is the editorial board of Pravda with Kameney question of the crisis in the party which and the former deputy Muranov, Stalin broke out openly at the moment when followed a vulgarly democratic, semiit was already in power.

For all those who follow the life of which Kamenev formulated, all things considered, in more sensible and comthe party, the polemic which was unfolded in the Rabotchi Put and my inter- plete terms. After Lenin's arrival, Kamventions against Kameney and Zinoviev enev continued to defend his attitude and constitute nothing new. It was said in applied it in his manner all through Dielo Naroda that the Bolsheviks would be afraid to seize the power. This comall the inconsistency and unfathomable Pravda during the month of March, when he removed the revolutionary elements stupidity of the Socialist Revolutionists. from the editorial board, was still pre-I wrote "Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power"? The question of armed intervention was posed at the Central Committee session of October 1. I was afraid of seeing opportunism on the part of the Internationalist-Unionists; but this fear disappeared. Whereas, in our party, certain (former) members of the Central Committee were not in agreement with us. This grieved me. Thus the question of power has been posed for a long time. Just the same we could not give it up of the people comes to an end that of conference that's just the way we must ist revolution. now because of the disagreement of Zin-oviev and Kamenev. The insurrection is conference, we had taken a series of of the workers are for us. "objectively" necessary; comrades Zinmeasures like the confiscation of the oviev and Kamenev began to make an banks, etc. To the contrary, the Bolider them as strikebreakers.

We publish here the minutes of the a complete turn-about face in 24 hours accordingly, so as not to distort this Conciliation Chamber of Yakutsk in the loss historic session of the Petrograd Com- and adopt an active attitude in Lenin's speech, it is not published." mittee of the Bolshevik party which took | camp against the opportunist wing, of It is quite true that the recording of which he, Stalin, had been one of the the minutes is not perfect, that they con- between workers and capitalists. All the place November 1-14, 1917. The power' was already conquered, at least in the leaders before Lenin's arrival. That's tain not a few lacunae and obscure pas- articles of the review edited by Yarowhy you can find hardly a single question sages. But that applies entirely and slavsky were penetrated with the same most important centers of the country. But the struggle inside the party concernin which, during this period. Stalin ing the question of power was far from adopted a clear position which he de-Petrograd Committee of 1917. The ses- not jar with the spirit of this publicafended openly.

As these minutes prove, the revolurepresentatives of the Right wing (Zinknown, Lenin's speeches were in general Committee of the Ukrainian Soviets. In oviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Kalinin, Lunationary line of the party was defended difficult to take down, even stenographic- a leading article, which might seem inin common by Lenin and Trotsky. But ally, because of the peculiarities of his credible were it not printed black on tcharsky, etc.), demonstrated that the that is just why the document we publish methods of oratorial exposition: the ex- white, Petrovsky shed tears of emotion insurrection was premature and that it was not included in the collection of treme rapidity of speech, the complicated over 50 rubles contributed by some offiwould end in a defeat. After the triumph construction of the phases, abrupt and cial or other for charitable works and exof the insurretion they took up the job minutes of the Petrograd Committee brutal parentheses, etc. Nevertheless, pressed the conviction that the revolution edited under the title: "The First Legal the essential sense of Lenin's speech of would really bloom from the moment Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik without coalescing with the other social November 1-14 is perfectly clear. Luna- when the possessing classes would follow Party in 1917" (State Publishing House, tcharsky's speech and the two speeches the example of the noble honorary-and 1927). Yet, in saying this, we do not exof Trotsky are reported in an entirely perhaps even Court--Councillor. It is press ourselves with sufficient preciseness. The minutes of the November 1 satisfactory manner. The motive for the these rigorously consistent "Marxists", elimination from the minutes is quite a these inflexible "revolutionists" who now session were part of the first project of terminated with the resignation of the different one. It is not hard to find. It edit Lenin and seek to remodel all histhe book; they were set up and the representatives of this wing from the is underlined in the margin of the proofs tory. They write with assurance on the proofs were carefully looked over. As Council of People's Commissars and from with a thick stroke and a huge question proofs of the minutes of the session of proof of this, we have the photograph of a part of the proofs. But the report mark, right opposite the following words November 1: "Throw away the composi- quite simply give up the power to those the Central Committee of the party. It of the text: of this historic session was in too

"I cannot even speak seriously of this of the October revolution, "Throw away But we have already done a great work. flagrant contradiction, by far too unbear-(of the agreement with the Mensheviks the composition !" Lenin, "Throw away able, to the falsification of the history of and the Social Revolutionists). Trotsky the composition"! Set up all over again selves upon bayonets. But neither can October, executed under the not very has said long ago that the union is im- the history of Russia for a third of a we exist without bayonets. We need the qualified but zealous direction of Yaropossible. Trotsky has understood this century. Yaroslavsky, author, corrector bayonets there in order to be able to sit slavsky. What was to be done? Leninand since then there has not been a bet- and compositor of the new Stalinist his- here. All the experience we have gone grad interrogated Moscow, the Central ter Bolshevik." tory. Historical Section of the party question-

It is this phrase which finally upset But, alas for Yaroslavsky, there have ed the Secretariat of the Central Comthe equilibrium of the Secretariat of the been some "leaks" this time too. He cow; yes, there were serious combats mittee. The latter gave the following Central Committee and called forth the has not succeeded in "throwing away there against the Junkers. But in the directions: Eliminate the minutes from re-making of the whole book, which is the composition". It cannot be done end, they did not submit either to the the book in such a manner that not a vexing enough as it is, for, even in its without making use of living people. The trace is left of them. They had to set up present censored form, it constitutes a proofs, with all the annotations, imme- ment with the latter will not make the in haste a new table of contents and murderous document against the falsi- diately made their way into the hands of to change the arrangement of the pages. fiers. It will suffice to say, for instance, the Opposition. It is not the only docu- ments of the bourgeoisie disappear. No, But nevertheless, the book itself retains that the point of view of the Central ment of this type! clues. The session of October 29 con-

Committee, when it was presented in the cludes by setting the next session for Wednesday (November 1). However, acof Lenin and Trotsky" (see page 345). on the whole the rules which were used cording to the book, the next session "took place on November 2". But a much assiduity, cannot attend to everything... more important trace was preserved out-In this connection, it would be very In cases where the sense of the phrase side of the book, in the form of the interesting to reconstruct the contribu- left no doubt, we have corrected the proofs already mentioned, bearing cortion in the realm of ideas made in 1917 grammar or the syntax, taking into acrections and annotations by the hand of by this incompetent compiler and odious count the interest of the reader. In the book's editor, P. F. Kudelli.

falsifier. We hope to devote a few pages spite of all the defects of recording, the As the official motive for the dissimu to it in our archives. Here, let us sim- general procedure of the whole session lation of the most important minutes of ply recall a little known or forgotten and of the tendencies and groups which October and November 1917. As for the Petrograd Committee for 1917, Kud- fact. After the February revolution, were represented there, appears without stands nothing in the world, much less Stalin, he hushed up immediately and elli marked the following note on the Yaroslavsky, together with the Menshe- leaving room for any dispute and carpelled me to take up the pen to show retired within himself. His activity in proofs: "The speech of V. I. Lenin was viks, published at Yakutsk a review, the ries a conviction which penetrates to the recorded by the secretary of the session of the Petrograd Committee with great the acme of political triviality and con- the present document, we are saving for lacunae and with abbreviations of cer- verged upon the bourne separating Men- history a living portion, not without its sent in the memory of all. From the tain words and phrases. In some places shevism from rotten-borough liberalism. importance, of the October revolution. psychological and political point of view, it was impossible to decipher the notes; Yaroslavsky was then at the head of the

> The work of the insurrection is a new cherod, the Vikzhel, etc.* That's horse-; LUNATCHARSKY. work; other forces, other qualities are trading. Perhaps also with general I would like to have you know my That is the first stage. We must take needed. In Moscow, for example, in Kaledin? To come to an understanding many cases the Junkers (cadets) gave with the collaborationists who later on will throw a wrench in the spokes! It fought. I have heard with astonishment be able to go forward. Such leaps can- masses are higher than the particular proof of cruelty, shot prisoners, etc. The would be miserable horse-trading and the speech of Vladimir Ilitch about Kam-not be made. We must pass gradually interests of the apparatus itself. Junkers, sons of the bourgeoisie, understood that with the advent of the power not the power of the Soviets. At the enev allegedly not recognizing the social- through all the steps*. We must con-

speaks for itself. Kamenev, as far as I whole State apparatus and then go forconference, we had taken a series of of the workers are for us. If there must be a split, let it come! view. Our influence is growing. The ly will break it. It will be broken. At struggle). agitation against the insurrection; we sheviks were frequently too soft. Now If they're the ones who have the maj-heviks were frequently too soft. Now If they're the ones who have the maj-sheviks were frequently too soft. Now If they're the ones who have the maj-masses are coming over to our side. present the (party) representative in the let them take the power in the

order to protect the splendors of the theless, we cannot work at present for democratic revolution from the conflicts we have no apparatus. It will not last completely to all the minutes of the spirit. The other collaborators, who did will load to suite with bayonets; that sion of November 1 was perhaps better tion, were Ordjonikidze and Petrovsky, recorded than certain others. As is the present president of the Executive force. In the face of all these difficulties, ter than to coerce the idle to work by

As for the correction of the text we

the Petrograd minutes mentioned above.

-Archives of the Opposition.

is not' possible to work as it is being done now. It is not possible from the principled point of view and also because we cannot risk a number of lives. Do not give forth to divergences of views (they exist already); the masses regard that nervously. TROTSKY.

We are told that we are incapable of building up. But in that case we should tion." That's it precisely: the history who were right in the fight against us. It is said that we cannot support ourthrough should already teach us something. There have been battles in Mos-Mensheviks or to the Vikzhel; the agreestruggle against the Junkers' detachin the future a cruel class struggle will

a long time like this. We must show

will lead to nothing. It is easier to

compel people working badly to do it bet-

I consider that it would be desirable to

reach an agreement. None of your

proofs about the Mensheviks can con-

vince the masses. I know well that it

continue to be conducted against us. All meetings, was called the "point of view publish, we have applied in general and this petty bourgeois rabble which, for the moment, is in no position to take a But Yaroslavsky himself, in spite of his also by the editors of the collection of stand on one side or the other-when it will know that our power is strong, it will be with us, and with it, the Vikzhel Because we crushed Krasnov's Cossacks under Petersburg, we received a mass of telegrams of sympathy the next day. The petty bourgeois mass seeks the force to which it should submit itself. Whoever does not understand that underthe apparatus of the State. Back in 1871, Karl Marx said that the new class Social Democrat, which was a model of very depths of the mind. In publishing cannot simply utilize the old apparatus. It has its interests and its customs which cause resistance. We must break it and renew it; it is only then that we can work.

If that were not so, if the former Czarist apparatus suited our new aims, the taking every station by assault. Otherwhole revolution would not be worth a wise we will not be able to do anything. blown egg. We must create an apparimpressions about the masses who have possession of the first point in order to that the general interests of the popular atus which can, in reality, proclaim

The question of the classes and of Yet, who is now in solidate our position in the most rapid their struggle has remained purely book stuff for many of our circles. When they know, has not a Menshevik point of ward. Whoever pulls the cord too tight differently (of agreement and not of

What we are living through at pre-

PAGE

I even addressed myself in writing to the Central Committee to propose to expel them from the party.

I came out violently in the press when Kamenev came forward in the Central to be severe with them. I regarded with friendliness Kamenev's parleys in the Central Executive Committee on the sub-they are of doing any of their fighting opposed to it from the point of view of principles***.

begun the (armed) resistance. In Moscow (that is, on the subject of the con- ment, while we are in power, the split quest of power in Moscow), matters drag- appears! Zinoviev and Kamenev say ers) asserted that the soldiers are inment arose among them.

favor of the coalition with the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists; he resigned from the government because arsky was presented on the initiative of a better Bolshevik. Lenin.

** At the present time the manager of Union (TASS).

***On August 4-17, 1917 Kamenev came forward during a session of the Central fault. We are elected by the congress the occasion of his arrest, as well as Those who want to fight, enter it. It International Socialist Conference of draws in the mass. We are marching Stockholm which the social-collaboration- with the active masses and not with those ists aimed to convene during the summer of 1917, in order to conclude as quickly unfolding the insurrection (is to capituas possible a peace by exercizing a pressure of the socialist parties upon the governments of their countries. Kamenev spoke on August 6-19 in favor of parti- The Soviets are the vanguard of the procipation in this Conference, in spite of letarian masses. Now we are invited to the fact that the Central Committee of the party had decided not to participate.

*** Neither Lenin nor Trotsky, in the beginning, had raised objection to parleys with the Mensheviks and Social duce" socialism: that's nonsense. We Revolutionists concerning the coalition, do not want to make a peasant socialon condition of having a solid majority ism. We are told that we must "stop" for the Bolsheviks, and that the parties But it is impossible. It is even said that recognize the Soviet power, the decrees we are not the power of the Soviets. on peace and the land, etc. It was cer- Then what are we? However, we are sary.

if the bourgeoisie had triumphed, i would have acted as in 1848 and in 1871. not run foul of the sabotage of the bour-

What was the conduct, in this ques-

of view. He existed less than ever dur-

ing 1917. After his arrival in Petrograd.

coming from Atchinsk with Kamenev

geoisie? It was clear even for a nursling. And we must apply force: arrest ject of the agreement, for we are not themselves; the essential thing for them alone. We have all Europe before us. is to hold on their warm little spot. In | We must begin: at present, only the so Paris, they guillotined, while we will cialist revolution is possible. All these

will fulfill our duty. And at such a mo-

of this....as for the agreement....

Zinoviev says that we are not the the Telegraphic Agency of the Soviet power of the Soviets, that, allegedly, we are the Bolsheviks all alone, that the viks have quit, etc. But it is not our who are tired. To refrain now from us we are with the vanguard. The Soviets are determined (in the struggle). espouse the Municipal Duma: it's nonsense. ationists.

We are told that we want to "intro ing, but a lesson by example was neces- haps it will still be proposed that we chiefs of the Peasants' League of that also share the power with the Social At times, they spoke only of Lenin. The conclude an agreement with the Room- period.

Central Executive Committee of the So-

resolution of the Social Revolutionists.

We are in power. Who is capable at We introduce it into the program of our that the Bolsheviks should have more Executive Committee of the Soviets*. I the bank directors, etc. The detention, present of passing over to Novaia Zhizn** activity; we can also introduce it into power or less. This exceptional situa- against us. It is said that we have the even brief, of these people has already Hesitaters, unprincipled people: one day the nomination of the government*. We, yielded very good results. That hardly with us, the next with the Mensheviks. the Right wing Opposition, have dwelled surprises me; I know how little capable They say that by ourselves we will not on the necessity of a homogeneous somaintain power, etc. But we are not cialist government. We say: not a single place to the Cadets!

We have, furthermore, pointed out However, when the Socialist Revolu- do nothing but deprive of their food cards hesitations, these doubts (agreements), the necessity of workers' control, of the tionists abandoned the power, I under- those who do not receive them from they are nonsense. When I said (at a regulation of production by the shop and case he would be a genuine force, wherestood that they did it after Kerensky had their trade union. In this manner we popular meeting), we will fight (the sa- factory committees; the other parties consent to that. We will oblige everybotagers) with the bread cards, the faces of the soldiers lit up. (The Right wing- body to admit it. That is what our program consists of, plus the power of the ged out for a long time. Our Rght wing- that we will not get possession of the capable of fighting. But the speakers Soviets. Does this mean that we abaners sank into pessimism. Moscow al- power " in the whole country". I am in who spoke before the masses tell us don the Municipal Dumas? It is our legedly cannot take the power, etc. And no mood to listen to this calmly. I re- that they have never seen such enthusi- people who are seated in them. If the occupied. We have begun to love war it is then that the question of the agree-| gard this as treason. What do they asm. Only we shall be able to create a Dumas want to take the power, we will want? The launching of a spontaneous | plan of revolutionary work. Only we are | demolish them. Does that mean that we battle, with dagger blows? The prole- fit for the struggle, etc. And the Men- give the Dumas a part of the power? No. sary to create and we are doing nothing. * Lunacharsky had come forward in tariat alone can bring the country out sheviks? They will not follow us. There Simply representation (in the Soviet you are, at the coming conference we government). And should we really con- continue to do it, and there will remain: must put the question of the future so- time the civil war because of that? No, a single dictator***. I cannot even speak seriously of this, cialist revolution. We have Kaledin be- we shouldn't. To have new elections to

of the (imagined) destruction of the Trotsky has said long ago that the union fore us; we have not yet triumphed the Dumas, that is another matter. Here Cathedral of Basil the Benevolent in is impossible. Trotsky has understood (completely). When we are told (Vik- it is eight days that we are in power. Moscow. The proposal to expel Lunach this and since then there has not been zhel the sabotagers, etc.) that there is But we do not know, if the decree on "no power", then it is necessary to im- peace has been brought to the attention prison, and we will do it. And let them of the people? What is the reason for

task to us on this subject of the horrors it? The technical apparatus, which is of the dictatorship of the proletariat. | bourgeois or petty bourgeois. It sabot-Why, to arrest the Vikzhel people, that ages us. If the Municipal Duma demand-Socialist Revolutionists and the Menshe- I understand. Let them scream about ed that the principal line of conduct be the arrests! The delegate from Tver changed, that would be another matter; said to the Congress of the Soviets: "Ar- but if it only wants representation in Executive Committee of the Soviets on of the Soviets. It is a new organization. rest them all*** !" That I understand; he the power, there is nothing to talk about. has a certain comprehension of what the Only, we will settle nothing. The famine on August 6-19, on the subject of the is not the people, it is a vanguard which dictatorship of the proletariat is. Our will begin. If those who sabotage, that present slogan is: no agreements, for a is, the technical apparatus, are not with homogeneous Bolshevik government! us, nobody will know about our agitation beyond the frontier, and we will

* Roomtcherod: Joint Executive Comlate) before the fatigued masses, as for mittee of the Soldiers' Soviets on the by means of the terror, but why, towards Rumanian front, the banks of the Black what end?

> Sea and the Odessa Garrison. Vikzhel All-Russian Executive Committee of Railroad Workers. These two organizations were in the hands of the social-collaboring . . . At present we must, first of tion.

charsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, etc.) came out against the Central Committee.

***The Tver delegate, a peasant, de-

Revolutionists.

The city worker also understands that Sailors' Committee says: The majority the question of the land is not a matter of the sailors are now in such a state At present the proletariat is demolish-Who believed therefore that we would viets and let them act; as for us, we will of indifference to him. We adopt as the of mind that they are ready to come to ing the apparatus of the power and rebasis for the decree on the land the Smolny to declare that they are not disposed to conduct a civil war in order tion cannot last long. To drag it out is to lose blood, lacking support from the technical apparatus.

> I am surprised at the words pronounced by Vladimir Ilitch on the subject of the parleys with General Kaledin**, beas the Mensheviks are not. But this shall we beat it? Also by violence. Lunaunreal force can shift troops from tcharsky says that blood is flowing. Then the front, provoke a battle under Vin- what should be done? Perhaps we should nitsa and not permit the Lettish light in- not have begun? Then recognize that fantry to arrive here. Technically, we too much, as if we were not workers but civil war was opened.

soldiers, a military party. It is neces-We polemize in the party, and we will But why, then, don't they support us if

arrests, the technical apparatus cannot ship of the proletariat. For the moment be attacked, it is too big. The people reason like this: our program must be is not friendly to us. They are letting

*We have here, from the lips of Lunacharsky, the formula which constitutes the leit-motif of all Stalin's activity. In defending for Germany (1923), China, England, the same policy of collaborationism which Lunacharsky defended at the end of 1917. Stalin invariably repeated: we must not leap over stages; we must gradually follow each step. ** Lenin had undoubtedly said: "If it were really a question of conducting negotiations in order to liquidate the settle nothing. We can, of course, act civil war, it would be necessary to undertake them with Kaledin and not with the Mensheviks." The official editorial

We will endeavor to obtain an agree- board of the Bureau of Party History, as ment, but if they grab us by the hands, its annotation shows, did not at all unwe are resolute people, capable of resist- derstand this purely Leninist argumenta-

all, take possession of the whole appar-** Novia Zhizn (New Life), Gorky's atus. This means to act by following heard (see further on an indication on against it. Nobody yet knows what paper, where the Right wingers, (Luna- the line of least resistance and not by this point in the speech of Trotsky). It rigorous measures we shall still be com-

* Lunacharsky's idea is the following: the coalition government of the Soviet Tchernovs are capable of introducing If the Bolsheviks have introduced into parties, the collaborationists put at the into our work are hesitations. But in manded during the Soviet Congress on their decree on the land the demands of top the demadn to "cease" the civil war the struggle against the enemy, hesita-October 25 (November 7), the arrest of the peasants, permeated with a Social and, to attain that aim, to eliminate tions will kill our authority in the eyes tain that these parleys would yield noth- not going to fuse with the Duma! Per- Avksentiev and the other collaborationist Revolutionist spirit, the Bolsheviks must from the government Lenin and Trotsky. of the masses.

Right wingers agreed to this.

sent is one of the deepest social crises. placing it. Its resistance is a reflection of the process of our growth. No word will be able to moderate their hatred same program as they. Give them a few seats and that will be all. Then why do they help Kaledin if they have the same program as we? No, the bourgeoisie is

against us out of all its class interests. What will we accomplish against that by an agreement with the Vikzhel people? Against us is rising armed violence: how the greatest mistake was committed, not February when the arena of the future

It is said that an agreement with the Vikzhel would help us against Kaledin. they are closer to us? They understand that bad as the counter-revolution is for

them, it will give more to the upper We will not succeed in triumphing by strata of the Vikzhel than the dictatorthey are preserving a neutrality which realized while retaining the arms in the the shock troops and the partisans of Krasnov approach. I was personally forbidden at the Vikzhel from communicaing by direct wire with Moscow in order to say that our affairs are going well in the struggle against Krasnov, because that might, so they said, "improve the morale there"; but the Vikzhel people, you see, are neutral. To come to an understanding is to continue the policy of Gotz, of Dan and the others.

We are told: we have neither cotton nor oil, that is why the agreement is necessary. But I ask for the thousand and first time: how can the agreement with Gotz and Dan give us oil?

Why are the Tchernovs against us? They protest out of their entirely bourgeois psychology. They are not capable of applying serious measures against the bourgeoisie. They are hostile to us just

* After these words, applause was because we are applying brutal measures appears that during the negotiations on pelled to have executed. All that the

What does the agreement with Tch-(Continued on page 4)

THE MILITANT

enin's Report on the Russian Revolution to the 4th Congress of the

extracts from Lenin's speech.

Lenin: Comrades, I was put down as at such moments, we may score an easy spectives of World Revolution" is alof the New Economic Policy. I choose how we started the New Economic Pol- in many instances. icy and what results we have achieved by it, by confining myself to this quesyou a general survey and a general conception of the subject.

To begin the story of how we started State Capitalism. I wrote then:

"Compared with the present economic Capitalism here in the course of half a year, it would be a tremendous success and the best guarantee that within a of this unique, and for us, naturally disyear socialism will be strong and invincible in this country."

This was said at a time, of course our economic measures, that we had not when we were much more foolish than made our base secure, that the masses now, but not so foolish as to be unable were already sensing what we had not to tackle such problems.

In a word, in 1918 I was of the opinion that State Capitalism represented a deal in grain. (3) Private capitalism. in good conscience give the answer to (4) State Capitalism. (5) Socialism. the question in the affirmative, namely the State. Unless we have them, then, the heroes of the 2nd International, intook the trouble of explaining the correlation between these elements, suggesting that we might perhaps put a higher value on the non-socalist element, namely on State Capitalism, than on socialism. I repeat that it sounds rather strange to declare a non-socialist element of greater value than socialism in a Republic which had declared itself socialist. But it becomes quite conceivable, if we bear in mind, that the economic situation in Russia at that time could only by no means be considered as uniform and of high standing. On immediately. the contrary we were quite aware of the fact that in Russia we had a patriarchal system of agriculture, i. e., the was State capitalism to play under those circumstances? I asked myself again, which of these elements predominates. It is clear that in a petty bourgeois environment the petty bourgeois element would be on top. The question as I put it then—it was in connection with special discussion that has nothing to do with the present question-was this: What is our attitude towards State capitalism? more favorable for us and for Russia than the present form. What does it mean? It means that we do not overestimate the basis and structure of socialist economy, although we have already accomplished the social revolution. Already at that time we had, to a certain degree, come to the conclusion that it would be better for us to establish first State capitalism and through it to march on to socialism. At all events there was already a And I believe that also we, as a Communist International, and not only as a country that was and has remained backward by its economic structure, must against the bourgeoisie. take that into consideration, particularly the comrades in the advanced countries of Western Europe. Just now, for instance, we are busy with the construction of a program. I for one believe that it would be the wisest action on our part if we discuss all these programs in a general way, if we take some thing like a first reading of them and have them all printed, but not in order to have the programme finally established this year. Why? First of all, because it is even superfluous to say it. I think that we have hardly examined them all. Secondly, because we have as yet given almost no consideration to the idea of the retreat and making the Still, in a whole series of units, Revretreat secure. Yet this is a question olutionary Military Committees have been which merits our utmost attention in elected; the officers, the old committees, dealing with so great a change of the world as the overthrow of capitalism and the building up of the socialist system. It is not enough for us so be merely conscious of how we are to assume the offensive in order to be victorious. In revolutionary times this is not at all

enemy loses his head. If we attack him amination Now as to the heavy industries. Here principal speaker on the list, but you will victory. But such a victory would not I must say that the situation is still difunderstand that after my prolonged ill- be decisive, because the enemy after calm ficult. Nevertheless some small improveness I am not in a position to make a consideration, after due concentration of ment has taken place between 1921 and lengthy report. I can only give the in- his forces, etc., may very easily provoke 1922. This entitles us to the hope of troduction to some of the more important us into a premature attack in order to improvement in the near future. The questions. My remarks will have to be throw us back for many years to come. means to that end we partly possess quite brief. 1...e theme of "Five Years I therefore think the idea of the neces- already. In a capitalist country the imof the Russian Revolution, and the Per- sity of preparing for the emergency of provement of the situation of the heavy a retreat to be of supreme importance, industries would absolutely necessitate together too comprehensive and too big and that not only from the theoretical the borrowing of hundreds of millions tor one speaker to exhaust in one speech. standpoint. From a practical standpoint without which no improvement could be I therefore will pick out only a small also all the parties that are contem- thought of. The economic history of part of the subject, namely, the question plating an offensive against capitalism capitalist countries tells us that the in the near future, should right now think upbuilding of heavy industries in a backsolely this small part advisably, in order of how to make the retreat secure. I ward country can be accomplished only to introduce this matter, which is-at believe that this lesson, in conjunction by means of long-term loans of hundreds least to me-the most important of all, with all the other lessons of our revolu- of millions of dollars or gold roubles. because 1 am engaged on it just now. tion, will surely do us no harm and So far we have received no loans of this I will therefore speak on the subject of most probably a vast amount of good kind. All that has been written so far about concessions and such like remains

Having thus emphasized that already almost entirely on paper. Much has been in 1918 we considered State Capitalism written about these things lately, partion 1 hope to be in a position to give as a possible way of retreat, I will pass ticularly about the Urquhart concession. to a review the results of our New Eco- Nevertheless it seems to me that our nomic Policy I repeat at that time it concession policy is an excellent one. At further activities must lie within this was still a very vague idea. Yet in 1921, the same time it ought to be taken into the New Economic Policy, I must recall after having emerged victoriously from consideration that we have not yet ar- that the peasants are satisfied with us, to you an article written by me in 1918. the most important stages of the civil ranged for any real big concession. Hence In that year, in discussing the subject, war, Soviet Russia came face to face with the situation of the heavy industries is the upgrade. I touched upon the question of how we a great-I believe the greatest-internal for our backward country a really very would have to tackle the problem of political crisis which caused disaffection difficult question, since we cannot count not only of the huge masses of the pea- on any loans from the wealthy states. santry, but also of large numbers of In spite of all this, we see perceptible policy of the Soviet Republic-i. e. the workers. It was the first, and I hope improvement. We also find that our economic situation of that time, State the last, time in the history of Soviet trading activity has already brought us Capitalism represents a step forward. If Russia that we had the great masses some capital. This also is of rather we could, for instance, introduce State of the peasantry arrayed aganst us, not modest dimensions amounting to no more consciously, but instinctively, as a sort than twenty million gold roubles, but a of political mood. What was the cause start has been made. Our trading yields us the means which we can apply to agreeable situation? It was caused by the upbuilding of the heavy industries. the fact that we had gone too far with At the present moment, however, our heavy industries are still in a very difficult position. But I believe that we yet properly formulated although we had for this purpose, and this we will conto acknowledge it a few weeks after- tinue to do even if we have to do it longs to us. In the first place we learn wards: namely that the direct transition frequently at the expense of the popu- in this way how to carry on commerce step forward in comparison with the to pure socialist economy, to pure social lation. We must be thrifty now. We and retain the possibility of dissolving if by a rare chance a foreigner could un are not so highly cultured that the deeconomic situation of the Soviet Republic listic distribution of wealth, was far be- are endeavouring to cut down State exat the time. This sounds rather strange, yond our resources; and that if we could penditure by curtailing the machinery of sary, so that we may be said to incur and perhaps contradictory, for at that not make a successful and timely retreat, the State. As to that I will say a few time our Republic was a Socialist Rep- if we could not confine ourselves to easier words later on. At all events we must ublic, at that time we carried out day tasks, we would go under. I believe that diminish State expenditure, and affect are seeing how we are to work our later course of the Congress I shall find by day, in rapid succession-perhaps in the crisis set in February, 1921. Already economy as far as possible. Thus we are far too rapid succession-all kinds of new in the spring of that year we unanimously saving on every thing, even on schools. economic measures which we could not resolved-we had no considerable differ. This has to be done, because we know term otherwise than socalistic. And yet ences on that score,-to pass to the New that without the saving and reconstruc-I declared at that time that State Cap- Economic Policy. Today, after a lapse tion of the heavy industries we cannot a large number of follies. But I must italism would be a step forward com- of a year and a half, at the end of 1922, hope to upbuild any industry, and with- in this connection say something concernpared with the then prevailing situation we are in a position to draw compari- out them we cannot hope to exist as a ing our opponents. When these read of the Soviet Republic, I therefore found sons. What are the results. Has the self-sustaining country. This we know us a lecture, saying: Lenin himself reit necessary to illustrate my point by retreat benefited and really saved us, or quite well. The salvation of Russia lies cognizes that the Bolsheviks have comenumerating the elements of the economic has it failed, and the results indefinite not only in a good harvest for her peasanstructure of Russia. These elements I This is the principal question I put to try, nor in the good condition of light I should like to answer them thus: "But represented then as follows: (1) A patri- myself, and I believe that this question industries which cater for the require- you ought to know that our follies are archal that is an exceedingly primitive is also of supreme importance to all the ments of the peasantry, but we need also of an essentially different kind from system of land tenure (2) Petty produc- Communist parties, because if the ans- the heavy industries. But the recon- yours. We have just begun to learn, and tion of commodities. To this group be- wer should be in the negative, then we struction of the heavy industries will we are learning systematically that we longed the majority of the peasants who shall all go under. I believe that we can require the work of many years. Heavy industry requires subsidies from our opponents, I mean the capitalists and

there will always be moments when the that we have successfully passed the ex- have now taken the decisive step. We Russian writer so as to give them the we should set ourselves to school. Now have obtained the means requisite for putting, heavy industry upon its own feet. The sum that we have hitherto that the Bolsheviks say 2 and 2 equals the capitalist powers will give us the obtained, is, indeed, less than 20 million 5; but when our opponents i. e. the capi- opportunity of learning in peace and gold roubles-but we have it; it will be talists and the heroes of the Second quietude. But we must utilize every definitely applied to raising the level of our heavy industry.... 2 equals a wax candle. That is not bottom up.

Herein consisted the most important difficult to prove.... question for us, the economic preparation Here is another example, an even more

of the socialist economy. We could not prepare this in direct fashion, but we had to do it indirectly. The State capi-What have the victorious powers done? talism we have established is a peculiar form of State Capitalism. It does not correspond to the ordinary conception of State Capitalism. We have all authority in our hands; we have the land, which belongs to the state. This is of immense importance, although our opponents are apt to declare, falsely, that it is of no importance at all. From the economic outlook, the ownership of the land by in certain conditions are likely to become the State is of great importance; it has immense practical significance from the economic point of view. We have achievthat I propose to say a few words. ed this, and I must emphasize that our At the Third Congress of 1921, we adframework. We have already ensured

and that industry and commerce are on I have already pointed out that our State capitalism is distinguished from State capitalism in the literal sense of all the land in the hands of the Prole tarian State, but also the important departments of industry. Above all: while we have farmed out a certain amount of small-scale and medium-scale industry.

the rest of the industry remains in our hands. Regarding commerce, I should like to insist upon the point that we are endeavoring to establish, and indeed have already established, mixed companies, that is to say, companies in which can already afford to spare something part of the capital belongs to private (foreign) capitalists, while the rest be the company whenever we think it neces- derstand it, he could not possibly carry velopment of Black Hundreds in Italy has it out. That is the third defect.

practically no risk. But from the priv-I have talked matters over with some ate capitalists we are learning, and we making. I think I have said enough for in that I am unfortunately not able anent these matters....

to participate) to talk matters over in I have said that we have committed full detail with a larger number of delegates from various lands. My impression is that we made a great mistake in the matter of this resolution, thereby blocking our own advance. Let me repeat, it is an excellent resomitted an enormous number of follies".

make no progress.

lution. I myself endorse every one of its 50 or more paragraphs. But we did not really know what we were about when we turned to foreigners with our Russian experience. Everything in the resolution has remained a dead letter. are satisfied with our progress. When If we fail to understand why, we shall

We present here the most important difficult. In the course of the revolution positively and absolutely demonstrated foredoomed to perish. In this matter we ifying slightly the words of a celebrated after 5 years of the Russian revolution, following aspect: When the Bolsheviks | for the first time we have the possibility commit follies, this amounts to saying of learning. I do not know how long International, commit follies, this am- moment in which we are free from war, ounts to saying that they declare 2 and that we may learn, and learn from the

The whole Party, and Russians at large, show by their hunger for culture, telling one, that of the Versailles Treaty. that they are aware of this. The aspiration for culture proves that our most How can they find any issue for the important task consists in this to learn present confusion? I do not think that I and to go on learning. But foreigners exaggerate when I repeat that our follies | too, must learn, though not in the sense are as nothing in comparison with the in which we have to learn namely, to follies committed by the capitalist States, read, to write, and to understand what the capitalist world, and the Second In- is read. This is our lack. There is ternational in conjunction. That is why much dispute as to whether such things I think that the prospects of the world belong to proletarian culture or to bourrevolution (this is a theme upon which geois culture. I leave the question open. I propose to touch briefly) are good, and This much is certain that our first task must be to learn reading and writing and even better. It is upon these conditions, understanding what is read. In foreign lands this is no longer necessary.

Foreigners need something different. opted a resolution concerning the orga- They need something higher. First of nisatory upbuilding of the Communist all they have to learn how to understand parties, and concerning the method and all that we have written about the orgathe substance of their work. It was a nisatory upbuilding of the Communist good resolution. But the resolution is parties, which they have subscribed withalmost exclusively Russian: it was whol- out reading it, or without understanding ly derived for a study of Russian de- it. You foreign comrades must make velopments. That is the good side of this your first duty. This resolution the term, inasmuch as we not only have the resolution, but it is also the bad must be carried into effect: these things side. It is the bad side of the resolution cannot be done between one day and because hardly any foreigner (I have the next, it is absolutely impossible. read the resolution over again before The resolution is too Russian; it is a expressing my conviction), is able to reflection of Russian experience; that is read it. In the first place, it is too long, why it cannot be understood by foreignfor it contains 50 or more paragraphs. ers, and why foreigners are not con-Foreigners are apt to find it impossible tent to treat this resolution as a miracuto read anything of this sort. In the lous picture which they are to hang on next place, even if a foreigner should the wall and to pray to. That sort of manage to read it through, it is too attitude will not help us forward. You Russian. I do not mean because it was will have to make a portion of Russian written in the Russian language, for experience your own. How can it be there are excellent translations into the done. I do not know. Peraps the Fascvarious tongues, but because it is per- ists in Italy will do us a good turn by meated with the Russian spirit. Thirdly, showing the Italians how, after all, they become impossible. This may have a good effect. We Russians must also look

of the delegates and I hope that in the for means of explaining to foreigners the elements of this reason. Otherwise way upward and what mistakes we are it possible (not at the Congress itself, it will be absolutely impossible for them to carry it out.

I am confident that in this sense (we have to say, not only for the Russians, but for foreigners as well), that the most important thing for us all in the period now opening, is to learn. We Russians have to learn in the general sense. You have to learn in the special sense that you may gain a genuine understanding of the organization, structure, method, and substance of revolutionary work. If you do this,-I am confident that the prospects for the world revolution are not merely favourable, but splendid.

letariat from exploiting its success. It

is true that the apparatus does not be-

long to us. It is for this reason that we

dallied so long with Kerensky's pitiable

detachments, because we had no techni-

ed one, superb under the given conditions,

and at present we have triumphed here

and in Moscow. Petrograd is now guar-

anteed against any surprises of a mili-

I repeat, we cannot draw in the petty

bourgeoisie except by showing that we

have in our hands a material fighting

tary nature.

(Loud and long-continued applause. All these economic elements were re- in the sense that in the course of eigh- merely as a civilized country (to say sist that we have committed follies, I I think the most important for us all, A general acclamation, "Long Live Com-

presented in Russia at that time. I teen months that have elapsed we have nothing of a socialist country) we are should like to make a comparison, mod-Russians and foreigners alike is that rade Lenin"). -----

the peasants.

GLEBOV*.

The situation is serious, not because

inside the party, as well as an almost

The force of sabotage exists in the

are marching towards an agreement with

it. As long as I looked for an agree

ment, the functionaries ridiculed me; but

the point of view of Posts and Tele-

have pronounced themselves in our favor

in their resolution. They must take us

into account. At Ivanovo-Vozneshensk,

the proletariat has adopted a resolute de-

cision. It arrested the sabotagers and

put them in prison; they came out like

lambs. We should say to the hesitant

activity; if not, by hesitating, we shall

We are told: "The power will be re-

lose everything."

graphs, it is already important that they appeal.

official split. That must not be.

The Fight in the Party for a Bolshevik Government and the Lenin-Trotsky Line

tion we have is settled, and we have no | ment? No, we are for the Soviets. It is rection, because it was supposed not to need to talk about it now that our party impossible for it to be otherwise. It hold out any hope. The old arguments has, arrived in power. But can it be is not a question of the seats we should are now reproduced, after the triumph of like this, can we shed blood together reserve for the other parties, but that the uprising, but in favor of the coaliand govern separately? Can we refuse they would not apply our policy. There tion. It is said that there will be no other way out than to say: "Get technical apparatus. The darkest colors the power to the soldiers? The civil war were used to terrify, to prevent the prowill last for years. One can hardly get out."

age of the petty bourgeois psychology. (Continued from page 3) ernov mean? It does not mean: to speak Naturally, that is also, in part, inherent frankly with him once and stop there. in the masses, it is a residue of their No, it means: to line up according to slavery of yesterday. But if the coun-Tchernov. This would be treason for ter-revolution threatens us, the mass which we would all deserve to be shot even the backward mass, will take up arms. At the base, they are in such

I have heard here with bitterness the a position that they will come forward applause given (Lunatcharsky) a propos of the phrase on the dictatorship of a solution the vikzhel, the army committees, the solution the unstitution to the comrades. It is not a question of collaboration, but of solution the unstitution to the masses. a socialist form of agriculture. What part single person. Why, for what reason, do Social Revolutionists, the Mensheviks they want to decapitate the party by and other summits.

removing Lenin, this party which has Lunatcharsky says: We must stop... taken possession of the power in the bat- No, we must clear away in order to go tle where blood was spilled? Miliukov forward. When you come out against was driven from the government, for us at the moment of the bitter struggle, example, but when? When the proletar- you are weakening us. An agreement iat put its foot on the belly of the Cadets. | with Tchernov would not give us a thing. And now? Who is walking on our belly? We need organization. That is what we Nobody. It is only eight days that we should drive for. Tchernov is afraid are in power. We establish our tactics that the people are pressing the bourby basing them on the revolutionary van- geoisie too much, that they are carrying although not a socialist form, would be defense of collaborationism that with- is the transmisson lever of the bourout it the Baltic fleet will not give the geoisie. He will merely weaken us by his smallest of its vessels. This has not been petty bourgeois hesitations.

We must say clearly and plainly to verified. We were frightened with the assertion that no worker would march. the workers that it is not a coalition Nevertheless the Red Guard is dying with the Mensheviks and others that valiantly. No, there is no longer any_{i}^{\dagger} we want to establish, that it is not a return to the intermediate policy, to col- question of that, but rather of a program laborationism. We will introduce the of action. We already have a coalition: dictatorship of the proletariat in reality. with the peasants, with the soldiers who We will compel people to work. How are now fighting for the power of the does it happen that society existed, that Bolsheviks, for the All-Russian Soviet general and vague idea of the retreat. the masses worked under the former Congress has handed the power to a well-defined party. You forget that. terror of the minority? Here, it is no Should we share the power with the longer such a terror, it is the organizaelements who, already before this, sabottion of the class violence of the workers aged the Soviets and who now fight the power of the proletariat from with-How do they want to scare us now?

In the same way that the Mensheviks out? All those who consent to it forget and Social Revolutionists sought to to ask themselves if those with whom scare us yesterday. They said that as they want to share the power are capable of realizing our program. They do we approach the socialist revolution, we not speak of this. Are the collaborationshall see the Junkers fire, the blood flow, ists capable of conducting a policy of the bourgeoisie conspire, the functionareconomic terror? No. If we are incapies sabotage, the army committees resist. ble of realizing our program after hav-Naturally! But all this is what haping taken the power, we should go to pens at the top. If the bourgeoisie was the soldiers and the workers and acknowwith us, there would not be a civil war, ledge that we have failed. But it will not do any good to leave in the coalition The army committees are hated by the government only a few Bolsheviks. We mass of the soldiers, but frequently they

have taken the power, we must also take cannot yet do anything against them. the responsibilities.

It is proposed to limit the speaking time to 15 minutes.

all the inferior officers have been ar. NOGIN*.

rested. That has been effected in about The question of knowing what revolu one-fourth of the army. To fraternize

with the army committees would be to * Nogin, old Bolshevik, former textile raise against us the masses of soldiers. worker, who played a great role in the Lunatcharsky's prejudices are a herit. party. Died in 1925. Oppositon and capitulated with it.

very far with the peasants by support- SLUTSKY.

ing himself upon bayonets. Towards The question has been sufficiently ilcapitalist industry, that's one thing; but luminated by Trotsky and Lenin. Duranother tactic is needed with regard to ing the days of June 3-5, when it seem-

en us, in reality it was we who had The word "collaboration" has become resolving the question; how shall we act. The peasants and the workers have coif we repulse all the other parties? The hesion.

But the hammer of the revolution, Social Revolutionists have quit the Sowhich gave this cohesion to the masses. viets after the revolution, the Mensheseparated from it the Mensheviks, the viks too. But this means that the Soviets are going to break down. Such a defenders of the fatherland, the Social Revolutionists; we have seen that it was force. We cannot vanquish the boursituation, given the complete disorganization of the country, will terminate in the collaborationists who created the geoisie except by beating it. It is a law a short time with the failure of our lack of cohesion. Now that we have of the class struggle. There lies the party. We should not waste our powder vanquished, they want to lead us into garantee of our victory. It is only then and shot. The famine conditions will this path of collaborationism. The agree- that the Vikzhel people will follow us. create a favorable terrain for Kaledin ment with them is the masked road to As much can be said about the other who is now marching against us. In the abandonment of the power. Previous- technical domains. The apparatus will

launching the dispatch to the employees | ly, at the helm of the power were the be at our disposal only when it will see of the railroads that we intend to de- parties of the agreement with the bour- that we are a force. prive them of bread cards, we would geoisie; now it is we who are there with- The revolution of the October days create the basis for a powerful protest. out this agreement. The words of com- does not consist in putting the old aprade Lunatcharsky, asking what harm paratus into running condition again. there would be in granting the Municipal Our task is to reconstruct it completely. Dumas fifty seats in the Central Execu- from top to bottom. In order to carry the shock troops are approaching. The tive Committee of the Soviets appear to into life our proletarian tasks, we need power is in our hands, we can triumph. me superfluous. What does this mean, an apparatus which is flesh of the flesh But there is sabotage which is beginning to grant fifty seats? It is not to use the of our class. We have created one of furniture that we take them. We are this type against Kerensky and Krasnov for the power of the Soviets. Then I under Petrograd. You cannot base yourwant to ask: how will the oil flow to self upon bayonets, we are told once measure that, by our line of conduct, we us through such taps as Kamkov*? How more; but so that we might discuss here

will the doors to fertile places open up with you it was necessary to have baybefore us, thanks to the Social Revolu- onets at Tsarskoye Selo.

tionists? There is in all this a complete All power is violence and not agreeority. It is inevitable. It is the alphabet of Marxism. They did not let me communicate to Moscow the news of our success by the telegraphic line belong-Conference has been spoken of here ing to the railroads, and then, they let the shock troops pass. They betray us at the acutest moment of the struggle; when we have triumphed they propose to us to introduce them into the fort-

> Proposal: to limit the speaking time to 10 minutes.

Before the insurrection, there were in

sponsible to the parliament." But what our party, in the Central Committee and will this parliament be? Will it not be in the broad circles of the party, divermade on the model of the Pre-Parlia- gences of views reaching a considerable depth. The same thing was said, in the

* One of the leaders of the Left So-

** Old Bolsheviks worked later on in

The session is adjourned.

NOGIN. We Bolsheviks have already recognized that the revolution is ours and not the

bourgeoisie's. However, we did not triumph alone, but together with the same terms as today, against the insurpeasants. There is why what we succeed in getting thanks to the blood of

the workers and the soldiers, the power, should be their common weal. Our party should be the most disciplined.

** Glebov-Avilov, former worker, belonged for a long time to the Vperiod (Forward) group: after the October revcial Revolutionists. olution, People's Commissar of Posts and

Telegraphs. Took part in the Zinovie the Cheka. ress of the power.

as soon as I took a resolute road, a lot lack of principle: why not sixty seats, ment. Our power is the violence of the of things were straightened out. From why not twenty-five or thirty-five? The majority of the people against the minrevolutionary mass will not follow this

many times. This name is too highsounding. It is hard to convoke a general assembly for tomorrow. Let us convoke for tomorrow at seven o'clock, here, a meeting of the committee, enlarged to comrades: "Get out, don't thwart our the representatives of the wards.

BOKY**.

TROTSKY.

THE MILITANT

Chicago Branch

Hail the 4 Year of the life of the Mili-

build it into a mighty organ of revolu-

tion in America. J. Giganti, Org.-Secy.

The Bolsheviks Take Over Power!

sky is alone at the presiding table. DECLARATION OF TROTSKY

In the name of the Revolutionary Military Committee, I declare: the Provisional Government is no longer. (Ap- a circular telegram has been sent to inplause). Ministers have been arrested. form Russia of the real state of affairs. (Hurrahs!). The others will be arrested in a few days or a few hours. (Applause). The revolutionary garrison, which is at the disposal of the R. M. C., has dissolved the meeting of the Preliminary Parliament). (Loud applause, armistice on every front; the handing cries of: "Long live the R. M. C.!")

We were told that the uprising of the garrison at this time would provoke a massacre and drown the revolution in torrents of blood. Up to the present moment no blood has been spilled. We do not know of a single victim. In all history I do not know of a single example of a revolutionary movement where such vast masses have taken part and which was accomplished without the spilling of blood.

The power of the Provisional Government presided over by Kerensky was a corpse and awaited only the sweey of broom of history to throw it out of existence.

We must underline the heroism and ab negation of the soldiers and workers of Petrograd. We stayed awake all through the night here at the telephone observing how the detachments of the revolutionary soldiers and workers accomplised their task noiselessly. The inhabitants slept peacefully and did not know that at this moment a new power was being substituted for the old.

The railroad stations, the post-office, the telegraph- the Petrograd Telegraphic Agency. the State Bank, are occupied. (Loud Applause).

taken, but its fate will be decided in a has been accomplished! few minutes.

The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputes of Petrograd may well be proud this revolution gives us a Soviet governof the soldiers and workers who sup. | ment, our own organ of power without port it, whom it has led to the battle and the slightest participation of the bourto the glorious victory.

semi-bourgeois governments is to deceive apparatus will be shattered to its foundathe people. We are going-we, the So- tions, and a new administrative apparviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Pea- atus will be founded under the form sants' Deputies-to undertake a unique of Soviet organizations. experience in history, to found a government which has no other aim than to tory of Russia, and this third Russian satisfy the needs of the soldiers, the workers and the peasants.

The state must become the instrument of the masses in the struggle for their putting an immediate end to the war. liberation from all servitude.

The work cannot be done without the influence of the Soviets. The best re- gime, it is necessary-that is clear to all presentatives of bourgeois science will of us-to vanquish capital itself. understand that the conditions created by the Soviets of W. S. and P. Deputies are movement which is already beginning the best conditions for their labors.

It is necessary to establish a control over production. The peasants, the workers and the soldiers must feel that the national domain is their domain. This is the essential principle for the

establishment of the power. The institution of an obligatory labor service is one of the first tasks of the

revolutionary government. Trotsky announces that on the order of the day are still the report of the

question, comrade Lenin will be the re-

The session opens at 2:35 P. M. Trot- Meeting of Petrograd Soviet solidate this confidence of the proletariat, The Day After the Insurrection all the secret treaties.

> To the active army forces have been fidence of the peasants by a decree sent radiograms announcing the fall of the old power and the imminent formation of a new power. The first acts of the new power should be: the immediate over of the land to the peasants; the speediest possible convocation of a genu-

> inely democratic Constituent. The residence of the presiding minister, Kerensky, is unknown, but we believe that it will soon be known to all. To the question: what is the attitude and which will lead the proletariat to of the front in face of the events, Trotsky replies:

We have sent our telegrams. There has not yet been a reply. But we have ist proletarian state. frequently heard here the representatives of the front who reproached us for not yet having undertaken decisive action.

At this point, Lenin enters the hall. The assembly acclaims him noisily.

Trotsky continues: In our midst is Vladimir Ilitch Lerin who, as a result of circumstances, was unable to appear among us until now. Trotsky characterizes the role of Lenin

in the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia and shouts: "Long live comrade Lenin who has

returned to us!' The assembly gives a new and lengthy

ovation to Lenin

LENIN'S SPEECH

Comrades, the revolution of the workers and peasants, the need for which The Winter Palace has not yet been the Bolsheviks proclaimed incessantly,

What does it signify, this revolution of the workers and peasants? Above all, geoisie. The oppressed masses them-The characteristic of bourgeois and selves will constitute the power. The old

A new era is opening up in the his revolution must lead in its development to the triumph of socialism.

One of our first tasks is the need of But in order to end this war, intimately bound up with the whole capitalist re-

By that we will aid the world labor to develop in Italy, in England and in Germany.

The equitable and immediate peace a source of great jublation for every which we shall offer to the internation- class conscious militant, and above all al democracy, will everywhere find a^{\dagger}_{+} for the Left Opposition position, whose

it is necessary immediately to publish

In Russia, a large section of the peasants said to themselves: enough playwhich has just taken place in Petroing with the capitalists, we will march grad.

with the workers. We will gain the con-The Petrograd Soviet must choose from which will abolish landed property of front. The R. M. C., its members, can the gentry. The peasants will understand not make a report because they are enthat their only salvation lies in the alli gaged in urgent work. I can tell you ance with the workers. that a telegram has been received an-

We are going to institute an effective workers' control of production.

Now you have learned how to work to grad. The dispatch of commissars is in gether: the revolution which has ust dispensable, it would be a crime on our taken place is witness f that. We have part not to send revolutionary commisthis force of the organization of the sars throughout the country to explain to masse which will vanquish everything, the masses of the people the revolutions (A few voices: You are anticipating the the world revolution. lecision of the All-Russian Congress of

In Russia we must set about immedi Soviets). The will of the All-Russian ately with the construction of a social Long live the world socialist revolu

tin. (Loud applause.) * * * There now remains for us only to devel-

stitutions, and their integration with the of the "line" which nothing can vindi-

The assembly decides not to open up op our victory.

(Continued from page 1)

gaged, the information report is postponed. Trotsky reappars at the tribune. DECLARATION BY TROTSKY

nouncing that the troops from the front

are advancing in the direction of Petro-

the discussion on the report of Lenin.

The members of the R. M. C. being en-

One of the immediate tasks of the R. Spartacus Youth Club of New York M. C. is the dispatch of a delegation to We greet the Fifteenth Anniversary of the front to inform it of the revolution

the victorious Russian Revolution and tant, the only Bolshevik paper in the the Fourth Anniversary of the Militant. English language. We promise to help

Greetings to the Militant

its midst commissars to be sent to the FROM BRANCHES. ETC.

Kansas City Branch **Boston Branch** St. Louis Branch Newark Branch Minneapolis Branch ...

New Haven Branch The members of the New Haven Branch of the Communist League of America Congress of the Soviets has been antci- (Opposition) greet the Militant on its pated by the resounding fact of the up- fourth anniversary, hoping that it will rising of the workers and soldiers of continue the fight for the Marxist-Lenin Petrograd which took place last night. ist principles in the Comintern. S. Gendelman, Secy.

G. Duell, Treasurer.

For this state of affairs-so much more real and concrete than a shifting of the parliamentary figures-the Communist party, that is, its Stalinist leadership, is essentially responsible. Not) and the mandlin intoxcation of the the social democratic leaders, for to ex-The dissatisfaction of the socialist self-satisfied official, revellng in a trough ranks is deep and widespread. It is of ballots, lies a gap that canont be pect anything from them except treachery would be equivalent to expecting tightng against that organized inertia brdged. The parliamentary victory of from Hitler anything except fire and and conservatism induced by decades of the party in Germany is being trumpetsteady growth of the party and its in- ed about by the Stalinists as a vindication sword. But from the Communist party, the proletariat has a right to expect a course different from the one now bureaucratically foisted upon it.

The Bonapartist regime of the Junkers weighs down murderously upon the German proletariat, which is still faced with the even more bestal menace of the Fascist power for which von Papen may yet make room. The situation can be met decirively only if the German Communists seize the initiative still at their disposal to forge an invincible weapon in the form of a real united front of the revolutionary and reformist workers, which will not only smash the labor cartels or any similar movement Fascist and Bonapartist dangers but that might constitute the nucleus for a also open the road to the proletarian march to power.

The intoxication with the momentary ship, despite the presence (for how many party's inability to mobilize the millionyears now, according to the Stalinist an- masses on the extra-parliamentary bat alyses?) of the "stormy revolutionary tlefield, that is, with its present policy. With it, as we have indicated above, may also fade the matchless chance which German Bolshevism still has to develop a general revolutionary situation until ary cretinism, what significance has the it is possible to conduct a successful struggle for power. More than once in the past has th eforelock of opportunity

The two-for-a-cent scribes of the been allowed to escape unnoticed in Ger-Daily Worker and the Freiheit roar with many. It is yet too early to say with vicarious pride over the party's gains in certainty, but it should be borne in mind cialist votes, has settled the whole projust that sort of situation which, unless blem. And what about the Bonapartist grasped boldly and in time, sets back regime of the von Papen-von Hindenburg the proletarian party for another epoch. camarilla? This little "trifle" emerges

The Newly Organized **Greek Workers Club** "PROTOMAGIA" Greets the Fourth Anniversary of the Vanguard of the Working Class THE MILITANT FROM INDIVIDUALS YOUNGSTOWN J. D. M. Koehler C. Udell J. Green S. Feldman P. Altman F. Cheloff S. Frank D. Ostash CHICAGO F. Buckley J. Harris F. Martin A. Borenstein S. Solomon Mr. & Mrs. Rice J. Ritz M. Ritz B. Lazaroff A. Stein G. Herman J. Ruby H. Mashow J. Mashow J. Gorfinkel A. Solomon A Friend S. Baker



NEW YORK

H. Norman

H. Pollock

J. Berman

T. Christie

N. Christie

R. Haviland

V. Tuanos

C. Christie

A Friend

A Friend

M. Sterling

W. Herman

M. Neuman

A. Weaver

N. Berman

I. Plotkin

I. Dvorkin

H. Grossman

A. Orland

A Friend

H. Capelis

A Friend

T. Katsikis

T. Miller

A Friend

T. Drobny, So. Bend

G. Krokofsky

-S-n.

farce-still master of the situation! More definitely than three months ago, this election has eliminated the possibility of a Reichstag government. Only South Africans Ban

apparatus of the ruling class-a dead cate. This "line" which failed to bring weight force which has proved to be to the streets of struggle a single imstionger than many of us ever cont portant group of workers in response to ceived it could be. The Stalinist theory the general strike call issued three of "social-Fascism", the adornment of months ago by the party to protest the party's platform and policies with against the coup d'Etat of von Papen, nationalist finery borrowed from Hitler- the "line" which has resulted in the virism, have served to strengthen the hand tually complete isolation of the Comof the social democratic leadershipmunists in the trade union movement

from the Left. The hundreds of thou- in Germany; the "line" which has failed sands of socialist leaders who are deepto produce a national, organized mass ly discontented with their own leaders, movement of resistance to Fascism or to are still dubious, to put it mildly, about the von Papen regime, a movement of the Stalinist leadership of the Comworkers' councils or shop committees or munist party.

This explains, essentially, why they protest against their leaders and express workers' power; the "line" which has their sympathy for the revolution by left the social democratic hierarchy with casting such a large vote for the Com- millions of workers still in its ranks and electoral victory of the Communists will munists; while, at the same time, they following-however sullenly-its leader. fade tomorrow in the cold light of the express their doubts or distrust concerning the Communist party's policy by refraining from joining the party or even upsurge" - this "line" is now supposed from following its calls for extra-parliamentary action under the C. P. banner to have received its incontestable conalone, that is, from following it on the firmation by a gain of 700,000 votes in only decisive field. an election! If this is not parliament-

term?

The Communist Vote The increase in the Communist vote is

hearty echo in the masses of the inter- cause is advanced by every advance of Germany as if the loss of two million that what we are witnessing today in national proletariat. In order to con- the movement. But between jubilation Fascist votes and almost a million so- that country may prove to have been

Japan and China

The Government Is Deposed !

(The following historical announce-| Petrograd Revolutionary Military Com-R. M. C. and the report on the duties of ment was printed as a leaflet and posted, mittee, in the streets of the city during the Soviet government. On the second or thrown from the automobiles of the life early hours of the afternoon.) "THE GOVERNMENT IS DEPOSED"

The Provisional Government is deposed. The power has passed into the

.eft Shift in German Vote

porter. (Thunderous applause.

Comrade Trotsky communicates that the political offenders are liberated, and that many of them are already fulfilling the functions of revolutionary commissars.

Comrade Zinoviev, declares comrade Trotsky, wlil agan be the host of the Petrograd Sovet at this session.

hands of the Revolutionary Military Committee, organ of the Petrograd Soviet, which is at the head of the proletariat and the garrison of Petrograd. The cause for which the people have fought: immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of the ownership of the land of the big landlords, workers' control of production, the creation of a Soviet power-the triumph of this case

is guaranteed. Long live the revolution of the workers, soldiers and peasants! Th Revolutionary Military Committee of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of Petrograd.

In the name of the Petrograd Soviet Petrograd, October 25 (November 7), 10 A. M.

JAPAN Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat By Jack Weber

of governmental power by the military manently disabled. Japanese militarism oligarchy, and the geographic position feels lost without a firm base in China. occupied by Japan in the backward East, Furthermore Japan exports 30 p. c. of have permitted unhampered sway to the her entire production of manufactured policy of Japanese imperialism. This goods, six times the percentage exported policy presents an intense singleness of by the U.S. Says Tanaka: "When we purpose throughout the era of capitalist remember that the Chinese are our only economy. The latent conflict between purchasers, we must fear that day when capitalists and feudal landed aristocracy China unites and her industry begins to (that might have "disturbed" Japan) for flourish-We must from now onwards in the more advanced capitalist coun- the heart of Manchuria and Mongolia by tries in favor of industrialism, has not divers ways, in order to be able on the yet reached the point of open conflict, one hand to destroy the military, conflict are already present (high land China-". rent and dear food as against the capi- The Formula of Conquest talist need of cheap labor). Hence the ruling classes act in complete harmony in foreign policy; government, banks, industrialists, business men give their fullest cooperation in the process of ex- territoriality on Japan by the Powers, pansion and penetration, "peaceful" or militant.

The Tanaka Document

The ultimate aims and the methods of the expansionist policy are given sin- against the closing of the door to Jap imgularly candid if not laudable expression in the notorious Tanaka document. has consistently shut out the Chinese These aims, like those of the other imperialist powers, are based on the need for markets, for sources of raw mater- protection of the standard of living. But nial status simply by military conquest. ial, and on military considerations of de- above all Japan learned the formula of The plan had the twofold aim of securfense and offense. For military purposes imperialist expansion in backward re- ing control of China's trade outlets and roads, warehouses, banks, spinning and police measures will not halt our pro-Japan is completely dependent on keep- gions. In 1875 France "recognized" the of gradually seizing the strategic cities ing the road to China open as she del independence of Annam from China, and the railroads for final military conpends on China for foodstuffs, oil, coal, Following this in the same year Japan quest. Japan everywhere placed herself iron and steel. Modern warfare is fought granted Korea "recognition". In both between the ports seized by the Euroin the factories at home, a fact em- cases China refused to grant such re- peans and the ocean, so as to "starve" phasized by the statistics of the last cognition but she was coerced into ac these ports.... In 1915 Japan presented to raw materials, the closeness to the revolutionists is testimony which the years of the campaign on the Western ceptance of the faits accomplis in 1885 the infamous 21 demands to China, great market, and the avoidance of Chinese governmental martinets of British im-

sia were established on the flank of the right to own land (no foreigner is Korea, it would be a constant menace to allowed to own land in Japan except the separate existence of that empire, or through a Japanese corporation); that The absolute and continuous control | spent for every German destroyed or perat least would make Russia the domin- the police departments of various cities ant power in Korea. Korea is an im- be "jointly" administered with Japs; that portant outpost in Japan's line of de- China must purchase 50 p. c. of her fense." In the Russo-Japanese War that munitions from a Japanese arsenal to followed this warning, Japan establish- be established in China; that Japan be ed complete hegemony ovr the Sea of given first right to make all loans. In Japan, making it an inland sea, impreg- 1918 Premier Terauchi proposed that nable from attack by sea. The military oligarchy has learned at of gold held in Japan. The Japanese home how to control government through aim in all her relations with China is ultimate supremacy, long since liquidated pursue our own military ends and seize a puppet emperor and this same method clear: to make China her colony, to has become the formula of Japanese im- hinder Chinese development until she perialism. In KoKrea teh Crown Prince does fall into the hands of Japanese of Korea became the puppet with actual militarism. although the economic bases for this political and economical development of powers in the hands of an "adviser", or finance, foreign affairs, concessions and

The Japanese rulers learned more Japs. Diplomatic matters were transferquickly than anything else from the red completely to Tokyo, pressure being ore from Tayeh on the Yangtze and coal West the cunning methods of imperialism. successfully applied to cause the with from Pinghsiang. This arrangement, in-A generation after the forcing of extra drawal from Seoul of the various ministers, the first to go being that of the these mines, has been a constant source she in turn, even while protesting against U. S. In 1910 Korea was finally annexthis same extra-territoriality at home. ed formally to Japan. Precisely the hinder the growth of the Hanyeh Ping forced Korea to grant extra-territoriality

same formula is now being applied to to the Jap. The Japs protest violently Manchuria. migration by the U.S. in 1924, but Japan Japan's aggressions in China followed a plan based on recognition that China from free entry to Japan for exactly the cannot be subdued and forced into colosame reason avowed by U.S. capitalism. Front when one ton of ammunition was) when Annam became a "protectorate" | emphasis being placed in these demands | tariffs.

a Hitler-Centrist-Nationalist combination could produce a working majority-and that combination is too fantastic for any practical political possibility. The autocratic regime of presidential decree is to continue in power, with a Reichstag suspended helplessly in mid-air, and a proletariat still too crippled by disunity to

China issue gold notes on the strength

volving practically the entire output of

of conflict due to Japan's use of it to

Co. In January 1928 the Japs prevented

panies in China.

from the whole ineffectual ballotting

comrade Trotsky. Following the example set by their Canadian partners in the offer any effective resistance.

great bandits' enterprise known as the _____ British Empire, the customs authorities and Korea became "neutral" due to Rus- on control of railroads. Among the of the Union of South Africa have just sian opposition to Japan. In 1903 Baron secret clauses of the 21 demands, meant prohibited the entry of "The Problems Komura, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to place China in the early position of of the Chinese Revolution" by Leon warned Czarist Russia in a secret note: Korea, were that the Chinese government Trotsky, recently published here by the

"The unconditional and permanent oc- should employ "influential Jap advisers" Pioneer Publishers. The bundle of copies cupation of Manchuria by Russia would in political, financial and military af- sent to a dealer in Cape Town were concreate a state of things prejudicial to the fairs; that Japanese hospitals, temples fiscated. The official letter of notificasecurity and interests of Japan...if Rus- and schools in China should be granted tion reads as follows:

Trotsky China Book

The sun never sets upon the British

Empire, nor, apparently, upon the sup-

pression or prohibition of the works of

Z. 14. In antwoord geliewe te refereer na In reply please quote No. 372 Unie Van Suid-Africa-Union of South Africa Kantoor van die-Office of the Collector of Customs and Excise, P. O. Box 5. Cape Town. 24th August 1932.

Mr. Manuel Lopes, 152 Longmarket Street Cape Town. **One Packet Containing Books**

Sir. I am advsed by the Commissioner of Customs and Excise that three books en-Meantime Japan encroaches on the titled "Problems of the Chinese Revolugovernor-general. Complete control of material resources she requires in China, tion" contained in a packet addressed particularly the coal and iron mines. By to you is regarded an objectionable withforeign commerce was taken over by the a loan made in 1899 to the Hanyang in the meaning of Section 23 (c) of Act Iron Works, Japan obtained payment in 9 of 1913 and are seized as forfeited under Section 25 of that Act. I have the honor to be,

Sir, Your obedient Servant. (Signature) Collector of Customs and Excise.

the Nationalists from seizing this company. Again in 1929 Hupeh Province The dissemination of the ideas of the was forced to relinquish this company, Left Opposition in South Africa will unone of the largest iron and steel comdoubtedly be rendered more difficult by the arbitrary act of the white ruling Japan has over one and one quarter class there in prohibiting entry to com-

perialism may well ponder.

the cheaper Chinese labor, the nearness position of a large group of native Negro

billion dollars invested in Chinese rail rade Trotsky's work. But these futile L. Adler, Newark weaving plants, mining companies. This gress. In spite of the difficulties, even investment is used for imperialist pur- the remote parts of the world are echoing poses, but it is at the same time the the march of our movement. The recent effort of Japanese capitalists to utilize adherence to the banner of the Left Op-

Crunden Branch Library Auditorium 14th Street and Cass Ave. November 17, 1932 "The Fascist, Socialist and Communist Parties and the German Workers"

ST. LOUIS OPEN FORUM

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1932

Soviet Economy in Danger

tions, the workers of the entire world (Continued from page 1) S. R., as plain, as homogeneous and as must defend tooth and nail their future but by millions as an integral part of comforting as possible. Whoever dis- socialist fatherland which is within this the new economy and culture. There is turbs this picture is none other than state. an enemy and a counter-revolutionist.

A crude and detrimental idealization of the transitional regime has particularly intronched itself in the interna- lay the road for a better future. tional Communist press during the last Prinkipo, October 22, 1932. two years, i. e., during that period in which the contradictions and disproportions of Soviet economy have already found their way into the pages of the official Soviet press.

There is nothing so precarious as sym pathies that are based on legends and fiction. There is no depending on people who require fabrications for their sympathies. The impending crisis of Sothe rather near future, crumple the sugary legend, and, we have no reason to doubt will scatter many dead, beat fuends into the bypaths of indifference, if not of enmity.

What is much worse and much more catch the European workers, and chiefly the Communists, utterly unprepared, and render them receptive to social democratic criticism, which is absolutely inimical to the Soviets and to socialism.

title to historic victory not on the pages of "Das Kapital" but by the praxis of In this question, as in all others, the hydroelectric plants and blast-furnaces. proletarian revolution requires the truth, Marx, it goes without saying, would have and only the truth. Within the scope of this brief pamphlet, I have deemed it However, light-mnded assertions to the necessary to present in all their acuteness the contradictions of Soviet economy, the incompleteness and the pre- entered into socialism are criminal. The ing and spurring ahead in the course cariousness of many of its conquests, the achievements are great. But there still of the final two months will have no efcoarse errors of the leadership and the dangers that stand in the path of socialism. Let our petty bourgeois friends lavishly apply their pink and baby-blue colorations. We deem it more correct to character of economic life. mark with a heavy black line the weak and indefensible points whence the enemy threatens to break through. The clamor about our enmity to the Soviet Union is so absurd as to bear within itself its own antidote. The nearest fu- fundamental reconstruction in the pro- stopped because of the obvious lack of ture will bring with it a new confirmation of our correctness. The Left Opposition teaches the workers to foresee dangers and not to lose themselves when

they impend. He who accepts the proletarian revolu- of new ones. Centralized management under the column of losses. The balance tion not otherwise than with all the implies not only great advantages but sheet of the actual effectiveness (the conveniences and life-long guarantees cannot continue on the road with us. We takes, i. e., of elevating them to an ex- or in the process of construction, from accept the workers' state as it is and we assert, "This is our state." Despite regulation of the plan in the process of balance, still belongs entirely to the fu its heritage of backwardness, despite its fulfillment, its reconstruction in part ture. starvation and sluggishness, despite the and as a whole, can guarantee its econbureaucratic mistakes and even abomina- omic effectiveness.

The art of socialist planning does not drop from heaven nor is it presented fullblown into one's hands with the conquest of power. This art may be attained only by struggle, step by step, not by units nothing either astonishing or disheart-First and foremost we serve the Soviet ening in the fact that at the 15th annirepublic in that we tell the workers the versary of the October revolution the

truth about it and thereby teach them to, art of economic management still remains on a very low plane. The newspaper, For the Industrialization deems it possible to announce, "Our operative planning has neither hands nor feet" (September 12 The prerequisites for socialist planning 1932). And in the meantime, the crux were first laid by the October overturn of the matter is precisely in operative and by the fundamental laws of the Soplanning.

viet state. In the course of a number We have stressed more than once that of years state organs of centralized man-"under incorrect planning or, what is agement of economy were created and more important, under incorrect regulaput in operation. Great creative work tion of the plan in the process of its was performed. What was destroyed by fulfillment, a crisis may develop toward viet economy will inevitably, and within the imperialist and the civil war has the very end of the Five Year Plan and been re-established. New grandiose en- may create insurmountable difficulties terprises were created, new industries, for the utilization and development entire branches of industry. The capac- its indubitable successes" (Bulletin of ity of the proletariat organized into a the Opposition, No. 23, July 15, 1931). state to direct economy by new methods It is precisely for this reason that we and to create material values in tempos considered the hasty and purely fortuit serious is that the Soviet crisis will unheard of hitherto has been demonstrat- ous "translation of the Five Year Plan ed in actuality. All this was achieved into four years was an act of lightminded against the background of decaying adventurism" (idem). Both our fears world capitalism. Socialism, as a sys- and our warnings have been unfortunate tem, for the first time demonstrated its ly fully confirmed.

The Preliminary Totals of the Five Year Plan

At the present moment there cannot even be a discussion about the actual com preferred this method of demonstration. pletion of the Five Year Plan in four years (or more exactly, four years and effect that the U. S. S. R. has already three months). The most frantic lashremains a very long and arduous road fect any longer on the general totals. It to the factual victory over economic an- is as yet impossible to determine the acarchy, to the surmounting of dispropor- | tual percentage, i. e., measured in terms tions, to the guarantee of the harmonious of economy-of the fulfillment of the preliminary program. The data publish-Even though the first Five Year Plan ed in the press take on more a formally took into consideration all possible an- statistical than an exact economical chargles, by the very nature of things it acter. Should the construction of a new could not be anything but a first and a plant be accomplished up to 90 percent rough hypothesis, doomed beforehand to of its completion and then the work be nomic harmony. The planning hypothesis plan as fulfilled 90 percent. But from could not but include old disproportions the point of view of economy the exand the inevitability of the development penses accrued must simply be entered also the danger of centralizing the mis- useful functioning) of plants constructed

> (To be continued) -L. TROTSKY.

Four Years of the Existence of The Militant

* * *

The Art of Planning

(Continued from page 1) pride in the accomplishments. The ticularly the recent experiences have that our future contacts will be recruited and energy. The apparatus will argue: how can the Militant reflects today an organization proven, this also offers additional possismall in numbers but functioning ac- bilities of clarification with the result gle. That itself presupposes that we tively in the endeavor to attain a Marxian platform not only by theoretical disward the Left Opposition. Within the cussion but also in the realities of the life of the class struggle. most decisive disillusionments are still

Some Trade Union Experiences

We have mentioned our organizational growth, yet it is such experiences as

before becoming members. But, as par-1 we continue to pursue a correct course to come and at an accelerated tempo in future struggles. But that also, aside from the general conclusions at which we will arrive there. That there will be such struggles in from, points to the importance of the

THE ONLY ROAD

From the Series of Articles in the Forthcoming Book 'The Only Road' : -: by Leon Trotsky

tee of the Communist party will independently accomplish a turn to the right road? Its whole past demonstrates that it is incapable of doing this Hardly had it begun to rectify itself than the apparatus saw itself before the perspective of "Trotsky ism". If Thälmann himself did not grasp it immediately, then he was told from Moscow that the "part" must be sacrificed for the sake of the "whole", that it. Every Communist who begins to listen to the Left is, the interests of the German revolution for the sake Opposition is cynically given the choice by the bureauof the interests of the Stalinist apparatus. The abashed attempts to revise the policy were once more ism" or else be kicked out of the ranks of the Cominwithdrawn. The bureaucratic reaction again triumphed all along the line.

It is not, of course, a matter of Thälmann. Were the present-day Comintern to give its sections the possibility of living, of thinking and of developing themselves they would long ago, in the last fifteen years, have been able to select their own leading cadres. But the bureaucracy erected instead a system of appointed leaders and their support by m ans of artificial ballyhoo. Thälmann is a product of this system and at the same time its victim.

The cadres, paralyzed in their development, weaken the party. Their inadequacy they supplement with repressions. The oscillations and the uncertainty of the party are inexorably transmitted to the class as a whole. The masses cannot be summoned to bold actions when the party itself is robbed of revolutionary determination.

Even if Thälmann were to receive tomorrow a telegram from Manuilsky on the necessity of a turn to the path of the united front policy, the new zig-zeg at the top would bring little good. The leadership is too compromised. A correct policy demands a healthy régime. Party democracy, at present a plaything of the bureaucracy, must rise again as a reality. The cess of the work. It is impossible to raw material, then from a formally party must become a party, then the masses will becreate a priori a complete system of eco- statistical viewpoint one may enter the lieve it. Practically, this means to put upon the order of the day: an extraordinary party convention and an extraordinary congress of the Comintern.

The party convention must naturally be preceded by an all-sided discussion. All apparatus barriers must be razed. Every party organization, every nucleus has the right to call to its meetings and listen cessively high degree. Only continuous the viewpoint of the national economic to every Communist, member of the party or one expelled from it, if it considers this necessary for the working out of its opinion. The press must be put at the service of the discussion; adequate space must be allotted daily for critical articles in every party paper. Special press commissions, elected at mass meetings of the party members, must supervise that the papers serve the party and not the bureaucracy.

The discussion, it is true, will require no little time much more directly from the class strug- party permit itself the "luxury of discussion" at such that the actual revolutionists turn to become an ever more important factor a critical period? The bureaucratic saviors believe within it. In this respect the experi- that under difficult conditions the party must shut up. social reformist camp, however, the ences from the Illinois coal fields should The Marxists, on the contrary, believe that the more furnish important material for study. difficult the situation, the more important the inde-

The leadership of the Bolshevik party enjoyed, in those recorded in the Illinois mine field the period we are now entering is clear role that the trade unions will play in 1917, a very great esteem. And notwithstanding this, which begin to indicate both substance ly indicated by all developments to date. the future struggle. Hence it is so a series of deep-going party discussions took place and form to our organization. We do Is it to be assumed that Centrism, which much more significant that one of the throughout the year 1917. On the eve of the October and form to our organization. We do is it to be assumed that centrom, which more bounded in our most recent develop-not at all boast of control of the move- is a basic phenomenon and not a mere milestones in our most recent develop-overturn, the whole party debated passionately which

AN IT BE expected that the Central Commit- munists, the energy of the Opposition itself. But the principles and methods we fight for have been tested by the greatest events in world history, by the victories as well as by the defeats. They will make their way.

The successes of the Opposition in every country, Germany included, are indisputable and manifest. But they are developing slower than many of us expected. We may regret this, but we need not be surprised at cracy: either go along with the baiting of "Trotskytern. For the party official, it is a question of position and wages: the Stalinist apparatus plays this key to perfection. But immeasurably more important are the thousands of rank and file Communists who are torn between their devotion to the ideas of Communism and the threatened expulsion from the ranks of the Comintern. That is why there are in the ranks of the official Communist party a great number of partial, intimidated or concealed Oppositionists.

This extraordinary combination of historical conditions sufficiently explains the slow organizational growth of the Left Opposition. At the same time, in spite of this slowness, the spiritual life of the Comintern revolves, today more than ever before, around the struggle against "Trotskyism". The theoretical periodicals and theoretical newspaper articles of the C. P. S. U., as well as the other sections of the Comintern, are chiefly devoted to the struggle against the Left Opposition, now openly, now maskedly. Still more symptomatic in significance is that mad organizational baiting which the apparatus pursues against the Opposition: disruption of its meetings by blackjack methods; employment of all sorts of other physical violence: behind-the-scene agreements with bourgeois pacifists, French Radicals and Freemasons against the "Trotskyists"; the dissemination of envenomed calumnies from the Stalinist center, etc., etc.

The Stalinists perceive much more directly and know better than the Oppositionists to what extent our ideas are undermining their apparatus pillars. The self-defense methods of the Stalinist faction, however, have a double-edged character. Up to a certain moment, they have an intimidating effect. But at the same time they prepare a mass reaction against the system of falsity and violence.

When, in July 1917, the government of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists branded the Bolsheviks as agents of the German General Staff, this despicable measure succeeded at first in exercizing a strong influence upon the soldiers, the peasants and the backward strata of the workers. But when all the further events clearly confirmed the truth of the Bolsheviks, the masses began to say to themselves: so they deliberately slandered the Leninists, they basely incited against them, only because they were right? And the feeling of suspicion against the Bolsheviks was converted into a feeling of warm devotion and love for them. Although under different conditions, this very complex process is taking place now too. By means of a monstrous accumulation of calumnies and repressions, the Stalinist bureaucracy has undeniably succeeded for a period of time in intimidating the rank and file party members; at the same time, it is preparing for the Bolshevik-Leninists an enormous rehabili-

tention which we are repeatedly accused tion, can change and avoid its contradicof by the scribes of the official Lewis- tions of false policies? On the contrary. Walker organ and which they so hypo- As the class struggle develops in incritically curse as a shield under which to continue their nefarious schemes of involved in these contradictions with a regaining control in the only sense understood by them-in the sense of autocratic when we pose the question of the party We did not contest the domination. official party for control. But we did contest it in the struggle for correct which cannot be decided in advance. policies and if anything then more de-| This is not a question merely of indivitinitely so do we in this sense contest duals but of a system of leadership. Thus the reactionary forces at work within the new union. We have in the past, we do today, and we will continue tomorrow, to counterpose our views to in the direction of Communism. **On Future Contacts** theirs and will seek further, on the basis of practical experiences, to convince the It follows from this, that is provided miners that they should follow these

views. In this sense we have achievements to record which will multiply in the future because they indicate already today certain substantial proofs of the correctness of our views. This is first of all measured by the actual results. And here we

can definitely record the fact that the only force fighting directly for a Left lull our party to sleep to the real dan- working agreement be reached. Indicawing union position at the Gillespie convention were those delegates who supported the views of the Left Oppsoition. They had earned the right to do so by their past record of struggle and by their leadership given to the strike. Numerically this force represented only four actual delegates. Thus it will be seen that our beginning is modest from the point of view of numbers but significant in political content.

The Working Class Orientation Proceeding from this the important for the future. The Leftward orienta. tion within the working class ranks flows today in two main directions. It is away from the capitalist ideology and toward both the Communist and the sothe latter has so far gained the most.

It is well to remember the definite contrast between the two. Communism is based upon the proletarian revolution and struggle to achieve this goal. Reformism has no such objective and therefore lands in the position of avoidance of actual and serious struggle. Within from false policies come quicker to a head. This is so because of its deci-

sively marked out objectives and the heavier class pressure upon it. This has in the past, and it inevitably will in the March. But the problems confronting future also, cause disappointment within the imperialists cannot waft until the ranks and result in members leav- March. These problems are on top of ing the party while other's are repelled the capitalists now and must be answer-

tensity it will become the more deeply er penetration into the trade unions. At this time of the fourth anniversary cumulative effect. On the other hand, to extricate itself from Centrism. that, of course, is an entirely different matter that the international revolutionary developments work in our direction with it has its important relations not only to eet to say that our future growth and the members now withn the party ranks levelopments will be achieved at a pace but also to the workers who are coming corresponding to the degree with which we more actively engage ourselves in

the class struggle. -ARNE SWABECK.

Roosevelt's Victory

(Continued from page 1) control of the American workers. inflate our own success and to minimize now. While Hoover hangs on and Roos the reformers' gains against us is to evelt waits they have instructed that a ger confronting us in the immediate per- tions are that this agreement has been iod of the struggle between reform and revolution.

The 1932 opportunist election program, the inability to carry out the Leninist united front tactic outside the parliamentary plane for a solid class foundation upon a Marxian program, created internal shortcomings within the Communist party election activity, that on the one hand played into the hands of the socialists, because the program of Communism of revolution, was blurred with opporquestion occurs as to what it signifies tunist blunders, making it difficult for the worker to see the difference between the parties of reform and revolution and on the other hand where we wor votes on the basis of the opportunist program and confuse this vote and con

sider the WHOLE vote as representing a clear cut revolutionary vote against a reformist vote. Facts remain, that Communist party with an opportunis election program will obtain many re formist votes labeled Communist. When we have detail reports of the socialist and Communist votes, of reform and the Communist movement contradictions revolution, we will return to this problem.

Martin Abern The Democratic party of reaction with Max Shachtman a "liberal" cloak has full power-next Vol. V, No. 46 (Whole No. 142)

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Maurice Spector

EDITORIAL BOARD

March 3. 1879.

with the realities of the trade union of the two sections of the Central Committee was right: queston. But from this the further steps | the majority, which was for the uprising, or the minmust lead in the direction of much deep ority, which was against the uprising. Expulsions and repessions in general, were nowhere to be seen, in spite we see the road of the Left Opposition of the profundity of the differences of opinion. Into clearly marked out. We have attained a these discussions were drawn the non-party masses. basis. A modest one but a significant In Petrograd, a meeting of non-party working women one. While we do not forget the fact dispatched a delegation to the Central Committee in order to support the majority in it. To be sure, the accelerated speed, it is nevertheless cor. discussion required time. But in return for that, there grew out of the open discussion, without threats, lies and falsifications, the general, indomitable certainty of the correctness of the policy, that is, that which alone makes possible the victory.

What course will things take in Germany? Will the small wheel of the Opposition succeed in turning the large party wheel in time? That is how the question stands now. Pessimistic voices are often raised. In the various Communist groupings, in the party it-

ed to their class interests. The real self, as well as its periphery, there are not a few ele-To rulers are making provisions for this ments who say to themselves: in every important question the Left Opposition has a corrct stand. But it is weak. Its cadres are small in number and politically inexperienced. Can such an organization, with reached. The imperialists through this a small weekly paper (DIE PERMANENTE REVOLUTION) successfully counterpose itself to the mighty Comintern machine?

The lessons of events are stronger than the Stalinganization and the international problem ist bureaucracy. We want to be the interpreters of of debts and markets will demand more drastic steps. Roosevelt cannot answer these lessons to the Communist masses. Therein lies these problems, no more than Hoove our historic rôle as a faction. We do not demand, as could. "He" can, however, hurry th do Seydewitz and Co., that the revolutionary proleprocess of strengthening the exploiters tariat should believe us on credit. We allot ourselves position in the coming class struggles and wars and revolutions. Our task is a more modest rôle: we propose our assistance to the to expose this "liberal" friend of the Communist vanguard in the elaboration of the correct "forgotten man" and see to it that in line. For this work we are gathering and training up the leftward shift of the workers we are our own cadres. This stage of preparation may not able to defeat the reformers in their attempt to hold the discontent and strug- be jumped over. Every new stage of struggle will gle in safe channels.-HUGO OHELER push to our side those in the proletariat who reflect the most and are most critical. THE MILITANT

The revolutionary party begins with an idea, a program, which is aimed at the most powerful appar-November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of atus of class society. It is not the cadre that creates the idea, but the idea that creates the cadre. Fear of the power of the apparatus is one of the most conspicuous features of that specific opportunism which the Stalinist bureaucracy cultivates. Marxian critic-James P. Cannon ism is stronger than any and every apparatus.

The organizational forms which the further evolution of the Left Opposition will assume, depend upon many circumstances: the momentum of the historical blows, the degree of resistance power of the Stalin eign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. bureaucracy, the activity of the rank and file Com- PRINKIPO, September 12, 1932.

tation in the eyes of the revolutionary masses. At the present time, there can no longer be the slightest doubt on this score.

Yes, we are today still weak. The Communist party still has masses, but already it has neither doctrine nor strategic orientation. The Left Opposition has already worked out its Marxian orientation, but as yet it has no masses. The remaining groups of the "Left" camp possess neither the one nor the other. Hopelessly does the Leninbund pine away, thinking to substitute the individual fantasies and whims of Urbahns for a serious principled policy. The Brandlerists, in spite of their apparatus cadre, are descending step by step; small tactical recipes cannot replace a revolutionary-strategical position. The S. A. P. has put up its candidacy for the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat. Baseless pretension! Even the most serious representatives of this "party" do not overstep, as Fritz Sternberg's latest book shows, the barriers of Left-Centrism. The more assiduously they seek to create an "independent" doctrine, the more they reveal themselves to be disciples of Thalheimer. But this school is as hopeless as a corpse.

A new historical party cannot arise simply because a number of old social democrats have convinced themselves, very belatedly, of the counter-revolutionary character of the Ebert-Wels policy. A new party can just as little be improvized by a group of Communists who have as yet done nothing to warrant their claim to proletarian leadership. For a new party to arise, it is on the one hand necessary to have great historical events, which would break the backbone of the old parties, and on the other hand, a position in principle worked out, and cadres tested, in the experience of events.

While we are fighting with all our strength for the rebirth of the Comintern and the continuity of its further developments, we are least of all inclined to any fetishism of form. The fate of the proletarian world revolution stands, for us, above the organizational fate of the Comintern. Should the worst variant materialize; should the present official parties, despite all our efforts, be led to a collapse by the Stalinist bureaucracy; should it mean in a certain sense to begin all over again, then the new International will trace its genealogy from the ideas and cadres of the Communist Left Opposition.

And that is why the short criteria of "pessimism" and "optimism" are not applicable to the work which we are carrying through. It stands above the separate stages, the partial defeats and victories. Our policy is a policy of long range.

L. TROTSKY.

'coalition" government until March will be able to move faster. The crisis with its problem of unemployment and reor-