# HAIL THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION!

NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1935



V. I. Lenin

By JAMES P. CANNON November 7th is our day. For internationalists the world over, it is the day of the great vindication of their ideas and the harbinger of their final Peace Parade vctory on an international scale. This is the spirit in which all the authentic which all the authentic representatives of the great prolesentatives of the great prole-tarian revolution in Russia and Figures celebrate its 18th anniversary. Not as a completed, self-suffi- UnionsProtestUse of Name cient national affair, but as a beginning of the international revolution-this is the inner meaning of the workers' victory in Russia as its organizers and leaders explained it and as we Parade for Peace . . . the metrounderstand it. We hail the politan papers put the figure at Russian revolution as the pre- 15,000, including 2000 followers of lude to the world "October."

The Russian revolution represents the triumph of an idea make it clear that the Daily which had penetrated the mass- Worker's estimate was arrived at es and become a material force. by counting the organizations who Marx transformed socialism did not march in the particular the American Youth Congress the from utopia to science; the following: Russian revolution developed the science into action. Since November 7, 1917 the theoretical concept of the proletarian revolution has been a demonstrated reality over one-sixth of the globe and an imminent challenge to the whole capitalist world. That is why the Soviet Union has been and remains the great magnet of attraction for the revolutionary workers in all countries.

the regroupment of the van- a ringing statement endorsing the guard which had been dispersed People's March for Peace ... Waland demoralized by the treachery of the Social Democracy in the war, and also the rallying point for the masses in their



in Jamboree Led by Father Divine

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The Daily Worker reports that 50,000 turned out for the People's Father Divine's eggshell-blue limousine.

Two letters we have received did not march in the parade. From

"Editor, New Militant "2 West 15th Street "New York City "Dear Sir:

"The national council of the American Youth Congress did not meet in time to consider the People's March for Peace. Therefore any public statement to the effect that we have endorsed this demonstration is unauthorized. Very truly yours,

William M. Hinckley, **Executive Secretary.**" Our information was derived from an article on page 1 of the It was the inspiring force in Daily Worker for October 22: "In

**INSPIRED!** 

(Continued on Page 5)

**Extend the October Revolution!** 



# **574's Fighting Policy Thorn** In the Side of Labor Skates

Assistance Rendered to Six Strikes in Other Industries Resulted in Victory

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Oct. 31.- A representative of the Green-Woll-Tobin gang yesterday brought into the open plans for a pogrom against the famous General Drivers Union Local 574.

In a statement to the press, Meyer Lewis, representative of William Green, A. F. of L. president, declared that he was in Minneapolis to superintend a "purge" of labor organizations. Making no pretense that the "purge" was to be limited to the central labor body-the Green-Woll-Tobin gang were defeated at the recent Atlantic City convention in their attempt to secure authorization for expulsion of radicals from the unions, but did secure a provision giving central bodies authority to expel radical



Most "Labor Trouble"

By ART PREIS Toledo and Minneapolis newspapers have been heaving editorial each one offering the palm to the movement in the country.

in the Toledo News-Bee (Scripps- This made it the largest union in Howard sheet) on October 16 is a the city. Its militant leadership numorous commentary on how the and success, its popularization of pourgeoisie is "whistling in the the slogan, "Make Minneapolis a lark," and likewise an eloquent Union Town," and its aid to other tribute to the effective work of the unions, inspired hitherto dormant

dustry.

cued by Local 574.

delegates—Lewis bluntly indicated that "the big guns of the American Federation of Labor" would be aimed also at organizations outside the A. F. of L. ranks.

PRICE 3 CENTS

Are Right As proving the necessity to bring about "an industrial employer and employee relationship which is truly American," Lewis named the Toledo and Mpls. Press Argue on which City Has iron workers and the Strutwear hosiery workers' strike which is still going on.

### 574 Leads Minneapolis Labor

Teamsters' International. Despite

this move, which split the Minnea-

polis labor movement wide open,

half the Central Labor Union dele-

gates refusing to unseat 574's dele-

gates, a majority for unseating be-

ing secured only after a threat to

lift the charter of the central body,

Local 574 and the unions grouped

around it have continued to grow

in strength. Last month Local 574

won from the employers closed-shop

contracts covering the transport in-

The other two strikes mentioned

by Green's representative were res-

Iron Workers' Strike

The ornamental iron workers'

strike, led by an A. F. of L. union

against a plant owned by Walter

Tetzlaff, notorious leader of the

union-busting Citizens Alliance,

was endangered by scabs escorted

into the plant by Farmer-Labor

Mayor Latimer. The Farmer-Labor

administration refused to enforce

an anti-scab ordinance forbidding

housing of employees in an indus-

trial plant. On appeal from the

striking union. Local 574 sent rep-

resentatives to sit on the strike

committee and sent its powerful

picket lines to close down the plant.

In a desperate attempt to open

the plant, the Farmer-Labor admin-

istration's police climaxed a three-

night attack on the picket lines

with an armored-car shooting bar-

rage on September 11. Two work-

ers were killed. But the strike

held strong until the boss was com-

pelled to settle with the union on

Aid Hosiery Workers' Struggle

Green's representative as an excuse

for a "purge" of "radical commun-

istic groups" is being conducted di-

rectly under the leadership of the

national office of the American Fed-

The other strike mentioned by

Preceded by a successful coal drivers' strike in January, 1934 and bouquets at each other recently, a general strike of other drivers four months later, the famous July, other's city for the distinction of 1934 strike of Local 574, which rehaving the most militant labor ceived nationwide attention, established the union's control of the

The following editorial published transport industry of Minneapolis.

ist countries was expressedas Lenin taught-by the revival of the revolutionary fight against the exploiters at home. That is the line upon which we reconstituted the American graphs of the Ethiopian war, none today.

The Russian revolution demthe proletariat and showed that the pictures are bona fide. revolutionary Marxism alone is This is the most obvious ex- come. equal to the highest test of the propaganda about the war is being victory who stood on a historic level with the founders of the the people's enemies in the civil through this filter except stories war and the war of intervention satisfactory to the Fascists. the unbounded resourcefulness, the Russian Revolution to the Ethiopians already were calling out French imperialist state. whole class. What miracles of Buon Giorno." energy may confidently be ex- Unfortunately, the lack of ad-

(Continued on Page 8)

J. P. Cannon

A. J. Muste

28 newspapers with a total daily circulation of 5,500,000, and other newspapers carrying the Hearstowned International News Photo Service, are being daily fed photo-photographers, but are supplied to

Hearst by Mussolini's official pic- internal political crisis in France. its Congress last week as an "alli- he speaks in this spirit "l'Humanture agency, Luce ! Editors have to Laval stands today atop a teetering ance of the third estate and the ite" nods happily: "We cannot but onstrated the heroic qualities of rely on the Italian firm's word that structure which will dissolve and proletariat." The Radical Socialist disappear in the decisive days to

capable of shaping leaders ample of the way in which Fascist France faces civil war. The result will be either a new star in the historic turning point of hu- fed to the American masses. But revolutionary workers' and peas-it is only part of the story. Mus- revolutionary workers' and peasfed to the American masses. But European Fascist constellation or a manity. In the persons of solini has made special arrange ants' government. The choice of Lenin and Trotsky the revolu- ments to accomodate the Hearst, those two alternatives is being made tion found its authentic repre- United Press and Associated Press now, when the preparation of the sentatives-organizers of the correspondents directly behind the French working class for the offen-Italian lines. This is in order to sive against war and Fascismsecure "eyewitness stories," which which means and can only mean the carry more plausibility than the offensive against the bourgeois state doctrine, Marx and Engels. In usual dispatches. But all corre- - is the only hope of preventing the organization of the Red spondents' reports must travel the Fascism from grinding the workers' Army and its magnificent and regular military wireless route, organizations out of existence and victorious campaigns against the again at Rome. Nothing gets war.

What is monstrous in the present crisis in France is the fact that the An example of the usefulness to way may well be paved to fascism creative energy and courage of the Fascists of so-called eyewitness and to war by a Government of the the historically rising class was stories is the A. P. dispatch sent Front Populaire. Under the direct displayed. The working class, by Anarue Beruing, who is being present of the Front Populaire is striving to accomodated by high officers of the Front Populaire is striving to even in a backward country in the Italian Army. According to prove to the French bourgeoisie which it constitutes but a small this lackey, on a 26 hour visit to that it does not intend to fight the percentage of the total popula- the northern front, he found the bourgeois state, that it is capable tion, is capable of making its natives not only already accuss of mobilizing the French workers revolution and also of defend-but that "Scores of Ethiopians gave Fascism—for the defense of "demo-

**Class Struggle Set Aside** 

Class lines and the class struggle for "passionate devotion to national pected from the working class in the advanced countries when in the advanced countries when Ethiopian side have so far made ings the red flag of the workers is the masses are fused with a it impossible to counteract the set alongside the tricolor of the Herriot, minister in the Laval gov- strators and in addition give the The Auto-Lite strike was merely a Marxist leadership at the mo- Fascist propaganda by more ac-French bourgeoisie. On its plat- ernment, responsible for the miserforms sit representatives of the able regime of decree-laws, wage 'curate news.

# point for the masses in their struggle against capitalism on a world-wide arena. The will to defend the Soviet Union to the Kettle," is here given in its entirety. **Government for Imperialist Defense**

By H. F. ROBERTS Approaching war - now closer

than ever with the impending conmovement. It remains our line of which are taken by American clusion of an Anglo-French alliance 6," urged the Front Populaire policy --- is hastening the maturing of the

French bourgeoisie. Daladier, "the ists of France are not concerned. murderer of workers of February For Herriot is an adherent of "collective security" and the Covenant upon the Radical Socialist Party at of the League of Nations and when approve of these words and it would be good if Laval could be in-

French workers and the Daladiers, cuts, bloody repression against the

the Cots, the representatives of the workers. With all this the Stalin-

Britain Acts for the 'Small Nations' I

Since 1870 the British govern nent has annexed the following 'independent" territories :

Baluchistan, Burma, Cyprus, North Borneo, Wei-hai-Wei, Hongkong, Koweit, Sinai, North Guinea, South Guinea, East Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga Islands, Egypt, Sudan, Uganda, British East Africa, British Som ali, Zanzibar, Transvaal, Orange Free State, Rhodesia, British Central Africa, Nigeria.

In addition, the following territories were mandated to Brit ain at the end of the World War: South West Africa, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Trans-Jordania, Tanganyika, Togo, Cameroons Samoa and other Pacific islands. And Sir Samuel Hoare says Britain is now acting in the interests of "small nations"!

FRANCE

The Key to the Int'n'l Situation

ing it. This is the message of the Fascist salute" and "Young gracy" - for the defense of the Party, which stands at the head of ers, from 15,000 to 20,000-and the the Front Populaire, closed its new men were ordered to posts in congress with resolutions calling 150 towns in the Seine and adjoin-

> At the head of this party stands on the carrying of arms by demon- is merely wistful wish-thinking. (Continued on Page 5)

"The Pot to the Kettle "The Minneapolis Journal evidently has had a young man out over the country, engaged in 'drawing the fire.'

"The Journal, in a city with the worst record for strike violence of any city in America, came out on Oct. 11 with a piece entitled 'New Factories Shun Toledo, City Torn by Violence of Strikes.

"We can imagine that they had a staff meeting at The Journal. spired by them." (Sept. 30). The following that city's latest killing Stalinists are not so interested in on the streets, and the editor told protecting the workers against Her-'em: 'Boys, we've got to do some riot but they gratuitously offer to thing to show that Minneapolis protect Herriot against the Fascists. isn't so had, after all. Let's get a **Protection for the French Bruening** piece about Toledo. That ought to make Minneapolis look pretty "We can assure you." wrote the C.P. to the Radical Socialist Party good'

"We will give The Journal piece in Lyon, "that the adherents of our party are determined not to permit credit, nevertheless, for its recoginjury to a hair on the head of nition that things have changed those who fight for bread, peace for the better in Toledo during the past summer, and particularly and liberty-and in the very first place, of Chairman Herriot." (Quot since the philosophy of the Toledo Plan has been applied.

"Throughout the country, how-Herriot is a member of the Laval ever, there has been a lot of finger pointing at Toledo. Cities in trouble of their own have striven to boil up Toledo labor stories running back to the old Auto-Lite rioting story to draw the fire from their own labor controversica

"Toledo has had troubles to be sure, but at no time have these heen a circumstance to what they have been painted by our loving rival cities.

Short Memories

Of course, that crack about things terms favorable to the strikers. turning for the better in Toledo during the past summer-meaning that have succeeded in putting the quistrictions on public demonstrations, etus on the labor movement here-

(Continued on Page 5) Irving Place & 15th St.

Sunday, Nov. 3 - 8 P.M. **IRVING PLAZAHALL** 

eration of Hosiery Workers, unit (Continued on Page 8)

ing regions-the proletarian heart the industrialists, etc., of Toledo

government the right to dissolve beginning, and not an end, as the

tions of the workers-just like the decrees of Bruening, von Papen and von Schleicher-to ease the way for the Hitler, the de la Rocque of tomorrow.

ed by Populaire, Oct. 19.)

The most important of these de crees increased the Garde Mobile, which is a force educated in the



### PAGE 2

But the move of the company scribes a visit of Stalin to his "dear

union naturally failed. John House, old mother." Any hack who trans-

"the company union will never bite gave me"-is due for a sure fire

LEFT

JABS

By BILL

All the old, worn-out claptrap of

bourgeois democracy finds a ready

market in Moscow today. In an

Florists' Association "Pravda" de-

. . .

The Daily Worker announces

a real "religious Catholic." ("Real

suggest as the first article of the

Browder, I knows it Browder-our

\* \* \*

CHAMPS

"POPE'S COUSIN ONCE

REMOVED'



By BILL REICH

### PEACE ON EARTH

August 1, 1935 mounted to more than \$120,000,000 or 20 percent above 1934. An increase of 29 per- munist party membership book iscent is expected as compared to a sued in the name of Bertrand with Mini. general world trade gain of 2 per- Warner, and an I.L.D. membership cent. The price level of arms dropped only 14 percent compared with a general world price drop of torney for Warnick, to a member 50 percent. . . . The National Coun- of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense cil for the Prevention of War urges asks him to "get us all the help that the present U. S. embargo on you can" in the Warnick case. The arms and ammunitions be extended National Sacramento Appeal Comto cover loans, credits and raw ma- mittee, which is handling the apterials for war purposes. . . 10,000 peal of Norman Mini, Prisoner Ethiopia via Cuba. . . . U. S. motor fights for the release of all criminmanufacturers have sold 2,200 al syndicalism victims in California, Chain-Gang trucks to Italy in the past five has voted to aid Warnick's fight to months. . . . In reply to Secretary stay in this country. Hull's request that no war materwith Italy for 40 years and is not ready to quit now."

### CIVILIZATION

"I refuse to believe that Britain will make war on Italy for the sake of a barbarian country," says Mussolini. . . . Carrying sticks for guns and obeying the gibbering commands of a leader, a squad of baboons was seen going through mimic military maneuvers after watching Ethiopian soldiers drill near Addis Ababa. . . . Meeting in Amsterdam, a committee of 339 psychiatrists. representing 30 nations declared want to deport him from the counthat war is a manifestation of insanity and that Hitler and Mussolini who glorify war suffer from want every militant worker to un-"hallucinations and delusions." . . derstand that to take part in a "Il Duce impressed me as being strike struggle or a union organiz-to get a writ, an appeal will be probably the calmest ruler in the ing drive is to become subject to world today," remarked Henry Al- the most bitter and endless perselen, former Governor of Kansas, cution. after a half hour interview with

\* \* 4

Mussolini. . . .

### EDUCATION

every friend of civil rights. Pro-One schoolboy in Massachusetts, two in Pennsylvania, have been ex- tests should go at once, from orpelled from their classes for refusing to salute the flag. . . . The Ohio Veterans of Foreign Wars proposes the enactment of a state law requiring school children to take an Warnick. The N.S.A.C. will be glad national constitutions twice weekly. to transmit to Warnick's attorney Defense of Herndon, organized by ing to submit sworn statements . French psychologists are con- any funds contributed to his de-

ducting extensive experiments with fense. The N.S.A.C. is continuing its children to find their reaction to pets. . . In Williard, Ohio, Eugene Raymond W. Henderson, Bakers- tion of the new Herndon pamphlet. issuing complaints against the more Truschel, 11, despondent because field attorney who handled the fa- Already 4,000 copies have been sold. than twenty known vigilantes. Prethere wasn't a bite of food in the mous Wobbly trials, is now prepar- A few more are available at 2 cents vious interviews with victims of the house, offered his pet rabbit as ing his brief. Contributions should each or \$1.50 per hundred, at the vigilantes have been turned into spring after the betrayal by Clahhouse, offered his pet rabbit as ing his brief. Contributions should each or \$1.50 per hundred, at the support to his mother and brothers be made payable to Harry W. office of the N.P.L.D., 22 East 17th office of the N.P.L.D., 22 East 17th economic and political opinions be to the rubber workers in view of the workers can achieve it. How they have the total of the data of total of the state of total of and sisters. He then hanged him- Laidler, Chairman, National Sacra- Street, N. Y. C.

Protest Against the Frame-Up and Deportation of Jack Warnick

It has been revealed that the evi- room strike and other union work. lence being used against Jack During the criminal syndicalism Warnick by Federal immigration trial in Sacramento, Warnick and authorities seeking to deport him | Mini protested against the C. P. Stimulated by the Italo-Ethiopian to Canada consists of material ob- defense policies in several respects. conflict, world arms exports to tained from the Sacramento court When the C.P. tried to wipe out its

LABOR DEFENSE FRONT

which acquitted him in the crim- record of disruption by denouncing inal syndicalism trial in April. Mini as a stool-pigeon, Warnick issued a statement blasting the slan-This material consists of a Comderers and expressing solidarity

He resigned from the C. P. and book in the name of Jack Warnick was subsequently "expelled," with A letter from Austin Lewis, atthe proper ceremonies of denunciation. He was "charged" with being "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite," but in fact has not been connected with the political movement since leaving the C. P.

Missouri mules were shipped to 57606 in San Quentin, and which Herndon Sick; Faces

Angelo Herndon surrendered to "The hounding of Warnick," ac- the Georgia authorities October 28 ials be sent to Italy, Walter Teagle, | cording to Herbert Solow, Secretary | in accordance with the orders of president of the Standard Oil Co. of the National Sacramento Appeal the U.S. Supreme Court. An atof N. J., announced indignantly: Committee, "is a continuation of torney immediately applied for a "My firm has been doing business the drive to smash California un-writ of habeas corpus on the ionism. Warnick is guilty of no grounds that the ancient slave incrime. He was acquitted even by surrection law under which Hern-

the frame-up court in Sacramento. don was sentenced to 18 to 20 years Six years ago he tried to take out on a chain gang has never undernaturalization papers, but could not gone a test of constitutionality. prove that he had been born in Montreal because that city had no Nov. 12. In the meantime, the court has ordered that he shall not birth registration. Consequently, he was not naturalized.

"It is not enough for the Associ-(Atlanta) before the issue is setated Farmers and Chamber of Com- tled. He is now lodged in Fulton a united front of thirty-one workmerce that they have put Warnick's Towers, the county jail. While he ers' organizations, is being supportwife, Caroline Decker, in Tehachapi is thus saved for the moment from ed in this country by the Non-Par-

Warnick from alleviating her suffer- gered by the damp atmosphere in Warnick from alleviating her suller- gereu by the using transfers view of the suller by the using transfers view of the suller fullon Towers. Herndon suffers view for the suller fullon to the suller form construction bronchtry in which he has spent his whole itis, the latter being almost as bad

life since the age of two. They as tuberculosis. Should Herndon win a writ, he

trict Attorney Wm. F. Cowan of made all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, demanding such a writ. This would involve a long

having one of their own representatives present. Mr. and Mrs. Sol Nitzberg and Charles Mayer met at the whole working class and to case.

Frances Perkins, Secretary of La- told, the courts could grant or reproceedings in the case of Jack while the issue is fought out. The Joint Committee to Aid the

In an intensive internal discus-

sion organized by the June meeting

of the National Committee and con-

tinuing until the October meeting

the issues were debated before the

party membership and the position

of Oehler and Stamm was rejected

by an overwhelming majority. The

resolutions of the Oehler-Stamm

group and articles in support of

their position were published with-

out discrimination in the internal

bulletin distributed to all party

members. At membership discus-

latte of the Socialist Party. The Cleveland committee is the latest sub-committee to be set up in the Sacramento movement. Its forces are now organizing for the

and circulating collection lists. Other sub-committees are functioning in San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, Boston, and are being organized in several other cities.

Court Reverses Ruling In Ohio Railroading

Mike Lindway, National Screw Co. striker framed on a dynamite charge in Cleveland, Ohio, has advanced a step in his fight for free-

dom. The Ohio Court of Appeals reversed the conviction on the grounds that certain evidence used by the prosecutor should not have dustries may compel a new trial of the fold. Lindway, according to Tor Ceder-

vall, secretary of Local 2 of the with the young officials of the in- Lay-offs! G.D.C.

### Mendieta Gag-Law Outlawed in Cuba

declared unconstitutional a news- of the 12,000 workers in the two union moves has helped greatly in is now on the order of the day. I Herndon's motion will be heard dieta regime, conditions for the lies built by Goodyear in the 20

be removed from Fulton County Prisoners may be eased somewhat. fide union. The work of this Committee, itself

Prison. Now they want to prevent the chain-gang, his health is endan- tisan Labor Defense.

Santa Rosa, Cal.

would be retried. Should he fail

struggle, somewhat similar to "Warnick is deserving of wide Mooney's repeated efforts to force support. His case is of concern to the Supreme Court to act on his

During such a struggle, whose Santa Rosa by appointment, but trying to foist the cost of a price ganizations and individuals, to eventual outcome cannot be fore- Mr. Cowan refused to conduct his war upon the backs of the already inquiries in the presence of Ernest underpaid workers. bor, Washington, D.C., calling for fuse bail as they chose. Herndon Besig, Director of the American the abandonment of deportation might have to go to the chain-gang Civil Liberties Union from San

the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and from all three. ing its petition campaign. The N.P. Mr. Besig, "that Mr. Cowan by of America and asked for re-admis-

Francisco. The entire group there-

drive for funds for the Mini appeal. L.D. has brought out a special edi- delays is maneuvering to escape use they did not have the protec. the facts of today? These are ques-

forces are now organizing for the mass meeting, selling pamphlets Confidence in OwnStrength; NoReliance in Boards PRAVDA ON "MOTHER" or Labor Fakers Is the Road to Victory

claimed to be there to help the

Fight for Six-hour Day

New Rubber Union

**Opportunities Big for** 

By JACK WILSON

workers. That's why 150 workers article that outdoes a 1927 Mother's jammed the meeting and asked for Day speech by the president of the AKRON, Ohio, Oct. 28 .- The prelude to a new epoch in the history the return of the six-hour day. of the labor movement in the rubber industry is being written by the Goodyear local president, told the lates into Russian the song "Mother" United Rubber Workers of America tional union following two years of workers at a mass meeting that -"M is for the million things she constant defeats for the workers the hand that feeds it. Join our success. under the reactionary leadership of

bona-fide union and we'll really the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. fight together against the rubber Not only did the rubber workers barons! distinguish themselves by freeing the unions here from the strangle-

The other union leaders took up hold of William Green and his been allowed in the case. Prisoner henchman at their convention but the cry. Warned by the NEW with justifiable pride that a "First 69549 of the Columbus Pen, and now they are leading a fight against MILITANT, the progressive and Cousin (once removed) of the Pope" the General Defense Committee the establishment of an eight-hour other unionists were prepared for has come out in favor of the Stalwhich handled his case, thus win a day and wage cuts. Non-union the rubber barons. They used the inist Peaceful People's Peace Proreal victory. The Associated In- members are rapidly returning to slogans advocated in these columns: gram and joined the League Against Fight for the Six-Hour Day! No War and Fascism. The D. W. says

Sunday night a mass meeting Wage Cuts! No Discrimination in that this "once removed cousin" is

"Only through the United Rub- religious" to differentiate her from ternational union as speakers was ber Workers of America can the the ordinary Stalinist stooge type.) attended by nearly 2,000 workers, the largest gathering since the fall workers fight against the attempt The cousin is all for Pope Plous of 1933 when the unions were just of the companies to lower the miser- but the "D. W." informs us that able standard of living!" This mes- she has learned "that more than formed. The futile "effort" of the Good- sage has been patiently explained prayers are needed to preserve

year company union to fight against to workers at meeting after meet-peace." "Organic Unity" of "Christ's The Cuban Supreme Court having the 8-hour day under the pressure ing. The futility of the company Vicar" and "the infallible Leader"

paper gag-law adopted by the Men- plants here has neatly exposed the establishing this truth. Boldly the leadership of the in- new creed: "I believe in the Holy work of the Cuban National Com- years existence of this tool, and ternational is trying to meet the Roman Catholic Church, the formittee for Amnesty for Political swung more workers into the bona- challenge of the rubber barons. giveness of sins, the life everlast-Holding mass meetings; the picket ing, the indivisibility of peace, and lines; patiently teaching the facts the infallibility of Stalin." - "I

#### **Union Active**

to the workers; these are correct knows it, Browder, I knows it, The United Rubber Workers' steps to rebuild the unions. But there is much more that can line's been changed again." leaders took quick advantage of the exposure of the company union. A be done and must be done if the committee went to the Goodyear challenge is to be met successfully. president and demanded a return to And the first thing is the necessity the six-hour day. Mass meetings of realizing that the federal gov were held. A picket line was es- ernment, despite talk of Madame tablished around the entrance of Perkins, won't do anything.

the Goodyear plants, urging the SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 21.-Dis- workers to rejoin the union. The Union Buyers club held mili-Sonoma County late today refused | tant demonstrations at the factories to accept statements from three pleading to all workers to join the victims of the Santa Rosa vigilan- union so that a real fight against tes, so long as they insisted upon the starvation policies of the rub-

ber barons could be made. These facts indicate what the temper of the rubber workers has the District Attorney's office in become as the rubber barons are

Significant too is the open letter written by the independent union leaders who have been fighting the upon departed with Besig, promis- A. F. of L. since they were ousted. for trying to form prematurely the international union. These leaders "It is perfectly obvious," declared praised the United Rubber Workers

union. What has caused this seemingly sudden lift from the apathy of last

joining the ranks. They are writ-

ing a good first chapter in the fu-

ture history of the labor movement

A continuation and intensification

of the efforts, bringing more sharply

into play the progressive program

can re-establish a six-hour day.

candidates in Bridgeport and the pledge of support "to Jasper Macthe workers into seeing that organ- Levy and the entire S.P. slate."-

Daily Worker smelled equally as

\* \* \*

"Jasper McLevy is a bosses' skate

-our line's been changed again.

Now we vote the S. P. slate our

strong as the other two.

THE CHANGING LINE

not the workers'.

turning the six-hour day. Quite to line's been changed again." The

against the workers.

"Detroit Michigan, Oct. 21.-A leaflet issued by the Young Communist League here, calling for the support of Morris Sugar, labor's No Illusions in Boards candidate for the Common Council, carries the picture of three champs -Joe Louis, Tommy Bridges and

helped in the rubber betrayal this spring. Likewise, at best she will Morris Sugar." — Daily Worker, only appoint a fact-finding board. Oct. 22-The Daily Worker should But the rubber workers know the have added that the three champs facts. Smaller pay checks with were blindfolded, then copies of the more work speak for themselves. "Mirror," the "News," and the No illusions must be tolerated "Daily Worker" were placed before their noses, all agreed that the

government. It has in the past, it does today, and it will tomorrow do all in its power to aid the rubber

The workers must realize that the simple act of their joining the union will not mean that the com-

panies will be frightened into re-

the contrary. The rubber barons Daily Worker of October 24 anwill fight more strongly than ever nounces the withdrawal of all C.P.

What is necessary is to educate

ization can mean something only if "I knows it, Browder, etc." it has the correct program, not only

"I will support all moves of the Capitalists have never given any- League of Nations or any individual thing voluntarily. Only insofar as nation for genuine peace"-O. C. the rubber workers have strength Doolan, Communist candidate in to force their demands, by strike, East Edmonton as reported in the Explaining the two-month delay valiant fight against Green and if necessary, can they succeed in Canadian Worker. Point 6 of the 21 conditions for admission to the Third Internation-Until this is permanently estabal, "Every party that wishes to belished in the workers' minds and long to the Third International is they are convinced they must fight obligated to unmask not only open talism forced the rubber barons to with this fundamental idea as social patriotism, but also the distheir policy, the hard work of the honesty and hypocrisy of socialunion leaders will come to naught. pacifism, and systematically bring The basis for the defeats by the to the attention of the workers the A. F. of L. bureaucrats lay in their fact that, without the revolutionary class-collaboration philosophy. They overthrow of capitalism, no kind of preached that the rubber barons international court of arbitration, and the workers were brothers. no kind of an agreement regarding The latest company moves tears the limitation of armaments, no this falsehood apart. The lesson of kind of a 'democratic' renovation of this should not be forgotten. the League of Nations will be able The progressive platform of the to prevent fresh imperialistic wars." United Rubber Workers, which rec--But "the line's been changed again." Today, any C. P. member carrying out Point 6 is a "counterrevolutionary Trotskyite" and is excluded from the C. P., while the the union too. spokesmen and press of the C. I. Continue the Battle with Stalin at the head, are busy By starting a fight against the painting up that old prostitute hag, companies, the union leaders have the League of Nations as a bloomaroused the workers who are re- ing, peace-loving virgin.

Remember, this same woman

regarding the role of the federal

barons. For it is their government

mento Appeal Committee, Room 707 self to leave one less mouth to feed.

**Importance of Case** 

### LAND OF THE FREE

. . .

David Ashcraft, crippled news brought to the West coast from his In Cleveland seller, killed his five-year old son birth-place, Montreal, at the age of of New York orates on freedom: "The American Citizen is still the Statement of Nat'l Comm.

master of his fate, captain of his soul and sovereign over his government, thanks to the glorious workmanship of the men who labored under the eye of George Washington in framing the Constitution of the United States." . Original American citizens, the Poosepatuck Indians, who have and Stamm, hopelessly defeated and tional throughout the world, and been occupying a 500 acre reserva- isolated in the Workers Party and Trotsky and the French Bolsheviktion near Mastic, N. P., since 1700 despairing of their ability to influ- Leninists in particular. Their pohave been served with an eviction notice. A white neighbor claims avoid further disintegration of their reactionary sectarian cliques, repthe land. . . .

\* \* \*

RELIEF

um of the National Committee, fringes of the movement for the The New York, New Haven and which witnessed the rejection of the Fourth International and devote Hartford Railway has asked for a Oehler-Stamm position and the con- themselves exclusively to a vene-\$5,000,000 loan from the R.F.C. Its demnation of their disruptive meth- mous though ineffective struggle current liabilities are \$36,000,000, ods by a vote of 18 to 2, they have against it. its assets \$20,000,000 ... John Has- proceeded to address their appeal to the "public." kin, 52, of Chicago faced eviction. Unable to endure the red tape of A publication of the faction has applying for relief, he slashed both been issued as a rival to the party wrists and turned on the gas. He press. Members of the faction left six children fatherless. . . Miss were put up to attack the party and Lucy Gillet of the New York Asso- its position at a public meeting in ciation for Improving the Condition New York on October 20. On Octoof the Poor defends the 25 cent a ber 27 the faction held a public day food allowance of the home re- meeting devoted to slanderous atlief bureau as being adequate for tacks on the party. By these acts an emergency diet. . . In Kentncky | Oehler and Stamm have put themrelief averages \$7 a month, or 5 selves outside the ranks of the cents a day per person. . . . Lewis Workers Party and taken their W. Douglas, former director of the place in the camp of its enemies. Together with Zack, who left the Budget, states: "Relief expenditures Stalinist party before he was cured, must be cancelled if our government is to be saved." . . . Roger Ochler and Stamm advanced a Babson, statistician, predicts a per- platform of sterile sectarianism iod of prosperity accompanied by completely alien to the concepts a lowered standard of living. His and methods of Bolshevism and deformula for prosperity: "If employ-ers were encouraged to extend their "third period" radicalism of the tory of the workers' movement does and to make profit, three fourths slanders borrowed from the arsenal not know another example of such plant, to conduct sales campaigns Stalinists. With arguments and of the unemployed would be ab of the Stalinists they conduct a thorough-going, fair and democratic frenzied campaign against the liv- discussion sorbed immediately."

I Union Square, N. Y. C. Jack Warnick is a graduate of the Sac'to Defense Meet 41 Union Square, N. Y. C. University of California. He was

to do it," he said. "The boy was States ever since. He was a lead- ist, will preside at a mass meeting letter to Besig complained that and an opportunity for the rubber stolen from them by the companies. all I had in the world, but I had ing militant of the now-extinct called by the Cleveland sub-com- "None of these victims, except one, workers themselves to guide their to do it. I didn't want him dragged Cannery and Agricultural Workers mittee of the National Sacramento ever solicited a personal interview through the world the way I've Industrial Union, and belonged, Appeal Committee on Nov. 1 at 8 with this office. . . ." In today's been. I carried him over to the with Caroline Decker and Norman P.M. The meeting will take place brief conference the District Attorstove and held him there while the Mini, to the faction which dared in Morgan Hall, 1550 E. 40th St. ney also asserted that, "If it weregas filled the room. Then I fell, criticize the policies of Sam Darcy The speakers will be F. Cedervall n't for outside interference, these After that I just remember being of the Communist party. He was of the I.W.W., Joseph Knight of people would be content to do noth-

of the Workers Party

The opposition group of Oehler ing forces of the Fourth Interna-

ence the party members or even to sition is identical with that of the

Party. Following the October Plen- groups, which vegetate on the

sick." . . . Representative Sol Bloom active in the Redwood City mush- the Workers Party and J. Sommer- ing."

tion of counsel. The district at- tions in every progressive's mind torney is doing no more than at- which need an answer. tempting to put our clients in a Struggle of Rubber Barons

bad light." We have already mentioned the

rather than see him starve. "I had two and has lived in the United John N. Thurber, leading Social- in taking any action, Cowan in a company. This gave self-autonomy wresting back the wages and hours union.

> Then the inexorable laws of capitry to save their profits, defeat their competition and fight for monopoly control of the industry which created the basis for the present up-

swing of labor. Moreover, the October meeting To defeat competition Goodyear,

of the National Committee laid Firestone, Goodrich and the others down regulations to guarantee the had to sell tires and other articles minority the same rights to present for lower prices. But they wanted their case in the period preceding to make profit so they naturally the second convention of the party wanted to cut wages. That's why which is to convene on Dec. 27. they introduced the eight-hour day This opportunity is still open to under which a worker toils 40 hours ognizes this idea-class strugglea month more but receives only \$3 as embodied in the constitution, the Oehler-Stamm group if they wish to return to the party and extra! In other words, he gets gives a good basis for winning back longer hours and a wage cut. conduct themselves as loyal mem-

bers. Their refusal to accept it is The workers began to fight only a confession of lack of confiagainst this move. At Goodyear the own ranks in the internal party resented most typically in this dence in their ability to influence company union was meeting. discussion, have left the Workers country by the Weisbord and Field the party members with their ar-



adopted at the rubber workers'

convention, will bring further suc-Building of the Association for cess and stave off the drive of the Adequate Relief, Newark section of the N.U.L., goes on at a rapid pace. companies.

in rubber.

It

The battle between the capitalists and the workers has begun four locals and three headquarters. The party program has been very more openly than ever before in the favorably received by individual rubber industry. Final victory can come to the workers only when the Unemployed League members. present decaying system is buried A committee is working to set up in its grave and a socialist economy a local organization of the Sacra- under the control of the workers mento Appeal Committee. The So- lives in its place. In this epoch of imperialism with cialist party here is inclined to nothing but war and further degragive lip-service to this work. dation of the workers' standards The Newark branch will hold possible under capitalism, no illuopen forums every Sunday night, sions can be tolerated that security the first having been held on Oct. 27. and peace will reign in the future. This can come only under a work-An Entertainment Committee ex- ers' government. These thoughts pects about 100 persons to take a must prevail among the rubter trip across the river to a threatre workers if they are to fight correct-

benefit at the New York Civic Re- ly against the rubber barons. In them lies the only hope of victory!

### Philadelphia Mass Meeting

#### on

### WAR AND THE WORKERS"

**Issues of monumental importance** have prisen out of the present Fascist onslaughts on Ethiopia and the general preparations for new imperialist wars. Come and hear

> **JAMES P. CANNON** Editor New Militant

E .R. McKINNEY **Editor Mass Action** 

SUNDAY, NOV. 10, 8 P.M.

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### Hazards of Life. Join the WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S. 1884-1935 Organized, managed by and for The local League now boasts of vorkers with only one purpose to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers. About 50,000 members organred in 350 branches. Reserves \$3.400.000. Death benefit graded accord

sion meetings the reporters for the minority were given equal time to ing to age at entry. Sick benefit expound their position. Four such payments from \$360 to \$900-to general membership discussion men and women, according to meetings were held in New York classes.

during the summer and, in addition, Monthly assessments from 45c the discussion was continued at to \$2.20. For further information apply tory of the workers' movement does

to Main Office: 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

pertory Theater.

### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1935

### PAGE 3 NEW MILITANT The Danger of War and the Defense of the Soviet Union New Version of Social Pa- data and Bauer with their social-stalin and Bauer with their social-station are attempting to de-Bauer thesis niously expresses the bourgeois democracy" proclaimed patriotism are attempting to de-Bauer thesis piously expresses the bourgeois democracy" proclaimed triotism as Deadly as Old

By MAURICE SPECTOR Dollfuss' word for it that the lat- Front to quit collaborating with ter was not plotting a counter-rev- Herriot-Laval and organize the olutionary coup d'etat. Jean Zyr- | workers' militia against the armed omski of the French Socialist Party | menace of La Roque?

lavishly scatters revolutionary Having thus brilliantly acquitted Zyromski. As their signal achieve themselves in the class struggles of ments indicate, they are realists the defense of the Soviet Union.

two coalitions which were both Air Force is preserving peace beialist powers, and the Socialist India. "International socialism," parties accepted a policy of Na- they add, "must support the institional Union with their respective tution of the League of Nations. . . governments." But the present In all countries allied with the many, the other including the So- war. They must appeal to the ferent situation. The amendments as well as in the war industry." to the "traditional opinions" the Compelled by the obvious realities thesis presents for the changed sit- to admit that the League is an in-Bauerism changes, the more it re- good Democracies are based on submains the same, with this differ- jection of the proletariat and the ence that in its pre-war manifestoes colonial peoples, that the regional at least, the Second International they nevertheless cling to their least, the pre-war pledges of the is stll hallowed. International threatened the imperialist war-mongers with a revolutionary crisis.

### Defending the Soviet Union With Social Patriotism!

On their own candid admission, the motives impelling Bauer-Dan-declarations of policy serve as the Zyromski to flaunt their social-pa- basis for "organic unity" of the triotic policy are the noblest, the most impeccable. "The interests of Unless the masses can be organized international socialism demand to resist the social-patriotic sophisthat German fascism shall be de- try of Stalin-Bauer, they will be feated. The interests of interna- involved in a ghastly repetition of tional socialism demand that the August 1914. The most tragic il-Soviet Union shall be victorious." lusion of all is that the defense of How is all that to be effected? By the Soviet Union requires the bea revolutionary struggle against trayal of the working class inde capitalism, and not against the war pendence in countries allied with danger merely as some isolated the U.S.S.R. The Stalin-Bauer pol-

Not at all. To appeal to the inphrases while supporting the expul- dependent action of the masses was sion of the Bolshevik-Leninists. never the weakness of Bauer-Dantheir several countries, these worth- To overthrow Fascism, promising ies in a thesis on "Socialism and their recruiting services in adthe War Danger" jointly rally to vance, they invoke the powerful aid of the peaceful and democratic im-The International, they declare, perialist powers associated in the meaning the Second International, League. The Comite des Forges, must free itself from "traditional Schneider-Creusot, and Winston France furnish Italy the money to self. It is common know- Churchill, these will make the world ledge that the "traditional opin-safe for the Soviet Union! But if ions" meant rattling the sword of you think we are going too far let ions" meant rattling the sword of you think we are going too far, let "revolution against war" in the us quote: "In fighting against war, Laval government, pledged to econosecurity of peace-time and docilely international socialism must sup-will permit any loans. But there thies, which has shown a marked "The explosives branch is proscapitulating to the military budgets port the governments of those coun-is another power in the French Re- friendliness to Italy, published an pering. Besides receiving the ornot decide in favor of either of the serve peace"-as the British Royal composed of capitalist and imper- youd the north-west frontier of danger of a war between two coali- Soviet Union, Socialists cannot and tions, one headed by Hitler Ger- must not hinder the conduct of the viet Union, creates an entirely dif- workers to do their duty as soldiers wation only prove that the more strument of imperialism, that the at least, the Second International pacts are modern military alliances, never did come out in support of main thesis that imperialism in "National Union." In words at military alliance with the U.S.S.R. Essentially the Bauer thesis urg-

ing the alliance of the working class with the capitalist state allied with the U.S.S.R., is the now familiar and treasonable position of

the Stalin-Laval communique. Both Second and Third Internationals.

moralize, systematically driving hope that the lessons of the last by the Seventh Comintern Congress them into the camp of the rival im- war "will inspire the working class must inevitably sabotage any develperialisms struggling for the re- of the world with the determined oping struggle for power, lest it distribution of the world market. will to use a new war . . . to over undermine the military capacity of Internationals whose policies and On this point there can be no doubt. throw the capitalist system." The the bourgeois ally and appear to

Theodore Dan of the Russian leadership were impotent to stem The whole policy of the People's Bauer position will do anything but redound to Hitler's advantage. Once Social-Democratic Party bitterly re- the tide of fascism? Do Bauer and Front in France is directed to civil that. The fruits of the Stalin-Laval educated in the spirit of the "sacred sisted the Soviet seizure of power. Company urge the British Labor peace, class collaboration in prepa- pact are already tragically appar- union," it is not easy to make a Otto Bauer of the Austrian Social | Party to fight for a government to ration for the coming war. The ent. The former communist and right about face at anybody's com-Democratic Party drugged the establish socialism and not admin- support of the sanctions policy of revolutionary ideology in the ranks mand. Declaration of war will be masses with poison of "constitution- ister capitalism or the Socialist- the League of Nations involves the of the Comintern is being supplant- followed by the suppression of all al" Marxism and confidingly took Stalinist leadership of the People's proletariat in support of the gov-led by the ideology of liberalism, critical working class organization

WHO FINANCES ITALY'S WAR?

(Reprinted from the British "New | under the guidance of Count Volpi, | i. interested in the subsidiaries of Leader." Organ of the I.L.P.) the great Italian capitalist who has the great French chemical trust of Speculation has been very active profited heavily from hisconnec- Kuhlmann and in another French in European capitals recently about tions with the Fascist government. chemical firm, La Societe des Prosthe possible source of funds to keep As a climax, this delegation was phates Tunisiens et des Engrais et the Italian war machine going. Will received in Stress by the Duce him- Products Chimiques.

Another straw in the wind. Money from War Late in July, the "Echo de Paris," ini holds in Italy, especially in war

on the declaration of war. In 1914, says Bauer, "the International could that declar in form which Italy can obtain article signed by the editor on the state of Italian finances. The ar-one that the present outlook of the exactly to the same results as their

Observers have been wondering ticle painted a very rosy picture of exterior politics of Italy is provokwhy certain French newspapers Italian finances and industry. But ing additional orders which are not have shown such an exaggerated there was one very significant sen- confined only to explosives. It is friendliness towards Italy. This tence in it: "It is probable that certain that, under the present cirfriendliness cannot be entirely at- Italy must sooner or later make a cumstances, Montecatini will find tributed to outright subsidizing of bid, under one form or another, for their importance increasing, espe-French journalists by the Italian foreign credit." The "under one cially since Montecatini tends, more government (it is common gossip form or another" was obviously the and more, to satisfy all Italian inthat there have been large quanti- Duce's bid, through his principal dustrial needs." ties of Italian money going around spokesman in the French press, for While the French business men the Paris publishing world). A the sort of circuitous financing de- are profiting from these war prebetter explanation can be found in scribed above.

the enormous influence certain portions of French industry have on will allow such a deal to be made from the fertile field of Montecatini. the press. remains to be seen. But deal or

Loans to Industry no deal, there is little doubt that If the French banks, so the story French industry stands to make ormous German chemical trust, long second World War." If that is the ism, the Soviet Union will be subgoes, cannot lend directly to the Italian government, there is noth- for war in Italy. For important shares in the Italian trust. And ing to prevent them from offering loans to French industry. And the already by investment in Italy.

M. Albert Galicier, for instance. the head of which is the Dresdener latter are in no way forbidden to assist Italian industry. It is a roundabount way, but, for that matter, no less effective. This is how this reported scheme

will work. French industries will invest Forges et Acieries de Denain et attitude, which is undisguisedly consistent contention of the Rus State (1) to build up the new revtheir funds in Italian industry. The d'Anzin, affiliated with the Comite hopeful for an Abyssinian war. sian Opposition that for the U.S.S. olutionary Fourth International in-Italian government, which has a des Forges, and having as vice-pres- Thus while German arms have been R. the most serious of all questions dependent of the diplomacy of the very thorough control over Italian ident M. Leopold Pralan, vice-pres- sold to the Abyssinians, German in- in connection with the war danger Soviet bureaucracy, and directing industry, will convert those francs ident of the Comite des Forges. dustry has been investing in the was the inner regime. The ebb in its energies to the transformation into lira and utilize them for the This firm of Denain and Anzin make Italian munitions business. purchase of the raw materials, special steels for war vessels and which Italy so sadly lacks, from other steel products for military foreign countries. It is very sim- purposes. ple, and works just as well as a

direct loan. There have been some indications which support this story.

Chapter II

At the time of the Stresa Conference, a delegation of French bank- Paris. M. Picard is also a director Vickers Terni. phenomenon? By organizing the icy invites the defeat of both the ers and industrialists, led by Ernest of Forges et Chantiers de la Med. Participation of British industry aid of the Western proletariat." very defense to the unsparing criti-

The French financial paper, "In-

nounced as German agents. Their formation," August 1, gives a brilformer slogan of "make the world liant picture of the place Montecatsafe for democracy"-the democracy represented by the imperialist Allies,-the socialist-patriots have now

parations, it is interesting to find Whether the Laval government the Germans are not absent either

Germany's Part

money from war and preparation ago leased patents to and acquired case, it is thanks principally to the jected to the terrific pressure of French firms are closely connected now we find that, according to doctrine and leadership of Bauer hausting demands of modern mili-"Information," a banking group, at and Company in the last war.

M. Galicier is one of the directors Bank, obtained, a short time ago, a Logic of Stalinism Predicted of the great IItalian trust Monte-block of Montecatini shares amount-

from the sale of explosives. He is value. Knowledge of this fact and now finds expression in the terests of the defense and preservaalso director of Hautx Fourneaux, should throw light on the German Bauer thesis accurately verifies the tion of the U.S.S.R. as a Workers' And Britain?

It is well known that Britain's the nationally disposed bureaucracy. tional socialism; (2) despite the export trade with Italy is larger Stalinism rationalized its position perilous difficulties involved, to There is another director of Mon- than that of other countries. Even in the familiar theory of socialism- make every effort to renew the Boltecatini, M. Paul Ernest Picard, without this trade, there are Brit- in-a-single-country, which by impli- shevik party of Lenin by the organalso director of the Comptoir Na- ish investments in Italy, prominent cation dispensed with the necessity ization of the Soviet section of the tional d'Escompte de Paris, one of among which is the branch of the of a revolutionary Communist In- Fourth International, pledged to the great credit establishments in armaments firm of Vickers, called ternational, since socialist construct the unconditional defense of the

of Workers Fatherland and press. The General Staff will the Leninist Opposition it was nec-

rule. Bauer's policy will never lead essary to crush the party. The to the revolution; it can only lead anti-Marxist policies of the Stalinto another Versailles or the com- ized Comintern contributed decisively to the accession of Hitler. The plete collapse of civilization.

sequel of it all was the defensive Our's Is the Policy of Lenin measure of the Stalin-Laval com-To the social-patriotism of Bauer- munique which directs a mortal Dan we oppose the only policy that blow at the remnants of revolutioncan save the Soviet Union as a ary policy of the Comintern. Every socialist state, the position of rev- defeat of the Western working class olutionary defeatism in every capi has in turn resulted in the strengtalist country whether allied with thening of the bureaucratic reacthe Soviet Union or not. Lenin ad- tion, to the point where its most How Big Business Provides Loans to Mussolini sia and the overthrow of the Kerdictatorship of Stalin. A new world ensky Government regardless of the war in which the workers would protestations and objurgations of fail to achieve their independence patriotic socialists that defeat, rev- of both the Soviet and the Cominolution and a separate peace would tern bureaucracy, in which they betray the cause of Western Demo- would continue to take part as an cracy and play into the hands of ally of the imperialist governments Prussian Militarism. Lenin and would spell doom to the Soviet Trotsky were vociferously de Union as a workers' state.

### The Two Roads

If the Stalin-Bauer policy leads to the calamitous repetition of Aug-

ust 1914, it criminally opens the supplemented with the plea of the exactly to the same results as their tion of Hitler, but also from the 1914 defense of Entente democracy or "socialism" on the part of the In the event of a protracted strug-German government-socialists. So- gle and under the dictatorship of cial-patriotism had done its work the most reactionary elements so thoroughly that despite the ter- whom the imperialist war inevitably rible slaughter of the war and the brings to the top, the "democratic" subsequent chaos, in the victorious allies may turn openly fascist, conand vanquished countries alike, the cluding their own peace with their proletariat was unable to overthrow fellow-fascists at the expense of the the guilty ruling classes. "The Soviet Union. Even now, Laval's working class," Bauer-Dan write collaboration with the Soviet Union coolly, "were not able to overthrow is sufficiently precarious and feelers capitalism when it was weakened for a rapproachment with Hitler by the World War; they are now have been extended more than once. threatened with the danger of hav- But if the proletarian revolution The I. G. Farbenindustrie, the en- ing to go through the hell of a does not destroy Western imperialsocial-patriotic and treacherous world reaction. This and the extary operations would confront the Soviet Union with the peril of an

internal bourgeois-Bonapartist at-The whole course of events which tack on its social basis. In these catini, whose chemical works profit ing to about 500 million lira, par culminated in the Stalin-Laval pact circumstances it is in the vital inthe tide of the post-war revolution- of the impending world imperialist ary movement nurtured the soil of war into a civil war for interna-

forces of the working class in the direction of the dictatorship of the working class. direction of the dictatorship of the dictatorship of the working class. direction of the dictatorship of the dictat The one reliable ally of the Soviet de Feu), were escorted on a tour proletariat? By registering the The lines run the other way, also "big business" press in London has through the League of Nations gime that is incompatible with revbankruptcy of the Second and Third Union is the international working through Italian industrial plants - Italy into France. Montecatini been so friendly towards Italy. realistically followed. To destroy olutionary Marxism.

# Comrade Candide and Comrade Browder ... A Tragi-Comedy Being the Story of an Honest Worker Who Fell into a Coma in the Twilight of the "Third Period"

By JOHN MARSHALL

### Chapter I

HE story is told of an honest **L** worker, who was a fraternal delegate to the 8th Convention of the Communist Party in April, 1934. For want of a better name, we shall call the comrade Candide. The Internationale from a workers' ing: high point of that convention, all parade. His revolutionary spirit Candide: "Comrade Browder, for must recall, was a programmatic reawakened, Candide's body quick- four years I have been a loyal speech by Earl Browder, which ly followed, and he was soon on the member of the party, the Internalasted six hours; its conclusion was, according to the Daily Worker, rapturously greeted by a prolonged ovation from the assembled delegates.

lapsed into utter unconsciousness. sleeping sickness, and there he lay alive by artificial feeding.

During that time tremendous the Comintern. The Soviet Union entered the League of Nations: Stalin-Laval concluded the Franco-Soviet pact, warning French communists not to actively oppose French imperialist military preparations. The "social-fascist" leaders of the Second International became brothers-in-arms. The C. P. discarded the "united front from below" and formed united fronts from above, forswearing in advance any criticism of their allies. The Social-Democratic policy of "the lesser the Eighth Convention still echoed evil" was taken up by the C. P. in his ears; its compelling analysis through the medium of the Popular of the world situation and its clear Front. The dual Red trade unions directives for the forthcoming perto replace the reformist trade un- iod were still fresh in his memory. ion in character, were dismantled matter.

twice as fast as they had been created. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern gave official blessing to support of bourgeois democracy, both in peace and war.

O<sup>NE</sup> day last week, restored to health, comrade Candide made Oblivious to all these mighty his way to the ninth floor where events, our hero slumbered on, Browder holds court. We have reuntil, on May Day of this year, he ceived a transcript of their converwas unexpectedly aroused from his sation from our private agents. coma by the stirring strains of the from which we extract the follow-

road to recovery. tional Workers Order, the Interna-

While convalescing, Candide be- tional Labor Defense, the Trade gan to read the Communist press Union Unity League, the Friends of with great eagerness, to review the the Soviet Union, the League try, or has the essential character creator of fascism? It uses the

progress made by the movement Against War and Fascism. the At the very moment Browder fin- during his long sleep. He could United Front Supporters, the A. F. ished his report, Candide suddenly hardly believe his eyes. Slogans in of L. Rank and File Committee for the Daily Worker: "For a Labor Unemployment Insurance, the Anti-After several weeks at the hospital, Party -- Invoke Sanctions Against Nazi Federation, Friends of the the doctors diagnosed his case as Fascist Italy—Support the League Workers School, Film and Photo unite all democratic forces in the and helpless." (p. 16.) -Blockade the Suez Canal-United League, the Freiheit Mandolin Orin a coma for over a year, kept Front-Popular Front-Hurrah for chestra, the Pierre Degeyter Soci-John L. Lewis, etc., etc." He asked ety, the Needle Trades Workers In-

himself: had illness affected his dustrial Union, the Workers Interchanges came over the policies of mind? Or was all this a monstrous national Relief, and the League of deception perpetrated upor the rev- Struggle for Negro Rights. For of fascism in the ranks of the olutionary workers? Had the ene- the past year and a half through working class, to fight fascism? mies of the C. P., the social-fascists no fault of my own, I've been out Isn't the slogan of 'the defense of miles of the C. P., the social-fascists no faut of my own, i.e. and a reliance on the democracy a social-fascist slogan, or the Trotskyites, captured the of touch with party affairs. I've Stalinist press? He plied the com- so many things to ask you about, stalinist press? He plied the com- so many things to ask you about, so many things to ask you about, and a reliance on the democratic and a reliance on the democratic rades who visited him with ques- I hardly know where to begin. But state in the struggle against fastion after question without satis- tell me, comrade, is it true that the faction. They kept assuring him Central Committee addressed a letthat all this was the new official ter to the leaders of the Socialist Hitler? How well I remember your the Social Union? How official ter to the leaders of the Socialist Hitler? line. He could not believe them: Party here, asking for a united they were merely trying to humor front?" and soothe an invalid.

Browder: "Yes, we sent the first letter on June 25 last year, and the workers from revolutionary Browder's magnificent speech at we've been sending them at regular intervals ever since."

Candide: "But only two months gan of defense of democracy, and

workers need. We need a united 15.) Aren't we falling into a social activities, the Communists must al-Candide: "Unite in the same front of the workers against the fascist trap when we limit our ways grant the right to all other party with social-fascists? On what capitalists, and all their agents. But struggle against fascism to the de groups, and reserve the right for basis? A revolutionary program of that means that unity must be built fense of democracy? That's not themselves, of mutual criticism.' (p. struggle, the program of Marx and up, not with these leaders but revolutionary struggle, it seems to 72.) Why did the French Communist Lenin?"

against them. That means not a me, but an imitation of the lesser Party give up the right of criticism, united front from the top, but a evil policy. Don't you remember and even agree to abandon all facunited front from below.' (p. 56.) saying that 'the social-fascists try tional work in the trade unions?" To verify my recollections, I bought to confuse and disarm the workers a copy of your speech the other day, and, sure enough, those were 'democracy against dictatorship,' by your very words." trying to hide the fact that the cap-

Browder: "The world situation italist 'democracy' is only a form of has changed since then, comrade, capitalist dictatorship; that this and we must adapt our tactics acslogan is used to hide the fact that cordingly." capitalist democracy is not the en-

Candide: "But has the situation emy but the mother of fascism; or desertion of the fight. Any such so radically changed in this cound that it is not the destroyer, but the of all these social-fascist. leaders truth that fascism destroys democracy, to propagate the falsehood Browder: "Dimitrov, the new that democracy will also destroy

leader of the Comintern, declared 'ascism . . . thus delivering the at the recent Congress: 'We must working class over to fascism bound non-fascist countries in order to de-

fend the remnants of bourgeois deunder the leadership of our beloved mocracy.' "

changed?"

Candide: "How can we unite with social-fascists, those cunning agents party, but we have flexible policies. cism, the fatal policy of 'the lesser evil' that handed Germany over to despite temporary setbacks. Have lar Front?" the Soviet Union? Have you even condemnation of these craven Soheard how the Popular Front in rade. Those riots were the work cialists and the reformist trade France has stopped the advance of union bureaucracy who hold back

struggle which alone can defeat and in tactic?" destroy fascism, and under the slo-

Browder: "The time is not ripe for that. We will unite today on a program of struggle against war Browder: "It was necessary in and fascism. We must overcome . . . by means of counterposing order to attain unity and maintain the sectarian tendencies in the party. That's why it's necessary.

Candide: "But you went on to for example, to build a Labor Party say: 'The Communists can never here."

agree to be silent, to refrain from Candide: "But, comrade, how can criticism, on any breaking of agreevon win the workers to a revolutionary program in this epoch, which Lenin called 'the epoch of agreements would not be contriwars and revolutions,' by uniting butions to unity, but rather to diswith reformists on a reformist prounity.'" (p. 72) gram? Isn't it the worst form of Browder: "Our Socialist comright opportunism to hide the face rades are fighting side by side with of the party in that manner? You, us' and the Radical Socialists, yourself, said at the last convention

against the fascists. There have that 'we must again emphasize . . . been no betrayals, no desertions of that . . . under no circumstances Browder: "The Communist Party the fight." ... (can we allow) ... the aban-

Candide: "But at Brest and Tou- donment of the independent role of Stalin is a realistic party of Bol- lon, the sailors, who protested the Communist Party. To push the sheviks. We have a monolithic against the Laval-Herriot decree-Communist Party into the backlaws, were killed and wounded. ground, to allow it to be forgotten, We do not let outworn policies What did the Socialist leaders, is fatal to the success of a particuhamper our adaptation to new con- what did we do about that? Could lar campaign, as well as endangerward from one triumph to another, in the Laval cabinet and the Popu- generally wrong; it is a tendency to succumb to Farmer-Laborism.' (p. Browder: "You don't understand 69-70.) How can we withdraw our

the cunning of the fascists, com- party candidates in favor of a joint labor or people's tickets, as we are doing today?"

ascism there? Isn't that already agents, possibly of White Guard, of police provocateurs, of fascist Browder: "Don't you read the vindication enough for our change Menshevik, counter - revolutionary Daily Worker, which explains all Trotskyites. Blum and Cachin, the these things?"

Candide: "I'm glad you brought leaders of the united front, agreed Candide: "Every day, comrade, before your letter at the Cleveland choosing the lesser evil, lead the up the united front in France. One on that. No, we have the most and sometimes three and four times Convention I heard you say: 'Unity workers to submit and support the of the conditions for the united harmonious relations within the a day. Now I think I understand ions, which had been declared parts Candide could not rest until he behind these gentlemen, Norman intermediate steps to the introduc- front agreement there reads that Popular Front, and, as for the unit- the reasons for all these things, of the capitalist state-apparatus and had seen his beloved leader to find Thomas and the S.P. leaders, means tion of fascism. That is why we both parties shall abstain from crit- ed workers' front, that has been and then again I'm not sure. There even semi-fascist and company un- out from his lips the truth of the surrender to the capitalist attacks. call these leaders social fascists, icism of each other. But at Cleve- going so well that we are even now are so many innovations in the That is not the kind of unity the and their theories social-fascist. (p. land you said: 'In all united front negotiating to form a single party." (Continued on Page 6)

By LEON TROTSKY

# The Art of Insurrection

eagerly any more than they do war. cadres, its official staff. Just as a blacksmith cannot There is this difference, however, that in war compulsion plays the de- seize the red hot iron in his naked compulsion except that of circum- directly seize the power; it has to stances. A revolution takes place have an organization accommodatonly when there is no other way out. ed to this task. The coordination And the insurrection, which rises of the mass insurrection with the above a revolution like a peak in the conspiracy, the subordination of mountain chain of its events, can no conspiracy to the insurrection, the more be evoked at will than the organization of the insurrection revolution as a whole. The masses | through the conspiracy, constitutes advance and retreat several times that complex and responsible debefore they make up their minds to partment of revolutionary politics the final assault.

which Marx and Engels called "the Conspiracy is ordinarily con- art of insurrection." It presupposes trasted to insurrection as the de a correct general leadership of the liberate undertaking of a minority masses, a flexible orientation in to a spontaneous movement of the changing conditions, a thought out majority. And it is true that a plan of attack, cautiousness in victorious insurrection, which can technical preparation, and a daring only be the act of a class called to blow.

Limits of Spontaneous

Insurrection

give the name of spontaneous insur-

"Blanguism"

stand at the head of the nation, is widely separated both in method and historic significance from a governmental overturn accomplished by conspirators in concealment from the masses.

### Conspiracy and Insurrection

ing a clear aim, deliberated methenough contradictions so that a consciously showing the way to vic-the masses for insurrection, organs tory. This spontaneous insurrection of insurrection, and after the viccracks. Historic experience proves, is condescendingly recognized by tory organs of government. however, that a certain degree of official historians—at least those of social disease is necessary—as in democratic temper—as a necessary Spain, for instance, or Portugal or evil, the responsibility for which South America-to supply continu- falls on the old regime. The real al nourishment for a regime of con- reason for their attitude of indulspiracies. A pure conspiracy even gence is that "spontaneous" insurwhen victorious can only replace rection cannot transcend the frameone clique of the same ruling class work of the bourgeois regime. The social democrats take a simiby another—or still less, merely alter the governmental personages. | lar position. They do not reject Only mass insurrection has ever revolution at large as a social catbrought the victory of one social astrophe, any more than they reregime over another. Periodical ject earthquakes, volcanic erup- ary party represents the brain of surrogates court. Between the mo- lower strata directly into the strug- capitalism. conspiracies are commonly an ex- tions, eclipses and epidemics of the the class. The problem of conquer | ment when an attempt to summon | gle side by side with the workers. pression of social stagnation and plague. What they do reject--calldecay, but popular insurrections on ing it "Blanquism," or still worse, the contrary come usually as a re- Bolshevism-is the conscious presult of some swift growth which paration of an overturn, the plan, has broken down the old equilibri- the conspiracy. In other words, the ume of the nation. The chronic social democrats are ready to sanc-"revolutions" of the South American tion-and that only ex post factorepublics have nothing in common those overturns which hand the with the permanent. revolution; power to the bourgeoisie, but they they are in a sense the very oppo- implacably condemn those methods which might alone bring the power site thing.

This does not mean, however, to the proletariat. Under this prethat popular insurrection and con- tended objectivism they conceal a spiracies are in all circumstances policy of defense of the capitalist mutually exclusive. An element of society. conspiracy almost always enters to The Significance of some degree into any insurrection.

Being historically conditioned by a certain stage in the growth of a revolution, a mass insurrection is

From his observations and reflecnever purely spontaneous. Even tions upon the failure of the many when it flashes out unexpectedly to insurrections he witnessed or took a majority of its own participants, part in, August Blanqui derived a it has been fertilized by those ideas number of tactical rules which if in which the insurrectionaries see violated will make the victory of a way out of the difficulties of ex- any insurrection extremely difficult, istence. But a mass insurrection if not impossible. Blangui demand can be foreseen and prepared. It ed these things: a timely creation can be organized in advance. In of correct revolutionary detachthis case the conspiracy is subordi- ments, their centralized command nate to the insurrection, serves it, and adequate equipment, a well calsmoothes its path, hastens its vic- culated placement of barricades, tory. The higher the political level their definite construction, and a of a revolutionary movement and systematic, not a mere episodic, dethe more serious its leadership, the fense of them. All these rules, degreater will be the place occupied riving from the military problems by conspiracy in a popular insur- of the insurrection, must of course change with social conditions and rection. It is very necessary to understand military technique, but in themuse of the word conspiracy, even venturism. Insurrection is an art, organizations more or less equivain Marxian literature, contains a and like all arts has its laws. The lent to soviets. superficial contradiction due to the rules of Blanqui were the demands fact that it sometimes implies an of a military revolutionary realism. independent undertaking initiated Blanqui's mistake lay not in his by the minority, at others a prepar- direct but his inverse theorem. ation by the minority of a majority From the fact that tactical weakinsurrection.

(From Volume III of the History of prived in the nature of things of the nature of things of the people directed against both popular masses and the progressive velopment of the nation. A revolu-the Russian Revolution by all social advantages, an insurrec-the Russian Revolution by all social advantages are not coller (the rest of the people in the rest of the people insurrec-the Russian Revolution by all social advantages are not coller (the rest of the people insurrec-the Russian Russian Revolution by all social advantages are not coller (the rest of the people insurrec-the Russian R tionary proletariat can count only Blanquism in regarding insurrec-its vanguard, between the soviets in case the society contains a new The least stable of the premises of some If a referendum could have

not only the subordinate place oc-cupied by insurrection in a revolu-but if it is true that an insur-bistory. The process of preparing bistory. The process of preparing tion, but also the declining role of rection cannot be evoked at will, a revolution consists of making the follows that class which inspires tain results. And a readiness to the barricade in an insurrection. and that nevertheless in order to objective problems involved in the that in war compulsion plays the de-cisive role, in revolution there is no cisive role, in revolution there is no hands, so the proletariat cannot cisive role, in revolution there is no hands, so the proletariat cannot cisive role, in revolution there is no hands, so the proletariat cannot cisive role, in revolution there is no hands, so the proletariat cannot contradictions of industry and of deeds. Although capable of impul-identical with an ability clearly to common with a renunciation of the vance, then the revolutionary lead- classes find their way into the conrevolutionary method, in favor of ers are presented with a task of sciousness of living human masses, pure parliamentarism, as the phil- correct diagnosis. They must feel change this consciousness and creistines of the German social democ- out the growing insurrection in good ate. new correlations of human racy, in cooperation with the Hoh- season and supplement it with a forces. enzollern censorship, attempted in conspiracy. The interference of the their day to pretend. For Engels midwife in labor pains-however their practically manifested inca- the mood of the petty bourgeoisie put it more simply, the class which the question about barricades re- this image may have been abused- pacity to get the country out of its lend their instability to every revo- held the power. mained a question about one of the remains the clearest illustration of blind alley, lose faith in themselves; lutionary situation. If the proletechnical elements of an uprising. this conscious intrusion into an the old parties fall to pieces; a tarian party is not decisive enough The reformists have attempted to elementary process. Herzen once bitter struggle of groups and cliques to convert the hopes and expectainfer from his rejection of the de- accused his friend Bakunin of in- prevails; hopes are placed in mir- tions of the popular masses into cisive importance of the barricade variably in all his revolutionary a rejection of 'revolutionary vio- enterprises taking the second month constitutes one of the political prem- the flood tide is quickly followed by lence in general. That is about the of pregnancy for the ninth. Herzen ises of a revolution, a very impor- an ebb: the intermediate strata same as to infer the destruction of himself was rather inclined to deny tant although a passive one. militarism from considerations of even in the ninth that pregnancy

the probable decline in importance existed. In February the question of trenches in future warfare. The organization means by which hardly arose at all, since the insurthe proletariat can both overthrow rection flared up unexpectedly with-

the old power and replace it, is out centralized leadership. But exthe soviets. This afterwards be actly for this reason the power did Historians and politicians usually came a matter of historic experi- not go to those who had accomrection to a movement of the masses ence, but was up to the October plished the insurrection, but to united by a common hostility revolution a theoretical prognosis- those who had applied the brakes. against the old regime, but not hav- resting, to be sure, upon the prelim- It was quite otherwise with the second insurrection. This was coninary experience of 1905. The so-In every class society there are ods of struggle, or a leadership viets are organs of preparations of sciously prepared by the Bolshevik the masses for insurrection, organs party. The problem of correctly seizing the moment to give the signal for the attack was thus laid upon the Bolshevik staff.

However, the soviets by themselves do not settle the question. They may serve different goals according to the program and leadership. The soviets receive their program from the party. Whereas

Level irrushy) to large in a solution is the mood of the second and the party, between insurrection of the solution is the mood of the been taken on the question of the not only the subordinate place oc- and conspirate.

solving the problems presented by

acles or miracle workers. All this revolutionary action in good season, turn away their eyes from the rev-

A bitter hostility to the existing olution and seek a savior in the order and a readiness to venture opposing camp. And just as at in, but it is impossible to question of determining the date of birth hardly arose at all, since the insur-rection flared up upexpectedly with country out upon an upward road during the ebb the petty bourgeoisie speed and accident threatens. If -this is the new political conscious- draws after it considerable layers the saving operation is carried out ness of the revolutionary class, and of the proletariat. Such is the dialectic of the communist and fascist approval of the passengers is guarconstitutes the most important acwaves observable in the political anteed in advance. tive premise of a revolution.

evolution of Europe since the war. These two fundamental camps Attempting to ground themselves however—the big property holders and the proletariat-do not exhaust regime withdraws from the stage of the population of a country. Between them lie broad layers of the history until it has exhausted all conclusion one after another and petty bourgeoisie, showing all the its possibilities, the Mensheviks de with inevitable, though sometimes colors of the economic and political nied the legitimacy of a struggle very slight intervals. At the morainbow. The discontent of these for proletarian dictatorship in back-intermediate layers, their disap-ward Russia where capitalism had ment is burning with revolutionary pointment with the policy of the far from exhausted itself. This ar- impatience, the backward layers

ruling class, their impatience and gument contained two mistakes, have only begun to move. In Petindignation, their readiness to sup- both fatal. Capitalism is not a na- rograd and Moscow all the mass Moment here is not to be taken port a bold revolutionary initiative tional but a world-wide system. The organizations were under the leadthe soviets in revolutionary condi- too literally as meaning a definite on the part of the proletariat, con- imperialist war and its consequenc- ership of the Bolsheviks. In the es demonstrated that the capitalist tions-and apart from revolution day and hour. Physical births also stitutes the third political premise they are impossible comprise the present a considerable period of un- of a revolution. It is partly passive system had exhausted itself on a three million population-that is, a

> Falsity of Menshevik That these pre mises condition Conceptions

each other is obvious. The more decisively and conception appears also from a na- tical decision becomes unpostponconfidently the tional point of view. From the able, in the course of events, that proletariat acts, standpoint of economic abstraction, is the very moment when a referthe better will it is indeed possible to affirm that endum is impossible. The differsucceed in bring- capitalism in Russia has not ex- ence in level and mood of the difing after it the hausted its possibilities. But eco- ferent layers of the people is overintermediate layers, the more isolated will be the ruling class, and

demoraliziation. things a state power. That the ing at exactly that moment when And, on the other monarchy, under whose protection direct action alone offers a way out hand, a demoral- Russian capitalism developed, had of the contradictions.

class.

can become im- itself completely. What sort of insurrection of the cities, had bued with the state order could in these conditions evoked it and were demanding it. arontee the further development They expressed their confidence neces sary for a govern- of Russian capitalism? the white ballot, but with the red "The bourgeois republic, defended | cock-a more serious referendum. mental overthrow only if a clear only by socialists of moderate ten- Within those limits in which the prospect opens be- dencies, finding no longer any sup- support of the peasantry was necfore it, only if it port in the masses . . . could not essary for the establishment of a has had an oppor- maintain itself. Its whole essence soviet dictatorship, the support was tunity to test out had evaporated. There remained already in hand. "The dictatorship" in action a corre-lation of forces curate definition belongs to Miliu- "would give land to the peasants which is changing kov. The fate of this evaporated and all power to the peasant comto its advantage, system was necessarily, according mittees in the localities. How can ♦ only if it feels to his words, the same as that of you in your right mind doubt that and conspiracy, both as they oppose "Blanquism" in the sense that this ing the power can be solved only an insurrection must inevitably above it a far-sighted, firm and the Czarist monarchy: "Both pre- the peasants would support that ment when a favorable situation the last in importance of the con- neither could find a single defen- tionalities, floundering in the snowstorm of an elective ballot should recognize the Bolsheviks in action, it was necessary that the Bolshe-Kornilov or Lenin --viks seize the power.

sive enthusiasm and even of revo- formulate the necessity for it. lutionary fury, the petty bourgeoisie Moreover, the answer would have lacks endurance, easily loses heart depended to a vast degree upon the under reverses, and passes from manner in which the question was elated hope to discouragement. And presented, the institutions which The ruling classes, as a result of these sharp and swift changes in conducted the referendum-or, to

### The Limits of Democratic Methods

There is a limit to the application of democratic methods. You can inquire of all the passengers as to what type of car they like to ride

Parliamentary consultations of the people are carried out at a single moment, whereas during a upon the assertion of Marx that no revolution the different layers of the population arrive at the same Tambov province, which has over world scale. The revolution in Rus- little less than both capitals put toits altogether backward, inert or not only to the art of the midwife, strata of the petty bourgeoisie-but sia was a breaking of the weakest gether - a Bolshevik faction first appeared in the Soviet only a short time before the October revolution. The syllogisms of the objective development are far from coinciding-day by day-with the syllo-

gisms of the thought process of the But the falsity of this Menshevik masses. And when a great pracnomic processes do not take place come in action. The advance fayin the ether, but in a concrete his- ers bring after them the wavering torical medium. Capitalism is not and isolate the opposing. The maan abstraction, but a living system jority is not counted up, but won the more acute its of class relations requiring above all over. Insurrection comes into be-

ization of the rul- exhausted its possibilities is not Although lacking the power to ers will pour wat- denied even by the Mensheviks. The draw by themselves the necessary er into the mill of February revolution tried to build political inferences from their war the revolutionary up an intermediate state regime. against the landlords, the peasants We have followed its history: in the had by the very fact of the agrarian The proletariat course of eight months it exhausted insurrection already adhered to the



When Is the Time Ripe

for the Action

whole class with the exception of certainty-their limits interesting -in that it neutralizes the upper

demoralized strata, the revolution- but also to the casuistics of the partly also active, for it impels the link in the system of world-wide

### The Role of Spontaneity in Social Crises

History testifies, to be sure, that point on is it legitimate to contrast it gets ready the military basis of surrection can be victorious even acy does not take the place of in- troops upon a single scheme of acwithout a conspiracy. Arising surrection. An active minority of tion, works out a plan for the of-"spontaneously" out of the universal indignation, the scattered pro- organized, cannot seize the power And this means bringing organized tests, demonstrations, strikes, street regardless of the general conditions conspiracy into mass insurrection. fights, an insurrection can draw in of the country. In this point his-Autumn of 1918. Since in these question.

events there was no party at the head of the insurrectionaries imbued through and through with the interests and aims of the insurrection, its victory had inevitably to

been opposing it.

one thing; to take the power in corresponded to the character of all varieties of Blanquism and anones own hands is another. The the old Paris, the semi-handicraft archism, Lenin did not for one mobourgeoisie may win the power in proletariat, the narrow streets and ment bow down to any "sacred" mitting you to discover, behind the a revolution not because it is rev- the military system of Louis Phil- spontaneousness of the masses. He moving shadows of program and lutionary but because it is bour- ippe. Blanqui's mistake in principle thought out before anybody else, geois. It has in its possession was to identify revolution with inproperty, education, the press, a surrection. His technical mistake factors in a revolution, between the network of strategic positions, a hierarchy of institutions. Quite was to identify insurrection with spontaneous movement and the structure has become incapable of proletarian revolution has so far

The Bolsheviks were compelled ngnts, an insurrection can graw in part of the army, paralyze the forces of the enemy, and overthrow His affirmative theorem retains all October revolution, to refute accuthe old power. To a certain degree its force. In order to conquer the sations of conspiratism and Blan-Engels on Barricade Fighting the agents of Czarism, when this

defeat, Blanqui inferred that ob- good season strives towards a con-

servance of the rules of insurrec- quest of power. Accomodating it-

tionary tactics would itself guar- self to changes in the political situ-

antee the victory. Only from this ation and the mood of the masses,

The Importance of

The Soviets

When headed by a revolutionary

Engels' criticism of the fetishism tactic was ruthlessly criticized by transfer the power to those parties of the barricades was based upon the Bolsheviks with their insistence

which up to the last moment had the evolution of military technique upon mass insurrection as opposed tion, is not enough. Here you must against "Blanquism," by which and of technique in general. The to the individual adventurism of To overthrow the old power is insurrectionary tactic of Blanquism the intelligentzia. But in refuting hending the interactions of the tionary essence of Marxism. have a materialistic method percial bodies.

Leon Trotsky in exile on the island of Prinkipo.

and conspiracy, both as they oppose that this by a definite combination of party prove premature and lead to a rev- confident leadership. This brings pared the ground for a revolution, dictatorship?" In order that the It is especially so, because the very "putschism," or revolutionary ad- with soviets—or with other mass olutionary miscarriage, and the mo- us to the last premise—by no means and on the day of the revolution soldiers, peasants and oppressed na-

must be considered hopelessly quest of power: the revolutionary der." missed, there exists a certain period party as a tightly welded and tem-

--- it may be measured in weeks, and pered vanguard of the class. sometimes in a few months-in the Thanks to a favorable combinacourse of which an insurrection tion of historic conditions, both

may be carried out with more or domestic and international, the Rusness condemns an insurrection to party the soviet consciously and in less chance of success. To discrim- sian proletariat was headed by a inate this comparatively short per- party of extraordinary political iod and then choose the definite mo- clarity and unexampled revolutionment-now in the more accurate ary temper. Only this permitted sense of the very day and hour- that small and young class to carry for the last blow, constitutes the out a historic task of unprecedented in certain conditions a popular in-Blanquism with Marxism. Conspir- the insurrection, unites the shock most responsible task of the revolu-proportions. It is indeed the gentionary leaders. It can with full eral testimony of history-the Paris justice be called the key problem, Commune, the German and Ausfor it unites the policy of revolu- trian revolutions of 1918, the soviet tion with the technique of insurrec- revolutions in Hungary and Bavartion-and it is needless to add that ia, the Italian revolution of 1919, the Czarist monarchy had toward political success, especially in that insurrection, like war, is a continu- the German crisis of 1923, the the end become impossible in the seething and bitter war of classes ation of politics with other instru- Chinese revolution of 1925-27, the eyes of the nobility or grand dukes, which is called revolution. The ments.

the old Social Revolutionary tactic only for epochs and periods in forces worked toward the weakenof individual terror directed against which routine predominates. An ing and demoralization of the revoepoch of mighty historic upheavals lutionary vanguard. An important experience, even illumined by intui-struggle of the social democrats

revolution is that the existing social necessary to a victorious and stable October.

have a synthetic doctrine compre- name they designate the revolu-

Corditions Coincide for Victory in Russia

great social and political crises, a the side of the workers." That "that the Fetrograd proletariat and The fundamental premise of a coincidence of all the conditions moment arrived in September and garrison were never before so iso-

No Other Road

As early as July and August Miliukov characterized the situation by presenting a choice between two

### Lenin on Dynamics of the Majority

But what correlation of forces names: Kornilov or Lenin? But Kornilov had now made his experi- was necessary in order that the ment and it had ended in a miser- proletariat should seize the power? able failure. For the regime of "To have at the decisive moment, Kerensky there was certainly no at the decisive point, an overwhelmplace left. With all the varieties of ng superiority of force," wrote mood, says Sukhanov, "the one Lenin later, interpreting the Octothing upon which all united was hate ber revolution. ". . . this law of for the Kerensky regime." Just as military success is also the law of Spanish revolution of 1931-that up so the government of Kerensky be- capitals, or generally speaking the Intuition and experience are nec- to now the weakest link in the came odious even to the direct in- biggest centers of trade and industhe one power. To a certain degree power, the proletariat needs more their of the uncertain degree power, the proletariat needs more duise duise of considerable their enemies. Moreover, nobody just as for all other kinds of creativity. But much more then of all is for the working class to 1917 in Russia. Approximately the that a spontaneous insuraction, it is a solution in their enemies. Moreover, nonouy just as for an other minus of the proster of all is for the working class to an other minus of the crust. In this universal dissatis- people—that is, of course, on condisame picture is presented by the de-velopment of the German and Aus-needs a plan; it needs a conspiracy. against the system of pure conspir-that is needed. The art of the create a revolutionary organization faction, this sharp political nerve-tion that the centers are supported velopment of the German and Aus- Such is the Leninist view of this acies than Lenin. The opportuni- magician can also successfully rely it biotecies tech. To the alter of the leninist view of this acies than Lenin. The opportuniacres than Lemin. The opportuni- indication and experience. Po- its historic task. In the older and of the symptoms of a ripe revolu- though this support need not be mists of the international social de aport interview and experiences to more civilized countries powerful tionary situation. In the same way mediate." It was in this dynamic every muscle, nerve and fiber of an sense that Lenin spoke of the maorganism is intolerably tense just jority of the people, and that was before an abcess bursts. The reso- the sole real meaning of the conhas no use for witch-doctors. Here constituent part of this work is the lution of the July congress of the cept of majority.

Bolsheviks, while warning the work- The enemy democrats comforted ers against premature encounters, themselves with the thought that had at the same time pointed out the people following the Bolsheviks that the battle must be joined were mere raw material, mere his-"whenever the general national toric clay. The potters were still crisis and the deep mass enthusi- to be these same democrats acting asm have created conditions favor- in cooperation with the educated able to the going over of the poor bourgeoisie. "Can't these people Notwithstanding the number of people of the city and country to see," asked a Menshevik paper,

lated from all other social strata?" The insurrection was thenceforth The misfortune of the proletariat otherwise with the proletariat. De- the barricade. The Marxian criti- policy of the party, between the solving the urgent problems of de- occurred but once in history: in able to believe in its success, for it

(Continued on Page 5)

# November 7th, 1917

# Victor Serge's Account of the Seizure of Power

### THE AUTHOR

Victor Serge (Victor Kibalchiche) was born in Brussels Decem ber 30, 1890. His parents were exiled Russian revolutionists. He was active in the movement at the age of fifteen as an anar-

chist. He was arrested in France in connection with the Bonnet case and was condemned to five years, which he served because he refused to denounce his comrades.

Freed in 1917 he went to Spain. As a printer in Barcelona he participated in an abortive insurrection. When the news of the Octoper Revolution came he tried to reach Russia. He was arrested and interned in the Sarthe concentration camp in France. He was exchanged together with some Russians for officers of the French military mission in Russia. He travelled in the company of Roussakov, whose daughter Liuba, he later married.

He joined the Third International and was given the direction of the French language bureau, and later of the "International Correspondence." He took part in the revolutionary struggle in Russia (during the defense of Petrograd from the Yudenitch offensive), and as a journalist, in the Austrian and German revolutions.

But he also took part in the faction struggles inside the party. In the latter part of 1927 he was expelled from the party and spent six weeks in prison.

Deprived henceforth of political activity, he lived by doing hack vork (translations, etc.) which he was still able to procure, and devoted himself to his own literary and historical works: The Year 1 of the Russian Revolution, Men in Prison, Birth of Our Power, Literature and Revolution. The Conquered City. etc.

At the same time he tried to get permission to leave Russia. He received no answer, or at best equivocal answers for years, and finally a blank refusal. His friends in France made efforts in the same direction (letters to soviet authorities, visits to the ambassadors; only in the last few weeks (1933) did they have recourse to the press as a last measure) with no more success. The Committee which has taken up his cause includes such artists and writers as Paul Signac, Leon Werth, Georges Duhamel, Firmin Gemier, Victor Margueritte, Magdeleine Paz, Luc Durtain, Henry Poulaille, Charles Vildrac, etc. It has offered to stand all the expenses of repatriating Serge asd his family.

On March 8, 1932, serge was arrested and imprisoned once more. At the end of June he was exiled to Orenburg by executive order\_\_\_\_ renewable at will, and the same measure to be cancelled at will-from the G.P.U.

He is still in exile.

The article printed here is a chapter translated from his best vork: "The Year One of the Russian Revolution."

### On the Eve of Battle

The conflict between the two the tendency to "Gloss over or forpowers - the Provisional Govern- get the insurrection in considering and ammunition, assigned the difment headed by Kerenski, and the the organization of revolutionary soviet—entered a sharper phase in might be expressed thus: Conquer Petersburg after October 16, when first. Lenin wished the insurrecthe Military Revolutionary Committee was formed. The Committee with a fait accompli the congress was headed by Antonov-Ovseenko, could not but sanction it. He urged Podvoiski, and Chudnovski. The his point of view in a personal con-Petersburg garrison had come over erence with the organizers of the to the Bolsheviks. The government, insurrection. He was passionately citing the danger of a German of- concerned with the details of the fensive, tried to send the revolu- preparation, and would not consent tionary regiments off to the front. to defer the offensive at any price. with its cannon. A feverish but to their participation and would be defer the offensive at any price. The M.R.C. was equipped with lia-Nevski and Podvoiski tried vainly silent activity went on in the streets. to their posts; the captain mounts son, information, and armaments to convince him that a few extra Army and Navy detachments the bridge." departments. It began by appoint- days of preparation would only in- marched toward the port. Only the ing commissaries in every unit of crease the chances of victory. "The serious, concentrated faces of the of the proletariat and the garrison. the troops. The bourgeoisie was enemy will also profit by delay," he arming—but the appointment of replied obstinately. Antonov-Ovseen- light of torches. Neither laughter Zabiika, Samson, two torpedo boats commissaries at the armories put a ko has left a striking account of an stop to that. The delegates of the interview with Lenin, which oc- marching men, sharp commands, up the Neva. M.R.C. were welcomed by the troops curred a few days before the battle. who knew the Committee was op- in a house in the workers' quarter posed to the order sending them to of vyborg. Lenin, hunted by Ker-the front The M.B.C. simply The order sending them to be the the to be the the transformed by Ker-The M.R.C.' simply reenski's police. Lenin, who in case explain as giving the Committee came in in disguise. "We found been entrusted with organizing the police a few hours before he was time to examine the question. . . The M.R.C. assumed general power old graybeard wearing a pince nez, Schudnovski, a Bolshevik from the workers' state, still in disguise, dering them not to pay any attention to the regular general staff. From then on the insurrection was. so to speak. latent. Two powers measured each other and two military authorities, the one insurrectional, deliberately cancelled each other's orders.

odni Dom) thousands filled the auditorium, the galleries, the corridors; in the great hall clusters of human beings clung shakily to the steel framework of the building. . . John Reed was there: his notes on this meeting, where Trotsky roused the crowd, deserve repetition:

"The people around me appeared to be in ecstasy. It seemed that they were about to burst forth spontaneously in a religious hymn. Trotsky read a resolution to the general effect that they were ready to fight for the workers and peasants to the last drop of their blood. . . . Who is in favor of the resolution? The innumerable crowd raised its hand as a single man. I saw the burning

### Kronstadt and the Fleet

surrection."

On the morning of the 25th the | and groaning passage of trucks in-

ment. the element of coordination. the perfect organization of the insurrection as a military operation according to the rules of war, there appears most clearly; and the contrast with the spontaneous, badly organized movements so numerous in the history of the proletariat is striking. "Preparations for the march on Petrograd were carried on during the night. . . . The Navy Club was jammed with soldiers, sailors, and workers, all under arms, all ready for action . . . the the plan of operations exactly, designated the various units and sections, made-inventory of supplies ferent leaders. The night passed

in feverish work. The following poats were ordered to support the Provisional Government by force. operation: the torpedo boat mine-Power will pass to the Soviets. layer Amour, the old cruiser Dawn We do not count on your symof Liberty (formerly Alexander pathy; we don't need it. But we III), the monitor Vautour. The urge you to remain at your posts, Amour and Vautour were to disemfilling your duties punctually bark troops in Petrograd. The cruiser was to take up a station at the and obeying our orders. We shall entrance of the maritime canal, spare you superfluous trials. That commanding the coastal railroad is all.' - 'We understand, the cap-

A numerous fleet came to the aid first ranks were to be seen by the The cruisers Aurora, Oleg, Novik, nor talk; only the martial tread of and several other vessels steamed



A reproduction of the mural made by Diego Rivera for the International Workers School.

tack met only feeble resistance. and sailors had slight desire to see all military operations must be im-Grenades exploded on the great a massacre. The Red Guard kept marble staircases, there was hand them close. "Don't soil the victory body think in the middle of a canto hand fighting in the corridors. In of the proletariat with excesses." the shadows of a great anti-chamber a single file of cadets crossed to Peter and Paul Fortress, the for- of cannon? To the contrary, we bayonets before a panelled door. It was the last rampart of the Russian heroes had passed. There last bourgeois government of Rus- they joined the last ministers of the

revolutionary forces of Kronstadt terrupted the silence. In the port sia. Antonov-Ovseenko, Podvoiski, Tsar. That was all. received orders to prepare to defend the boats were hastily boarded. The and Tchudnovski pushed past the In the neighboring sections of the detachments drawn up on the docks motionless bayonets. "I am with city traffic had not even been inter the Soviet Congress (for the offen- waited patiently for their turn to you," one of the youths whispered. rupted. On the wharfs sight-seers sive was launched under the formal embark. Is it possible, I thought Inside was the Provisional Govern- looked on quietly. cover of defense). Let us pause for in spite of myself, that these can ment; thirteen pitiful, shaking a moment on the preparations at be the last moments before the ministers, thirteen fear strained that momentary successes of the a moment on the preparations at Kronstadt, of which one of the par-ticipants (I. Flerovski) has left an excellent account. The rational eletheir death went up. The soldiers reserve headquarters. more was at stake than some every-

day military maneuver. How little this resembled the revolutionary scenes that one remembers from history. . . . 'This revolution,' my companion said, 'is going off swell.' "

eyes of men, women, adolescents,

workers, soldiers, mujiks. . .

Trotsky went on. The hands remained raised. Trotsky said, 'Let

this vote be your oath. You swear

to give all your strength, not to

hesitate before any sacrifice, to

support the Soviet which under-

takes to win the revolution and

give you land, bread, and peace.'

The hands remained raised. The

crowd approved; they took the

oath.... And the same scene was

repeated all over Petersburg. The

last preparations were made

everywhere; everywhere they

swore the last oath; thousands,

tens of thousands, hundreds of

thousands of men. It was the in-

proletarian style -- with organiza- | meets. Lenin comes out of hiding. tion. That is why it conquered in Lenin and Trotsky announce the Petrograd, so easily and completely. seizure of power. The Soviets are Let us borrow another significant going to offer a democratic peace scene from these memoires. On to all belligerent powers; secret board one of the boats headed for treaties will be published. Lenin's the insurrection; the delegate of first words emphasize the imporrevolutionary general staff followed the revolutionary general staff en- tance of the bond between the peasters the officers mess. "Here the ants and the workers, which is yet atmosphere is different. They are unsealed:

> worried, careworn, puzzled. As I enter and salute the officers rise. ity of the peasantry has said: They listen to my short explanation Enough of this game with the while standing. I give the order: capitalists, we shall march with 'We are going to overthrow the the workers.' A single decree abolishing the landowners' estates will gain us the confidence of the peasantry. They will understand that their salvation is with the workers. We shall set up workers control of industry. . .

> > iets does not open until evening in the great white ball room at Smolny, illuminated by encrmous chandeliers. Five hundred and sixty-two dred and eighty-two Bolsheviks,

Kerenski's ministers were sent off "Who is embarrassed by the sound mer Bastille through which so many shall work all the better."

In the neighboring sections of the A detail of organization: in order

The Congress of the Soviets

While the reds surround the Win- ist Social Democrats, twenty-one This revolution went off in swell ter Palace the Petrograd Soviet Menshevik partisans of national de-"In Russia the immense major-

The All Russian Congress of Sodelegates are present; three hunthree nationalist Social Revolution- ets, certainly! All the more so since

mediately stopped. How can anynonade? To which Trotsky replies,

The cannon glare in the windows. A sailor from the cruiser Aurora appears in the hall to reply to the Mensheviks and the right Social Revolutionaries who are denouncing "this crime against Country and Revolution." "A bronzed figure he was," Mistislavski relates, "his gestures were curt, his words cut neath the high collared shirt that curved gracefully about his shaggy head. The hall crackled with excitement. . . . 'The Winter Palace is finished.' he said. 'the Aurora is firing at point blank range.' 'Oh-' fense, seven Social Democrats from groans the Menshevik Abramovitch, various national organizations, five narchists The room is crowded his hands, 'Oh!' The man from anarchists. The room is crowded the Aurora responds to this cry with and levelish. The Mensnevik Dan opens the congress in the name of the former All Russian Executive; cannon thunder on the Neva as the officers are elected. The resistance of the Winter Belloce determined a graceful gesture of magnanimity and consoles him in a loud whisper that trembles with suppressed laughter, "They are shooting blank cartridges. No harm must be Kamenev, "dressed in his best and the ministers and the woman's batin a holiday mood," replace Dan allion.' A turmoil ensues. The national defensist Mensheviks and the point agenda: "Organization of right Social Revolutionaries, sixty Power; War and Peace; The Con-delegates altogether, go out, 'To die stituent Assembly." The Menshe- with the Provisional Government." viks and the Social Revolutionaries They don't get far; their straggling take the floor first. For the former the Red Guard and they dispersed." Martov, their most gifted and in-Late in the night the Left Social telligent leader, whose physical sickness seems, in spite of his great per- Revolutionaries decided to follow sonal courage, to be sickness of the the Bolsheviks and remain in the

idea he serves, "Martov, planted as Congress. usual with his hand on his hip, Lenin did not mount the rostrum pale, trembling and queerly twisted, until the following day when the shaking his ruffled hair, urges a decrees on land, peace, and workers' peaceful solution of the conflict." control of production were voted. A little late! Mistislavski takes His appearance was the signal for the floor for the left Social Revolu- a tremendous acclamation. He tionaries. His party mistrusted the waited calmly for it to end, looking thirty-one non-party sympathizers Provisional Government and was out over the victorious crowd. Then with the Bolsheviks, seventy Left favorable to the seizure of power he said quite simply, without any Social Revolutionaries, thirty-six by the Soviets, but had refused to gesture, his two hands resting on center Social Revolutionaries, six- join in the insurrection. He speaks the pulpit, his shoulders slightly inteen right Social Revolutionaries, in nuances. All power to the Sovi- clined forward toward the crowd: "Now we shall construct the so-

aries, fi teen United International- they have already seized power. But cialist society."

The Second All Russian Congress of Soviets was to meet in Petersburg on October 15. The Mensheviks managed to postpone the meetburg than on the Baltic."" ing until the 25th (Nov. 7. New

Style). thus obtaining ten days grace for the bourgeois provisional government. No one doubted but that the River, the fortress of Peter and Paul pale with fright, echoed among emy. Every drop of revolutionary congress, where the Bolsheviks were certain of a majority, would vote Its guns commanded the Winter sion of a dynamite charge set by jous. for the seizure of power. "You are Palace; there were 100,000 rifles in the carpenter Stephen Kaltourine

setting the date of the revolution," its armory. Its garrison appeared under the imperial apartments, said the Mensheviks to the Bolshe- to be faithful to the Provisional blasted through the square. Here o'clock; at eight o'clock another ul- mainly in demands that Laval disviks. In order that the foregone Government. Trotsky proposed to on January 22, 1905, troops opened timatum; Bolshevik orators har-solve the Fascist leagues. The decision of the congress might be capture this citadel from the inter- fire on the crowd of the hymn sing- angued the defenders. A crack something more than a platonic ex- ior-by a meeting. He succeeded ing workers come to petition their batallion came over to the Bolshepression of opinion it was necessary (with Lashevitch).

to support it by force of arms. As to the date for the insurrection two Petersburg Soviet; it was the day sand wounded-the autocracy most The women's batallion surrendered points of view were manifest; Trot- of the plebiscite, so to speak, of the fatally of all, by its own bullets. | a few moments later. The terrified pointing their finger at Monsieur sky wanted to tie up with the con-insurrection. It often happens that gress, believing that an independent events of great importance rise from October Bolshevik regiments acting palace without lights, guarded by "Bolsheviks of France" who "love insurrection of the party would apparently unimportant immediate in concert with the Red Guard, be- a handful of military cadets, still their country," "must always do have less chance of carrying along causes; for the latter is in reality gan to encircle the Palace, now the hesitated to surrender. Kerenski their best for our people, for the the masses; Lenin thought it "crim- nothing but the last link in a whole seat of Kerenski's ministry. The had run out on them, promising to national unity of our own France" inal" to temporize until the con- chain of causes. The Central Ex- attack was planned for nine o'clock return at the head of a detachment gress, fearing that the Provisional ecutive, including the treasury of in the evening, although Lenin, ever of faithful troops. They expected Thorez who declaims again and Government would forestall the in- the Soviet, was still in the hands of impatient, urged them to attack to be torn to pieces by an infuriated again: "Safety lies not in Rome or surrection by a vigorous offensive. the pacifist socialists. The Soviet sooner. While a wall of steel grad- mob. The cannon of the Aurora-Events failed to justify his fear, needed a newspaper. It was de- ually surrounded the Palace, the firing blank cartridges-finally de-

The enemy proved to be completely meetings on the 22nd to raise funds demoralized. In our opinion two for that purpose. The bourgeois perfectly correct conceptions, based press, frightened by the mobilizaon different considerations came tion, announced that it was an upinto conflict on this point. The one rising. Kerenski gave out fine strategical, based on the necessity sounding statements, but they were for tying up the action of the party nothing but sound. "All Russia is with an immediate demand intellig- with us; we have nothing to fear." ible to the widest masses ("All And he threatened "the elements, power to the Soviets "), certainly the groups, the parties who dare a condition for success; the other attack the liberty of the Russian based on a general line, to eliminate people, who risk opening the front every illusion of the possibility of to Germany, who will end by comproletarian power before the insur- pletely liquidating the revolution." rection. Once this possibility is A regular Galiffet! But his threats admitted in theory, why not admit were vain; he was too late. The the possibility of power without in- 22nd saw a formidable mobilization surrection? That road could lead of the masses. Every hall was far. Since 1906 Lenin had attacked filled. At the Peoples House (Nar-

ourselves in the presence of a little capture of the Winter Palace. to become the leader of the first bonaire in fact; a musician, a in the Ukraine, worked with them. room in the building. Of each new resenting more than 2,000,000 or- their "2,000,000 organized youth" sand. teacher, or a librarian one would The former imperial residence is arrival he asked, "The Palace? Not ganized youth, called upon the youth with such a free hand. have thought. He took off his wig ituated in the center of the city on yet taken?" His anger against of America to 'prepare for war by and revealed his usual humorous the banks of the Neva. It faces temporizers mounted hourly. He marching for peace." expression; 'What news?' He was Peter and Paul fortress which lies threatened Podvoiski ','We must full of assurance. He inquired the across the river at a distance of six shoot him, we must shoot him." The such misleading appearance we possibility of calling the fleet to hundred yards. To the south the soldiers grouped around bonfires in would suggest that it curb the pub-

Petersburg. In reply to the objec-palace looks out on a vast paved the streets near the palace were tion that this would leave the coast square which contains the Column equally impatient. "The Bolsheviks of Alexander I. Across this square turning diplomat too," they France Faces Civil War sailors must know that the revolu- in a semi-circle are the former army muttered. Once more Lenin's view tion is in greater danger in Peters- and foreign affairs buildings. In in a minor detail, was that of the 1879 the revolver shots of the stu- the masses. Podvoiski, sure of vic-

Situated in the center of the city dent Soloviev, from whom the Auto-tory, deferred the attack. Agitators public order or the republican formon the little island in the Neva crat Alexander II fled, doubled over, demoralized the already doomed enwas a source of worry to the M.R.C. these buildings. In 1871 the explo- blood, now easily spared, was prec

> The first summons to surrender was sent in to the ministers at six "Little Father Tsar." There were viks; welcomed by a tremendous

October 22 was the day of the fifty deaths and more than a thou- hurrah as they crossed the square. On the morning of the 25th of ministers, left alone in the vast Cachin who promised that the which was nonetheless legitimate. cided to hold a number of large Congress of Soviets met at Smolny, moralized the defenders. The at-



## the front. The M.R.C. shufty is a capture would probably have of capture would probably have of capture would probably have of capture would probably have to a comparison the comparison of capture would probably have to a comparison of the nobility. Still hunted by the to comparison of the nobility. Still hunted by the to comparison of the nobility.

### (Continued from Page 1)

do McNutt, national chairman of lic statements of its overzealous Worker we cannot say. We can only over the troops, and ended by or- wearing it well enough, rather de- earliest days, who was soon to die Lenin strode up and down a small the American Youth Congress, rep. national chairman who deals out guess how fifteen became fifty thou-

If the A. Y. C. wants to avoid



(Continued from Page 1)

locals, 155 and 2085 United Textile any organization acting contrary to of government. Committee :

Union Organizer

endorsers of your organization.

These decrees will no doubt meet "Mr. S. R. Solomonick, Trade with the satisfaction of the gentlemen of the Front Populaire whose "People's March for Peace fight against fascism has consisted Committee 'Dear Sir: Front Populaire, after all, regards munication with reference to the itself as the chief defender of the People's March for Peace Parade republican form of government, of

democracy in France Such decrees, surely, can't be ('Humanite, Oct. 8), or at Monsieur in Berlin. I repeat. I, whose heart beats in tune with that of Moscow. that safety is in our Paris. in our France!" ('Humanite, Oct. 13). Or pate. at Vaillant-Couturier, for whom

"the interests of France coincide today with the interests of humanity"!! ('Humanite, Oct. 4). Or any of these gentlemen like Monmousseau who are "for union at any price" (l'Humanite, Oct. 5) with the bourmovements for peace. . . geoisie or its flunkeys?

No, but they are pointing at the heart of the French proletariat who, unless they are directed along the firm lines of an intransigeant, revolutionary policy of class struggle, stand to fall victim, however

heroic their resistance, to the foul fair last Saturday went to make up head of that people. Those against attacks of French Fascism and to the difference between the 15,000 the insurrection were "everybody"the fouler betrayals of the Second reported in the capitalist press and except the Bolsheviks. But the the 50,000 reported in the Daily Bolsheviks were the people. and Third Internationals.

The parade came off under the

**Knitgoods Union Protests** appropriate slogan of Waldo Mc-We have received another letter, Nutt: "Prepare for war by marchpress release from the Knitgoods ing for peace." (How true, how true. The prodigal son of the Am-Joint Council: "For immediate release. The fol- erican Youth Congress speaks truer

power!

lowing letter was sent by the Joint than he knows.) Council of Knitgoods Unions to the

tee protesting the unauthorized use The Art of Insurrection of the names of their affiliated

(Continued from Page 4) Workers of America, as endorsers and the garrison was that they were of the People's March for Peace "isolated" from those classes from whom they intended to take the

But was it really possible to rely upon the sympathy and support of the dark masses in the provinces "We are in receipt of your comand at the front? "Their Bolshevism," wrote Sukhanov scornfully, "was nothing but hatred for the to be held next Saturday, October coalition and longing for land and 26, and note that two of our afpeace." As though that were little! filiated locals, 155 and 2085, Unit-Hatred for the coalition meant a ed Textile Workers, are listed as desire to take the power from the bourgeoisie. Longing for land and "While our organization is oppeace was the colossal program posed to war and is at all times which the peasant and soldier inready to take action in support of tended to carry out under the leadpeace, we cannot permit the ership of the workers. The insigninames of our affiliated locals to ficance of the democrats, even the be used as endorsers of an organmost leftward, resulted from this ization about which we know very distrust-the distrust of "ednothing and of a parade in the ucated" sceptics — in those dark arrangement of which we have masses who grasp a phenomenon not even been asked to particiwholesale not bothering about details and nuances. This intellectu-

"We want to protest this unaual, pseudo-aristocratic, squeamish thorized use of the names of our attitude toward the people was foreign to Bolshevism, hostile to its locals. We believe that such methods of obtaining endorsers very nature. The Bolsheviks were act against attempts of sincere not lily-handed, literary friends of labor organizations to organize the masses, not pedants. They were not afraid of those backward strata now for the first time lifting them-

Yours truly, Joint Council, Knitgoods selves out of the dregs. The Bol-Workers Union,

sheviks took the people as preced-Morris Lispky, President ing history had created them, and as they were called to achieve the Lewis Nelson, Manager." revolution. The Bolsheviks saw it How many other organizations which did not attend the gala af- as their mission to stand at the

# The Significance of the October Revolution for the Orient

Few were the countries under imperialist domination which failed in the post-war years to react to the revolutionary stimulus which radi-Lenin's Bolshevism and Stalin's

lutionary struggle in Turkey, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Afghanistan, India, Indonesia, Indochina, Korea and China.

It was in China that this ferment developed to its greatest dimensions. China was in many waysand still is-the key to the national emancipation movements thruout the vast do-

mains of imperialism. Upon the outcome of the

struggle there depended in large It was China's tragedy to receive measure the correlation of class the lessons and experiences of lions of people thus lifted from the ductive forces leaped spectacularly sought the prestige of Russia's supforces not only in the colonial the October Revolution refracted dregs of darkness to a new life il- forward. A modern Chinese proleworld but between the struggling through the dirty lenses of Stalin- lumined by science and by educa- tariat came into being, seemingly of the spontaneously growing move-Soviet state and its enemies in cap- ism. For these "lessons" the Chin- tion. China's victory still lies italist Europe.

China

state, isolated and embattled, had stored. A re-evaluation of the his- be unable, in its turn, to fulfill its task of ultimately emancipating been compelled to retreat to the torical and theoretical lessons to be historic mission. New Economic Policy, when the drawn from that relationship is Permanent Revolution-1905 Lesson wave of struggle began to rise high imperative if the red day of revoin China. The Chinese Revolution lution is ever again to dawn for ing ideology of the Russian revoluthreatened imperialism with a new,

Victory for the revolution in China could have broken down the isola-

The bureaucratic stratum which then in the mean philip in the democratic revolutions in the backhad begun to solidify on the outer the in the geographical or in the ward countries and carrying them crust of the newly-formed Soviet state took Russia's national isola-tion as its state took at a the two groups of peoples do tion as its starting point. To justi- not clash at a barrier, but tend ism not upon the bourgeoisie but fy itself it erected the theory of gradually to merge, the one into the upon the proletariat allied with and

socialism in one country, the well. other. spring of Stalinism. In this cul-Great similarities exist in the soture the germs of opportunism cial composition of the two coun- very essence of Leninism and of the thrived and waxed strong. The So- tries. In both there are a large theory of the permanent revolution, viet bureaucracy turned to the East number of races and nationalities possessed for China and for the not to help apply there the lessons with specific characteristics and of the Bolshevik victory but to seek cultures. In both the agrarian a decisive significance. By 1911 allies in the national bourgeoisies population overwhelmingly predom- the productive forces of China had of the Eastern countries. Toward inates and the proletariat is a small not reached the point where it was this end it draped the mantle of but decisive minority. Like Tsar-Lenin around the death's head of ist Russia, China is a backward na- sion in the actual relationship of Menshevism and made it large tion in which the beginnings of cap- class forces. Indeed, the state of underlying strategic-theoretical conof reaction.

China.



Arrests in the streets of Shanghai. The police belong to the International Settlement.

ese masses were forced to pay a ahead, but in the experience of the **Beaction in Russia-Revolution in** frightful price. Today an under- Russian working class there are les-

Both the events and the governtion at its various stages exercised

and perhaps this time mortal blow. The Bond Binding both Revolutions a direct influence upon the development of the Chinese revolution Between the Chinese and Russian Russia's 1905 was one of the world revolutions there is an organic bond, factors which directly contributed stead harshly decided that the disastrous defeat of the Chinese Revolution should itself become one of the countries is joined, in the first of the Chings. From the 1905 exthe most ghastly consequences of place, by a contiguous frontier perience Lenin and Trotsky had alproletarian Russia's isolation with-in a rim of hostile, capitalist states. which crosses Asia for a distance of almost 6,000 miles. There is, moreover no real dividing line of leading the peasantry.

n its hands it unloosed mighty cre-

This tremendous concept, th whole East, as well as for Russia possible for this idea to find expres-

past, in China imperialism in a far whose warring satrapies became expressed in the creation of modern more drastic manner paralyzed the masks for the interplay of imperial- industry, had set all classes in mocountry's social and economic ist antagonisms in China itself. tion in China and out of this movegrowth. The backwardness in econ- But the 1911 revolution had nev- ment a social, literary and cultural omy and social organization con- ertheless ushered in a new, transirenaissance emerged as the herald demned the masses of both coun- tional epoch involving not the rise of the second Chinese revolution. tries to conditions of helotry sup- of a new dynasty but the transfor- When the intellectuals and then the ported by the blackest of supersti- mation of the economy and class workers began to intervene in the tion, ignorance and the burden of structure of the country and of the march of events and to seek to mold state superimposed upon it. The them in their own interests as they

In Russia the comparatively dismal failure of two attempts, in saw them, it was under the direct small and youthful proletariat 1916 and 1918, to restore the mon- impetus and influence of the Octo- garb. smashed the shackles of the old so- archy, showed that China had ber Revolution. Even the Chinese ciety and established its own class rounded a decisive mile post in her bourgeoisie, its hopes for the inde dictatorship. With state power history.

Proletariat Emerges in China

ative energies which opened the In the war years great changes way for the industrialization and modernization of the country. It took place. The imperialist grip, Lenin foresaw it would-and its elevated the cultural level of mil- tighter after 1911, relaxed. Proovernight. But the whole historical development of the Chinese bourgeoisie condemned it, even in the sons of precious and vital signifi- period of its relative growth, to the tween the October and China's cance without an understanding of position of a vassal dependent upon was already declining; the Soviet revolutionary future has to be re- which the Chinese proletariat will imperialism. This meant that the

as part of the whole task of liberating Chinese society from the chains of its past and leading it to its new place in a new. socialist world. In 1917, in the struggle against Tsarism. the Russian pro-



The first and one of the few anti-Japanese demonstrations – at Shanghai on September 26, 1931.

letariat showed exactly how this could be done. The Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, translated daring theory into dazzling reality. October blazed the way for China and all the "backward" countries of

the world. The validity for China of the



Execution of workers outside a Hankow factory by a Kuomintang

But Menshevism Leads in China These were the clear and unequiv-

pendent development of capitalist economy revived and fluttering, for the East the essential lessons tried to give its own class aspirations a Communist coloration-as the time the workers of the East, particularly of China, were ready most conscious representatives port and put themselves at the head ment of the workers and peasants.

Lenin's Teachings

Here the fundamental requirement of the Chinese proletariat was a party of its own, deeply in-pregnated with the experience and is stages replaced the historical fundamental strategy of the Oats demonstration or badied in the theory the Wang Ching-weis, the Feng Yuwas a party of its own, deeply im-A mechanical, non-dialectic theory fundamental strategy of the Octo- dynamics embodied in the theory hsiangs; in Russia Stalin used the ber Revolution. Such were the of the permanent revolution. The apparatus of the Soviet state to parties for the Eastern countries Menshevik ideas which might have envisaged by Lenin at the Second wrecked the Russian revolution had to save the Chinese workers from Congress of the Comintern in 1920. it not been for Lenin were dragged the Cavaignacs and Gallifets into At that Congress Lenin had given out of the past by the same men whose hands he, Stalin, had delivthe strategical lead to the East, who had defended those ideas ered them!

particularly to China where the against Lenin in 1917, the Stalins, development of class forces already the Bucharins, the Martinovs. This provided the most fertile ground Menshevik baggage was labelled ary period, the inevitable lurch to for the planting of the Bolshevik with Lenin's discarded slogan of insane adventurism, from August, seed. Imperialist domination, he the democratic dictatorship, decked 1927, to the end of 1930, and the pointed out, stifled the forces of out with devious, tortuous interpre- subsequent attempt to cloak an inproduction and therefore the pro- tations which outraged Lenin's very surgent peasant movement with a tariat had to take the lead in the memory. Thus fortified, and backed proletarian garb, only led to new struggle against it-"but from this by the prestige of the whole Rus- disasters, to new blind alleys. It it does not follow at all that the sian proletariat, the Borodins and did not lead to the Chinese October. leadership of the revolution will the Voitinskys came to China to Instead it has only fed the finest have to be surrendered to the bour- teach the Chinese workers that the fighters of the revolution into the geois democrats." To the contrary, "national" struggle for liberation maw of Kuomintang reaction. It the Communists must prevent the preceded the class struggle of the only facilitated the Kuomingtang's bourgeoisie from securing control working masses against their own betravals to imperialsm and its deof the national movement. They exploiters.

must develop the class conscious-This was the monstrous thing, ness of the masses, lead them to that from the land of the October For an end to this tragedy, too the organization of soviets and with came men who taught that imper- long, too costly! Like everywhere the help of the proletariat of the ialism had the effect of welding else Stalinism in China has left advanced countries, to Communism. into a common front of struggle only smoking ruins and the bodies In this process the Communists against it all the classes of Chinese of heroic dead in its wake. Its would find it "useful" and even society except the old feudal mili- dead hand must be torn away from necessary to ally themselves to the tarists. From this to the "bloc of the throat of the world proletariat.

national revolutionary movements, four classes," the stifling of the In China as elsewhere we must "not however amalgamating with mass movement wherever it men- build a new revolutionary party, enough to provide shelter for the italism are entwined with feudal productive forces was such that cepts of the October Revolution was them, preserving the independent aced bourgeois interests and there- the party of the Fourth Internanational bourgeoisie of China. From forms of exploitation which hold neither the bourgeoisie, stifled by not immediately perceived. But the character of the proletarian movethis source flowed the policies which the peasantry as a whole in their imperialism, nor the proletaiat, October itself, far more immediately ment, even though it is still in its the recognition of and subordina- how to face the problems of the led to the ghastly tragedy which in grip. Whereas in Russia the auto- scacely yet born, were in a position and directly than in 1905, became embryonic form." They must put tion to bourgeois leadership through Chinese revolution with a real un-1927 plunged China into the maw cracy acted as a break on the to replace the Manchu Dynasty by a mighty stimulus to a new revolu- the masses on guard against the the Kuomintang, from all this to derstanding of the significance, for growth of productive forces and any new, unified class rule. Power, tionary upheaval in China. The attempt to cloak a bourgeois demo- the shattering catastrophes of Can- China, of Russia's October.



ocal terms in which Lenin laid down Executioners in Russia and Orient

When against this betrayal Leon of the October Revolution. But by Trotsky raised the voice of the Opposition, the voice of Marx, of Lenin, of the October, he and his to absorb and apply these ideas, adherents were driven from the Lenin was gone. The thoroughly party by the club of the apparatus, reactionary concept of socialism in driven into prison, into graves or one country had replaced Leninist into exile. How bitter it is to think internationalism. A bureaucracy that while in China workers, peaswhich hoped for nothing better than ants and intellectuals, victims of a Chinese Kemal Pasha had re- the Stalinist betrayal, went down placed the leaders who looked not under the lash of the terror wielded for nationalist but for class allies. by Stalin's great and good allies of

> The course of the post-revolutionstruction of the very lifeblood of ne Chinese people.

# Comrade Candide and Comrade Browder ... A Tragi-Comedy Being the Story of an Honest Worker Who Fell into a Coma in the Twilight of the "Third Period"

Daily. For example, there's the maneuvers with the imperialist with the revolutionary unions into years of great opportunities and tern. Turning their backs upon was to preserve the status-quo, Union is to preserve the status quo (Continued from Page 3) land, you quoted from the 'new their own ruling class to fight anread: "These great traditions clus- ers?" ter around the Stars and Stripes connections in recent years. Not by which is the only way to avert war the pacifist but by the patriotic ap- and oppose Fascism? Why, only proach lies our path to power and the counter-revolutionary Trotsky-Sharts by quoting directly from most all the Socialist parties to our plete authenticity of the above story. Hitler.' (p. 78.) How can we imitate policy." the fascists by such appeals to patriotism?"

approach to the problem of Bolshevizing the masses."

Candide: "The American apof Budenz, one of those left socialfascists whom you called 'the most semi-fascist agency of the Roosedangerous enemies of the workers' struggles today.' " (p. 76.)

Budenz is in the next room."

Candide: "There are lots of other the American government." the introduction of fascism. . . join it." The New Deal was in political es- Candide: "Lewis heading a pro-

sence and direction the same as gressive movement? Why you coupcan we, a working class party, call you're liquidating all the T.U.U.L. It would be pointless to look for uprising in Esthonia. The breaking shek and the Kou-Min-Tang in the to the right, which is still under labor movement. upon one semi-fascist government unions? Why I remember how my them in Browder's psychology or of the revolutionary wave in Ger- Chinese revolution; and upon var- way. This is a return to the fun-

these contradictions in diplomatic us: 'to unite the independent unions intern in the past thirteen years, Communist Party and the Comin- world. The essence of this course the Stalinists outside the Soviet appeal to the patriotic traditions powers, but how can the Commun- a single Independent Federation of tremendous defeats for the revolu- the international scene, the leader while socialism was being built in by means of the Soviet diplomacy of the American people. At Cleve- ist parties ask the cooperation of Labor." (p. 38) At this point Candide broke into

fascist program for the S. P., 'pre- other? How does such class-colla- hysteria and fell to the floor in a Third International, it has passed country" as a justification for their sented by Joseph Sharts, which boration look to the Italian work- dead faint. We are informed that through four phases. he has remained unconscious and

Browder: "Would you have us and make it worthy to be fought isolate ourselves from the organ. fortunate condition, we must regretfor, regardless of the capitalist ized workers by opposing sanctions, fully leave him.

velt regime, more dangerous than

sanction the imperialist policy of

Chapter III

Candide: "That's just the point. You said that both the A. F. of L. Browder: "That is the American and the company unions were gov- "Report of the Central Committee then the economic collapse which binders, defeats, and catastrophes united front from below policies. It Laval pact, the French Communist ernmental agencies of the capitalist of the Communist Party to the Sth necessitated the introduction of the which the working class has sufclass, just as the Fascists and so- Convention, delivered by Earl New Economic Policy in 1921 pro- fered since 1923.

cial-fascists were the twin political Browder," published by the Work- duced a widespread passivity in the proach! Why, that was the slogan agencies of the capitalist class. (p. er's Library of New York, 1934. We exhausted Russian working class. meditation these sombre days. Browder: "Not so loud, comrade. ally follows that its leaders would by the contradictory lines of the upon the Communist. party and the port in its struggle against the the German revolution to maintain patriotic betrayal of the Second In-Communist Party, and could find no state apparatus during this period Bolshevik-Leninists; and opposed the satus quo.

explanation for them. Bewildered -and turned its face away from planned economy, industrialization, things in the Daily Worker I don't Browder: "You're living in the and confused by his leaders, who the international revolution. The and collectivization demanded by and collectivization demanded by the Left Opposition in favor of a of the third period was abruptly nothing but defeat after defeat iod.

Browder: "We'are utilizing the ment of resistance to the NRA and the mind of his master, Stalin, who olutionary ebb and the temporary ed the betrayal of the English Gen- the status quo.

of the bureaucracy, Stalin, devel-the Soviet Union. tionary working class. As we view the history of the oped the theory of "socialism in one

upon the Roosevelt government and movement has sprung up in the A. opposite tomorrow, he relapsed into led by the Third International was course of concessions to Nepmen terminated by Hitler's conquest of upon the working class. Although the League of Nations to invoke F. of L. headed by such people as unconsciousness. Politically consanctions against Fascist Italy. John L. Lewis, Francis Gorman and scious workers, however, will want munist leaders in Germany in the leign policy the Stalinists relied the fatal policies pursued by the of the Third International still Sanctions against rascist italy. Join L. Lewis, Francis Gorman and scious workers, nowever, will want induce of a revolutionary situation in upon the reformist trade union bu-You taught us that the Roosevelt Sidney Hillman, and that's why to know why the Communist Party face of a revolutionary situation in upon the reformist trade union buadministration is 'the beginning of we're advising all our members to has followed such completely contradictory policies in the past per- in's orders), which was preceded by Anglo-Russian Committee to lead the Fascist monster they had helped olutionary principle he stood for. the defeat of the Bulgarian in- the struggle against imperialist create, the Stalinists have thrown The Third International is no long-To us, the reasons for the somer-surrection in 1923 and followed war and for the defense of the away all the theoretical baggage of er a revolutionary organization, no Hitler's program.' (p. 20-21.) How led him with Green in 1934. And saults of the Stalinists are clear. by the crushing of the Reval Soviet Union; upon Chiang Kai- the third period in the wild flight longer a progressive force in the

to stop another Fascist state from heart beat with pride as I listened American conditions. These have many and elsewhere paved the way ious unreliable peasant leaders damental course of the Stalinist conducting an imperialist war? to you describe the amazing pro- nothing to do with the case. Brow- for the reorganization and strength- throughout the world. The Com- bureaucracy, the right opportunist the world are gathering today un-Aren't we playing the game of the gress made by the revolutionary der, the leader of the C.P.U.S.A., is ening of European capitalism with munist parties were subordinated to course of 1923-1928, on a wider der the new banner of the Fourth imperialists, instead of pursuing an trade unions of the T.U.U.L., 'by a political master-mind in only one independent working class policy?' developing the whole mass move sense: he reflects what goes on in 2. The second period. The rev-

contradictions between the import the whole capitalist offensive, in in turn translates into political stabilization of European capitalism | eral Strike and the impotence of Today the Stalinists are again in; for the overthrow of capitalism; ialist powers, just as the Soviet the development of the strike move- terms the needs of the Soviet bu- gave further impetus to pessimism the British Communist Party; the seeking protection in the arms of for a workers' world. Rally to the Union is doing in the League of ments, (p. 36) while the Trotsky- reaucracy. We must, therefore, and passivity regarding the pros- tragic betrayal of the Chinese revo- the social democratic leaders and support of the Workers Party, ites and Musteites sold out the look abroad to the Soviet Union pects of world revolution in the lution; the weakening of the Com-Candide: "I can understand why workers in Minneapolis and Toledo. and the international scene to un- Soviet bureaucracy, which had munist parties and the revolution- cracy, as well as imperialist nations the Fourth International in the the Soviet state must try to utilize I remember that slogan you gave derstand what has ailed the Com- usurped control of the Russian ary movement throughout the such as France. The sole task of United States!

3. The Third Period.

of Litvinov or the subsidiary means of the Communist parties. The last When this policy culminated in remnants of revolutionary working conservative and narrowly nation- "the bloodless Kulak uprising of class policy has been abandoned in

1. The heroic period from the alistic viewpoint. According to this 1928," the Stalinists suddenly favor of popular fronts. The united delirious ever since. In that un- Bolshevik revolution in October, theory, a classless socialist society veered around and transformed all fronts between the Socialist and 1917 to the death of Lenin in 1924. can be built up in one single coun- their policies into their opposites. Communist parties are united fronts In these years the Third Interna-try alone, the Soviet Union, even if Instead of opposition to planned of inaction, instead of struggle. The tional was built; its revolutionary the proletariat in the more ad- economy came the first and second recent Seventh Congress of the program formulated in the first vanced countries fail to conquer Five Year plans with their mad Comintern set its seal of approval four Congresses; the task of win- power. From this theory dates the gallop toward industrialization, re- upon this course. The task of the freedom.' And then you said: 'It ites are against sanctions. We've would be difficult to improve on Mr. Sharts by guoting directly from most all the trade unions, alunder the banner of Marx and respective countries to auxiliary complete collectivization and liquid- conquer the world for socialism, has We can, however, guarantee the au- Lenin begun. However, the de- arms of the conservative foreign ation of the kulak. These domestic been reduced to the pitiful task of was in this so-called "third period" Party calls upon the French workthat Candide received his political ing class to support its own capital-

During this second period right- education, or rather, miseducation. ist government in case of war opportunistic policies were substi- So different in its form from the against Fascist Germany, thus pit-28-29-30.) If the A. F. of L. is a recommend it for entertainment and Reflecting this passivity, the Soviet tuted all along the line for revolu- second period, the third period con- ting one section of the working bureaucracy, whose control was cen- tionary policies. Within the Soviet tinued the same objective: preser- class against another, and betray-Candide, the honest Stalinist tralized in Stalin's hands, devel- Union, the bureaucracy leaned upon vation of the status quo-even if ing them both. This is a repetition worker, was completely bewildered oped and strengthened its grip the Nepman and the Kulak for sup-

4. The Fourth Period.

Since 1923 the opportunist lead-

The proletarian revolutionists of gle for the ideas of Marx and Len-

### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1935

## **MARCH OF EVENTS**

### By JACK WEBER

### WHO WILL DISARM THE FASCISTS?

Nothing paralyzes the revolutionary activity of the advanced workers in any country so much as sabotage and treachery from within its own ranks. French social democracy and Stalinism are both engaged in creating and fostering the most harmful illusions in the ranks of the French proletariat. The success of their treachery can lead only to the victory of fascism. On the bands created and supported by mit against the Revolution? a par with the social patriotic sup- the same master whose orders are fense of the Soviet Union," by the support of the Franco-Soviet mili-

ialist government which is cease-

of an economic policy which-by decree-unloads the entire crisis on the backs of the workers, the small functionaries and the exploited of the Soviet Bolshevik-Leninists, a peasants. The same de Wendel trusted the reins of the bourgeois sat four years in prison, in harsh government to Laval. Will any solitary confinement, and then, once

mechanic who of necessity finds who heads the armaments trust and himself today outside the Soviet heavy industry (Comite des Forges), Union. Early in 1928, Tarov was

worker take seriously the word of again, he spent several months in industry should be set not at 5-9 Laval that he will act to disarm exile. What crimes did Tarov com-

By L. TROTSKY

We have a remarkable document

But perhaps it is not Laval who sibilities for industrialization, impro quo for their support of a "dem- ists, for the sake of Soviet diploma- lak which would lead to a crisis for and announces that the Mobile the inclusion of the directly bour-period of 1923-1926. He was more replaced by a regime of bulldozing task of disarming the Croix de Feu nessing the ripening of the fruit of such were the crimes of the ten- the youth must lead to demoralizaand other private armies. No doubt this People's Front. The Stalinists dency for which Tarov bore the re- tion and to the growth of outright the cretins who trust in the imper- and Socialists make all possible sponsibility. In 1926, all the Tarovs hooligan and reactionary moods in concessions to the petty bourgeois demanded that the Soviet trade un- its midst. These warnings were lessly preparing for war, to preserve Radicals, including a complete re- ions bring to an end, the political branded as an attempt to set the

workers should be aroused to the support to the direct representa- betraying the miners' strike, togefraud that will be perpetrated by tives of big business, to Laval. ther with the General Strike: it has been calumniated, smashed and Laval to assist the fascists and Herriot prevented a split in the was precisely for this service that committed to jails, or demoralized strike a blow at the revolutionary Radical Socialist congress that has Citrine, the head of the General by Stalin with the aid of his Praevanguard of the proletariat. For just been conclude dover the ques- Council, the former ally of Stalin torians. under his fake promise, Laval will tion of supporting the government and Tomsky, was knighted by His proceed to take strong measures by decree of Laval. Daladier con- Royal Majesty during the Jubilee we must add that the Bolshevikagainst the armed workers, against ducted an apparent fight for the celebrations. Together with other Leninists, including Tarov, never the incipient workers' militia or. People's Front against such sup- Leninists, Tarov protested in 1926 attempted to impose their ideas by ganized to defend the proletariat port but was "persuaded" to yield against the Stalinist theory of a force. They did not call for an

government corresponds in its func- does not want to split his party. state"-a theory which impelled the For a period of almost ten years tions with that of Giolitto-Bonomi Thus the entire course of the Stal- Polish Communist party to support they sought and hoped to convince in Italy and Bruening-Schleicher- inists is clearly revealed as playing Pilsudski's coup. But even this the party. They fought primarily von Papen in Germany. It is the into the hands of the imperialists. does not exhaust the list of Tarov's for their right to bring their crittransition form between democracy The further end of the chain of crimes. As an internationalist, he icism and their proposals before the and fascism. In this transition the class collaboration in which the was vitally interested in the fate of party. But the bureaucracy which fascist bands are created by fin- working class links are forged by the Chinese revolution. He consid- had raised itself to autocratic rule

remain completely at the mercy of accepted into the Communist Inter- Thermidorian annihilation of the Laval was placed in power by the the big bankers. Only by pursuing national, as a "sympathetic" organ- Opposition in 1928. Thereafter he financial oligarchy in complete a clear-cut revolutionary policy of ization. The time came when Stal- spent more than three years in ex-This capstone of French imperial- attain their own ends. Not the di- telegram from Moscow, calling From his present brief story the ism ousted Flandin when he refused rect representatives of the bourgeoi- upon Chinese Communists to put reader is able to acquaint himself to obey the dictates of the bankers sie, but the armed forces of the down the agrarian movement of the with the conditions that prevail in -the Rothschild interests, the de workers can disarm the fascists. peasants, so as not to "scare away" these jails: abuse, corporal punish Wendels, etc.—in the matter of de- The answer to Laval's fraud must Chiang Kai Shek and his officers. ment, the 14-day torture of a hun flation. Laval was placed in power be the more rapid arming of the Tarov, together with other disciples ger strike, and in answer to it because he was the willing tool of workers and the building of the of Lenin, considered such a policy forced feeding and new abuse. All

### Leon Trotsky Analyses the Revelations of the Bolshevik Tarov

Increasing Oppression the

Path of Bureaucracy

in the letter of comrade Taroy, one The Tarovs had several other posed the problem of collectivizasimilar crimes to their credit: From tion before Stalin did, because they met with complete failure. Tarov 1923 on, they demanded that work issued a timely warning against the proceed on the drafting of the Five consequences of the perfidious alli- than to flee from the Soviet Union. who directly finances de la Rocque, arrested as a "left Oppositionist"; Year Plan; and when, in 1927, the ance with Chiang Kai Shek and the His experience, for which he paid the wosld-be Hitler of France, en- he spent three years in exile, and draft of the first Five Year Plan future Sir Walter Citrine. was finally outlined, all the Tarovs

port of French militarism and im-law to Laval—and are in actuality perialism, under the guise of "de-translated into laws by degree?" It appears that as early as 1923, greater. True, this was all soon the Communist International nad cleared the road for him. When The Open Letter states, "By means icy, and correspondingly, the renun-he was of the opinion that the Octo-he was of the opinion that the October revolution had created the pos- virtue of their foresight had ex- Hitler was hoisting himself into the of persecutions, frauds, amalgams ciation of any attempt to struggle posed the backwardness of the rul- saddle, his stirrup was held by and bloody repressions the ruling for the overthrow of English capitary alliance, is the sowing of the will really disarm the fascists, but measurably more rapid than was ing upper crust, they were there none other than Stalin. All the clique seeks to nip in the bud every talism. If this policy is proposed illusion by the "Popular Front" a better friend of the workers, Her- the case with capitalist countries. fore guilty of undermining the rev- floods of eloquence poured forth by movement of Marxist thought. No- for the purpose, pretended at least, that the capitalist government can riot for example. Or better still Together with other Tarovs he olution (i.e. the prestige of the bu- the Seventh Congress will not wash where in the world is genuine Len- of hastening the overthrow of Italbe made to disarm the fascist bands one who advocates the People's raised the alarm against the policy reaucracy). The Tarovs paid a away from the ennobled Leaders inism so bestially hounded as in ian imperialism, then the advocates hired by finance capital. As a quid Front like Daladier. The Stalin- of staking everything upon the ku- great deal of attention to the work- the blots of this historic crime. All the U.S.S.R." These lines, superfi- of such a policy are maintaining ing class youth. In their opinion the more rabid became the hatred cially considered, appear exagger- that between the two imperialisms, ocratic" government, the Stalinists cy, perverted the united front with the entire Soviet system. He de- the youth had to be given an op- of the Stalinist clique for all those ated: Isn't Leninism being ruthless- Italian fascism and British "demohave been demanding that the gov- the French Socialists into a crass manded that efforts be focussed portunity to do some independent who had foreseen and forewarned ly hounded in Italy and Germany? cracy," the latter is the lesser evil. ernment agree to disarm the fas- form of class collaboration for the upon the peasant poor and the sys- thinking, to study, make mistakes, in time. The captive Leninists had As a matter of fact there is no excists. Laval now "yields" to this preservation of bourgeois democra- tematic switching of rural economy and learn to stand on its own feet. to pay with their ribs for the dead- aggeration in the Open Letter. In so-called pressure from the "left" cy. The united front became the on to the rails of collectivization. They protested against the fact that ly policy which combined ignorance Fascist countries the Leninists are (as the capitalist press puts it) social-patriotic People's Front with Such were his chief crimes for the revolutionary leadership had been with perfidy: it is precisely this subjected to persecution along with

peace, will hail this "decision" of liance on parliamentarism. The friendship with the General Council young generation against the old, Laval as a victory. In reality the Radical Socialists, in turn, give of British Trade Unions that was as mutiny against the "Old Guard" -the very same "Old Guard" which

Such are Tarov's crimes. To this from fascist attack. The Laval to the patriotic Herriot. Daladier "democratic workers' and peasants' uprising against the bureaucracy. heroic Communist party of China inist Opposition not the force of

The workers must learn that this to enter into the Koumintang and argument, but the armed detachto submit to its discipline; in addi- ments of the G.P.U. Tarov hapis the inevitable result of a course tion to which, the Koumintang it- pened to be among several thouof class collaboration, that they self, a purely bourgeois party, was sands who were arrested during the

ile, and about four years in jail. to be a betrayal of the revolution. this because the BolshevikLeninists

need of swindlers ready for anything.

Thus, Tarov's attempt to return to the ranks of the official "party" was left with no recourse other so dearly, is an invaluable lesson both for the Soviet and the world

Tarov's Mistake

argued that the annual increase in percent, as was done by the Polit- from the blue: Hitler came to powical Bureau, but two or three times er in Germany. The policy of ternational finds a new and a clear- workers means to advocate support

### Guards or special police are to be geois Radical Socialist Party of penetrating and far-sighted than the ruling upper crust. In any case, this barrack-room strangulation of French Stalinists Give the Fascists A Lesson on the True Patriotic Spirit

Vaillant-Couturier, No. 1 French Stalinist publicist and blowhard, has discovered exactly what's wrong with the French Fascists. The Fascists, it seems, have been smart enough to oppose the policy of sanctions, to denounce it as a war policy, and thereby distinguish themselves before the masses from the Left parties which support sanctions, and therefore imperialist war, to the very hilt.

"The idea," writes the valiant Vaillant, "that the League of Nations can really prevent the war in Abyssinia exasperates the French Fascists. These unfortunates haven't the national sense to understand that if Mussolini is left free today to commit aggression against a member of the League of Nations on the protext that it is weak, that would be to give full liberty to Hitler to set fire to Europe tomorrow.

"It is really sad to see Frenchmen blinded to such a point by party spirit, that they are ready to sacrifice the vital interests of the French people to the prestige of the black shirts of Mussolini." (L'Humanite, October 2.)

The French Stalinists are sad unto tears to think that these unfortunate" Fascists just don't understand the "national" and "vital" interests of the "French people." Is there no bottom to the mire of betrayal in which these people now wallow?

Another choice item from France to add to disgusting saga of Stalinist social-patriotism. The French Ministry of the Interior recently issued a ban on the display of foreign flags on public buildings except for some special occasion. L'Humanite jumps into the breach: "It seems that this has reference to the Socialist and Communist mayoralties and the red flag. This is hardly right.

"First of all because none of these mayoralties have placed the red flag on their roofs other than morally. . . . Further, because the mmunists and the Socialists were the first, on July 14, to associate the red flag to the Tricolor.

"Finally, because it will be henceforth understood that the mayoralties will be able to put up outside their buildings, alongside the tricolor, the Soviet flag with its special insignia on such occasions, for example, as the anniversary of the pact of mutual assistance or May First, the legal holiday of the U.S.S.R."!!! (L'Humanite, Oct. 2)

combination that provides the es- other opponents of the regime. Hitler, as is well known, vented his ence of Stalinism.

Yet, Tarov, alarmed by the tri- greatest malice upon his oppositionmph of National Socialism, turned ist brothers-in-arms in the party. the authorities in Moscow with the "left wing," which reminded the following proposal: he pledges him of his own yesterday. The to give up Oppositionist activity, in Stalinist bureauacracy vents the return for which, he, Tarov. is to be given the right to return to the shevik-Leninists, the genuine revo-

ranks of the party, as a disciplined lutionists, who embody the tradiions of the party and war Europe. Czarist Russia had

By A. WEAVER Question: Why is it not correct

Question

Box

for the Communist Party of Great Britain to support sanctions against Italy since a defeat of Italy wil hasten the overthrow of Fascism?

Answer: To advocate that sancproletariat. The Open Letter istions, applied by His Majesty's gov-But then came a new thunderclap sued by the organizations standing ernment in imperialist interests, be under the banner of the Fourth In- given the support of the British by the latter of an imperialist pol-

> The Italian chauvinist can, with equal justice, reply: "Italian, and not British imperialism, is the lesser evil since the latter exploits several hundreds of millions of people; Mussolini, less than a hundred million. The material conditions of British colonials, e.g. India, is worse than that of the Italian masses under fascism. Victory in Ethiopia, followed by complete Italian control over the Mediterranean, Suez, etc., will smash the British empire, giving the British colonials a chance to assert their independence, and the revolution will be hastened in Great Britain. For revolutionary reasons, therefore, it is necessary to support the policy of Mussolini."

The reasoning can be carried to its logical conclusion: If, as a result of imperialist war, capitalism will be overthrown in those countries which are defeated, then it is necessary that the workers support imperialist war, and in each country conduct it as vigorously as possible so that the opposing capitalism will be all the more speedily destroyed.

Since the arguments are equally strong in all countries, acceptance of them by the workers internationally means the end of the struggle for the overthrow of their respective capitalisms. Who then will remain to overthrow the capitalists of the defeated countries?

What is false in the entire argument is the contention, a version of the "spontaneity" theory, that a victory by one imperialist power over another necessarily means a victorious proletarian revolution in the nations controlled by the latter. A military defeat and the exhaustion of a country's economy through war weakens the grip of the exploiters, but, unless parties, free from the poison of chauvinism, and capable of leading the workers to victory, exist, these objective conditions can only result in increased

Why the National Government of Great Britain Is Prepared to Embark on a War with Italy

ened by the support of the police ers, rests firmly in the grip of the inal which compelled the young and letariat, counterposed to the Lenand the army. With the direct conde Wendels. nivance of leaders in the "democratic" government, of course. THE POLICY OF LAVAL control of the Bank of France. the working class can the workers in, Molotov and Bukharin, sent a

the big bankers in the carrying out workers' militia.

ance capital and aided and strength. the Socialist and Ctalinist betray- |ered those Kremlin decisions crim- upon the defeats of the world pro-

### (Reprinted from the British "New Leader," organ of the Independent Labor Party)

The British Government claims to be opposing Italy because of love of the League Covenant and of the rights of small nations. No worker can believe this. The British Government showed no love for the Covenant when Japan defied it, and there is no government in the world which has more outraged the Diamonds (mill. kar.) 7.2 rights of small nations. The real motive of the National Government is to defend the interests of British capitalism and imperialism.

More than once we have pointed crease in gold production, as the out in these columns the strategical following table shows: importance of Abyssinia for British | Gold Export 1929 Abyssinia from the point of view of S.W. Africa. the immediate interests of British capitalism is not so well known. Uganda ....

British Empire in Africa

Since the World War the British nected whole. The inclusion of the lion between 1910-14 to £4.32 mil-German colonies made an "all-red" ion in 1931. ca. The British Empire now stretches from Cairo to the Cape.

This British Empire in Africa is British capitalists because it con- of British capital were invested in pierced only by the independent tains the headwaters of the Blue North Rhodesian mines. state of Abyssnia, which is like an Nile, which irrigates the Britishisland in British territory. British owned cotton fields of the Sudan, imperialsts are obviously not going has often been pointed out. But the take possession of that island!

How Capitalism Has Grown

the unity of the British Empire in the total crop is grown in the Ge only: Africa. It is also a matter of its zira, which is fertilized by the Blue value for British capitalists. It is Nile. doubtful whether any part of the Before 1926, when the dam of the British Empire has yielded to Brit- Blue Nile was constructed, the ish capitalism such an increase of Gezira depended on a scanty and profits as British Africa since the seasonal rainfall, and was little World War.

proof of this. Take, first, the in- cultivation. British Capitalists are wages are extremely low-if one extent even of war to defend those source of profit-making :---

#### Total Trade of Africa 1913 ..... £320 millions 1924 ..... £450 millions 1928 ..... £580 millions Precious Articles from Africa

portant Africa is in the production 1934, £2.3 million). articles: Article Production-

World. African Gold (million ozs.)... 19.5

570 ozs.

71 ozs.

1931

Fields

better than a desert. Now every

ish shareholders!

5.2 vested since 1925: Nitrates (1,000 tons). 10.0 Chrom ore (1,000 tons) 570.0 **Investments Since 1925** 335.0 Increase of Gold from Africa

N. Rhodesia Govt. Securities. £2.4 1933 Rhodesia Railway ..... £13.8 ments is voluntary." 1933 1,216 ozs. Nyasaland Railway ..... £0.8 Sierra Leone 6,650 ozs. 15,604 ozs. African Trade Corporation... £3,5 The total exports of Kenya and Diamond Mines of S.W. Africa £6.4 thoritative writer:

total £92.0 millions! One other ex-

Africans Become Wage-Slaves for **British Capitalists** 

Since the World War tens of to allow another capitalist power to significance of this is not always thousands of Africans have become realized. Seventy-six percent of the the wage-slaves of British capitalvalue of the exports from the Sudan ist concerns. Here are the figures But it is not merely a matter of is due to cotton, and 58 percent of showing the increase in Kenya

> 1912 ..... 12,000 1920 ..... 90,000 1923 ..... 129,000 1927 ..... 185,000 Has Slavery in British Empire

Been Abolished? Why this expansion in Africa? | cate why our British capitalist gov-

(of which, of course, British cap- talist power to control a water sup- price of labor in Kenya is ten shil- ian capitalist and imperialist interitalists control the major part). ply which, if cut off, would re- lings a week. This is why British ests. The following table indicates the transform the Gezira into a desert capitalists invest money there. They enormous expansion of Africa as a and, in effect, expropriate the Brit- can make greater profits. The low wages in the British Empire in Af-

Two British companies are main- rica help to cause unemployment in ly interested in the Sudan-the Su- Britain and to under-cut British dan Construction and Equipment working class standards. Company, Ltd. (capital, 1934, £0.4 The question is sometimes asked:

million) and the Sudan Plant Syn- Why have not the Abyssinian people

It is often not realized how im-|dicate (capital, 1925, £0.6 million; | revolted against the system of slav. ery? It is because they see little of many of the most precious ar- Big Increase of British Investments difference between slavery in Abysticles. Our next table shows African British Africa has also increased sina and wage-slavery and forced production compared with world greatly in value as an area for labor in the neighboring British production of four most valuable British investments. Here are ex- colonies where Africans are supamples of how the opportunities for posed to be free.

British shareholders have increased. The land is taken from the Afri-11.0 the London Stock Exchange "Ten sess it in reserved territories. The and labor for British capitalists.

In millions South African Govt. Securities £42.0 government schemes of work. The S. Rhodesia Govt. Securities. f4.2 that "at present but a small proimperialism. The importance of Tanganyika. 10,536 ozs. 32,516 ozs. Nyasaland Govt. Securities... £2.0 portion of the unskilled labor em-919 ozs. Tanganyika Govt. Securities. £5.5 ployed by governmental depart-

The position of the Africans has been described as follows by an au- titled "Trotskyism as the vanguard precisely why Stalinism is doomed!

Since the World War the British Uganda have expanded from the West Rand Consols ...... £2.3 "White colonization and white in-tion." This assinine legend woonless for the black man on its mythical underpinnings, and on its mythical underpinnings, and These are twelve examples out of hundreds of shares dealt with on route from North to South of Afri- Threat to British Owners of Cotton the London Stock Exchange. They will demod taken by undisguised forced labor or by the corvee arouse emulation. This could not The importance of Abyssinia to ample: in four years £25 millions or by taxation, which he can only be allowed. It is impermissible to following: "as regards terror, so pay by hiring himself out year af- allow bold men to return to the ter year. It means sweating in the party who surrender only the public in its essence a war measure. The field for the profit of the white, expression of their views-no, they sweating in the mines where he is must renounce their ideas, their paid a tithe of what a white man right to think altogether. They must earns for the same work. Above spit upon views which have been all, it means losing his lands; a confirmed by the entire course of

peasant people torn from the land events. in which his spiritual life is rooted Signpost of Stalinist Corruption must perish." (White, "The Abys sinian Dispute," page 65.)

### But Why Should British Workers Be Killed?

The facts given in this article show the importance of British cap-Italist interests in Africa and indi- apostates, bellowing renegades, peo- liberty to other peoples on bayonets,

We give some striking figures in year more of it is being put under One of the reasons is that the ernment is prepared to go to the call black white, who beat their of the revolution. Robespierre, it

But why should the lives of the British workers be sacrificed for profits of British capitalists?

SPECIAL OFFER One year's subscription to the NEW MILITANT and NEW IN-TERNATIONAL for \$2.00.

on the soldier, and there carry struggle against the Fascist danger. ber revolution. It is not difficult to explain the psy-

The political conclusions to be chological causes for Tarov's step. There is no position more torturous drawn from the case of comrade for a revolutionist than to be bound Tarov are quite evident. It would hand and foot while the imperialist be sheer insanity to think of "rereaction is capturing one proleta- forming" and "regenerating" the rian trench after another. But C.P.S.U. today. A bureaucratic ma-Tarov's political proposal was doub- chine which serves primarily the

ly unrealistic. In the first place, purpose of keeping the proletariat to support Stalin's struggle against in a vise cannot possibly be made The following capital, according to cans, who are only allowed to pos- Fascism uncritically is, in the last to serve the interests of the proleanalysis, to help Fascism—this has tariat. Revolutionary terror, which gime but this is not necessarily 7.2 Years' Record," 1935, has been in- result is that they are forced to go been irrefutably proved by the en- during the heroic period of the revtire history of the last 12 years; olution served as a weapon in the tory, Those who draw an equation The British Government also in the second place, Tarov's propo-bands of the awakened masses sign between the two, in the abforces the Africans to labor for sal was not acceptable, and could against the oppressors, and as a sence of a revolutionary party in There has been a tremendous in-Gold Coast Govt. Securities.. £5.7 particular periods in the year on not have been accepted by the bu-direct safeguard of the rule of the litaly, are assuming that Italian reaucracy. Even a single Leninist proletariat, has been completely capitalism cannot find new forms governor of Uganda stated in 1922 unselfishly and courageously fulfill- supplanted by the cold blooded and and methods to enslave the toilers; ing the tasks assigned him, in full venomous terror of the bureaucracy view, without recanting publicly which fights like a mad beast for its and without spitting upon the best posts and sinecures, for its uncontraditions of Bolshevism would be trolled and autocratic rule-against a silent refutation of the legend en- the proletarian vanguard. This is

of the bourgeois counter-revolu-

On February 20, 1889, Engels wrote Kautsky a truly remarkable letter-published only recently-on the class relations during the epoch of the Great French Revolution. Among other things, it states the which was alone able to guarantee elbow-room, the freedom of move-

**Engels on Stalin** 

Nothing so characterizes the Stal- forces at the decisive points, i.e. at can, in the immediate future .at inist regime, its internal corruption the frontiers." But once the fron- least, again point out the way to and fraud, as its utter inability to tiers had been safeguarded thanks them. Just as Marxism does not assimilate a sincere revolutionist to military victories, and after the evolve out of the class struggle it-

ready to serve obediently, but who destruction of the frenzied Comrefuses to lie. No! Stalin needs mune which had sought to carry class, so must it be brought to the ple who are shamelessly ready to terror outlived itself as a weapon

hollow breasts, pathetically, while is true, was at the height of his

the Bolshevik party of Lenin, and therefore a successful proletarian revolution, but it was one of the "victorious" allies. In the "vanquished" as well as some of the "victorious" countries, the class struggle, lacking the proper revolutionary leadership, led to fascism, e.g. Germany, Hungary, Italy.

A military defeat for Italy may mean the end of the Mussolini rethat the latter cannot sink to lower levels than fascism has already brought them, so that the revolution will come about automatically. There is nothing to justify such a conclusion: The standard of living of the Italian masses is the lowest in Europe but is not yet even the lowest in the world.

Because there is no revolutionary party today in Italy, the most pernicious idea that could be advanced is the concept that the Italian revolution can be hastened by eradicatlong as it had any meaning, it was ing the revolutionary activity of the workers outside of Italy, i.e., in the class, or a certain section of it, nations applying sanctions. It is precisely because the conditions of victory to the revolution, not only fascism have virtually stamped out remained in power thanks to the revolutionary ideology from the terror . . . but also assured itself minds of the Italian workers. that it is only a revolutionary shock ment, the possibility to concentrate from outside that country which Italian workers. Today the main stream of such knowledge lies outside of Italy.

Supporting the imperialists who crease in the total trade of Africa not going to permit another capi- dare speak of them as wages. The interests against the threat of Ital- their minds are actually occupied power; but says Engels, "henceforth are applying sanctions, therefore, is with pie-cards, automobiles and terror became a means of self-pre- one of the surest methods of maksummer resorts. The party and the servation for him, and thus it was ing it next to impossible for the state apparatus is overrun with reduced to an absurdity" (Engel's Italian workers to arrive at Marxsuch swindlers, double-dealers, and emphasis). These lines are remark- ism, and in the final analysis of corrupt cynics. They are unreliable able for their simplicity and pro-setting the world revolution back but indispensable: bureaucratic ab- fundity. There is no need here to for decades. The surest way of aidsolutism which has come into an expatiate upon the distinction being the Italian revolution is the irreconcilable contradiction with tween the present and the past Leninist way: The enemy is at economic and cultural requirements epoch: it is quite well known. No home; turn the imperialist war into (Continued on Page 8) civil war.

of the workers' state is in acute

### The Significance of the Russian Revolution And it is through the medium of the life, the activities, the sayings For the American Working Class Explanation of Basic Elements of Revolution ican workers will see and feel the Russian revolution as their own By A. J. MUSTE

The idea of winning American workers to Communism by showing them or talking to them about the

progress of "socialist construction" hopes based on such a theory, on capitalism itself. an illusion, were bound to lead to confusion or disillusionment.

Achievements in the S. U.

there have been important technical masses in motion, no longer inert, Apart from this, it is true that no longer meekly obeying orders, and other achievements in the S. U. and we have every right to say that even the beginnings of a planned. socialist economy under a workers' state can do more for the workers, in the face of the greatest obstacles, than capitalism. But even when based on this more sober and correct approach, the demonstration of the economic progress made in the S. U. was not calculated to impress

and convince the general run of American workers. They could not labor productivity were still exceedingly low, compared to what they saw under their own eyes in the post-war U. S. under the most favstand what they saw.

very close of the Hoover reign when That is the lesson of the Russian workers were impressed by the picder the Five Year Plan in contrast help them to see it. with the misery, demoralization and some of the agricultural population than among the workers; and the talk about doing as they had done in Russia often expressed a flight from reality rather than any determination to face it. Stalinist publicity seems now intent not so much on showing that things in Russia are superior to what obtains in the U. S. as upon showing that they are as in the U.S.

Tell the Story of the Revolution

Yet the Russian revolution was

W || Spur Desire to Emulate It where, in the U.S. too, to the abyss divisions and "wrangling," desire in the Soviet Union always had its into which the Russian masses were for unity, are deep-seated. But his in a war in which they are themlimitations. Of course, the Stalin- thrust. Capitalism will stop short tory shows us that all forms of selves inextricably involved, which ist propaganda in this connection of nothing in order to retain its "unity" between workers and other for them also means either defeat was always based on a fallacious hold. The American workers are classes on another than working with all the misery and degradatheory, namely, that socialism could not immune, do not live in a uni- class basis, all forms of "unity" in tion of a Fascist dictatorship or be built within the borders of the verse apart, as they thought in the the working class itself, on any- glorious triumph and emancipation. Soviet Union alone, if only war Coolidge-Hoover era. The depres- thing save a revolutionary program could be put off a few years by sion has dispelled that illusion. are undependable, a death-trap in- delays in "building socialism" in whatever means. Today "the final, There are only two ways to "stop deed for the workers. Precisely at the Soviet Union do not have to be irrevocable victory of socialism in war"-complete exhaustion, the the critical moment they break explained by a false theory which the land of the Soviets" has been collapse of civilization, or the way down. They produce not unity, but does not explain anything but simachieved according to the Seventh the Russian workers chose, the road confusion and division. Genuine ply confuses the workers, emascu-Comintern Congress. Any ideas or of revolution which puts an end to unity is achieved on the basis of a lates the revolutionary movement, revolutionary program and under

The idea that finally the workers the leadership of the revolutionary have to take things into their own party. There can be and there is hands, that they can trust no one no other way-the way of Lenin but themselves; the great idea of and Trotsky.

Only the First Battle The impression conveyed by much

but standing up in their own right, of the Stalinist propaganda is that marching, sweeping everything bethe war of the working class for fore them-all this makes a genuemancipation basically came to an ine appeal to American workers. On a small scale they have demonstrated in their own strikes that it can be done. Paint the picture of mass action, direct action, on the grand scale in the Russian revolution and external attack, and then pretty they will understand. **Revolution No Tea Party** 

break has to be made. The govern- oppressors which came to an end whose theories and aims will emment has to be overthrown. The in 1917 on Russian soil. The first body themselves for the masses in orably situated capitalism in the whole capitalist state and its ma- major battle of a direct revolution- its organization and its leadership. development to analyze and under- be destroyed. The workers must the first great victory recorded. But the U.S. senses that he is part of put their own state, their own rev- the war is on. Subsequently, the There was a brief interval at the olutionary government, in its place, workers have suffered heavy defeats. No matter. The shining exture of no unemployment, etc. un- in their own tradition which will also the battle must be fought. Pre-

paring for that battle against Am-The story of the Russian revolu- erican imperialism is the primary vague alarm which pervaded the tion, especially in connection with duty of the American working class U. S. in those days, and said : "Pret- the contrasting policy pursued and which has also its fighting tradity soon we'll have to do as they results obtained in Germany and tions, a fresh, vigorous class which did in Russia." But even then the Austria, e.g. is the very best medium has never yet suffered a major deconcept of Russia as the promised for teaching the workers what feat, but which has also tests to land was far more generally accept- working class unity is and how it face such as the past never presented among the intellectuals and even can be obtained. Impatience with ed. Put the matter thus and Amer-



(Continued from Page 7) much the same in the Soviet Union less clear is the difference between be swept away together with its the historic roles played by Robesorganizers

pierre and Stalin: the former as Fallacy of Individual Attempts sured the victory of the revolution

of Lenin and Trotsky that the conceptions of revolutionary internationalism must in large measure be made real and living to American workers. A pamphlet of the most popular character on the life of Trotsky is one of our immediate Russian revolution as their own

The Figure of Trotsky

needs for the broadest mass work. heritage, because it was not "Rus-A popular book on the same subject sian" but of the working class, not is needed for those who have time a war which is over, but a battle and aptitude for more extensive reading. The conception that the figure of Trotsky, the chief organizer of the revolt in Petrograd during those "ten days that shook the

world;" organizer of the Red Army first army in all history under the Put it this way, and set-backs and control of the workers; bearer of the banner of revolutionary internationalism, the banner of world-revolution, in the face of bitter and colossal persecution-the conception that this symbolic figure must be kept in the background is not and enables a bureaucracy to ensound. He belongs to the Russian trench itself. These set-backs and Revolution, to the Soviet State delays then appear as well-nigh inthough not to the Soviet bureaucra evitable incidents in a war in which cy under Stalinist domination. He the fortunes of battle swing back belongs to China also, to Germany, and forth until the final victory is

belongs to the working class and to The Importance of Leaders the revolutionary party, the Work Finally, the masses see ideas as ers Party, in the United States. embodied in outstanding personali Even Stalinist defamation will in end with the Russian revolution. It | ties. The revolutionist of course the long run make clear rather than "established" socialism. Henceforth adheres to no "great man" theory obscure that fact.

virtually the sole duty of the work- of history. Washington and Jeffer-The American workers were ing class of the world is to "defend son did not "make" the American deeply stirred by the Russian events the Soviet Union," protect it from revolution of 1776 and Lenin and of 1917, as those of us who were old Trotsky did not "make" the very enough at that time can well re much as a matter of course social- different proletarian revolution in member. The American workers ism will gain universal sway. This Russia in 1917. But the revolution- are much nearer not only in point Show them, too, that the revolu- is bad, un-Marxian theory; it is ist also knows that the masses are of time but with respect to the devisualize the low plane of the pre- tion is not a tea party. The masses also bad psychology. The Russian not theoreticians and that, as I velopment of economy under which war economy in Russia. They could have to arm themselves in order to revolution resulting in the estab- have suggested, under the lash of they live, and in point of their own see too plainly that the standard of escape slaughter at the hands of lishment of the first workers' state objective conditions they will act to political development-much nearer living, technical development and capitalist henchmen. It is not a in all history, is indeed of incalculquestion of electing one set of pol- able significance. But it was not crisis, if there exists the leadership Russia masses encountered eighteen iticians to replace another. A clean the war of the workers against their of a Marxist revolutionary party years ago. As the capitalist crisis. including the war crisis, swiftly develops, so will the American workers rapidly develop a greater world. They lacked the political chinery, police, courts, army must ary character was fought there and Now even the average worker in interest in the Russian revolution: Soviet state.

come to know it as "their" revoluthe world, does not live behind tion also, the first mighty victory mountainous walls. He has begun in the world-revolution which will to fear and hate Hitler and Musso- not be stopped until the workvery large numbers of American revolution. American workers will ample of 1917 stands. The war is lini. Despite all the propaganda ing class has everywhere established come to see this too. There is that still on. Here on American soil of Hearst and the other red-baiters its rule and humanity can advance over a pace of nearly two decades, to a new stage of civilization in millions of American workers re- comparison with which the highest gard Lenin and Trotsky as their that has so far been achieved will appear cheap and barbaric.

## Green Trains Guns on Fighting Mpls. Labor

(Continued from Page 1) has been and is being endangered of the United Textile Workers. This by industrial strife," undoubtedly strike is of national significance. assured Green of all possible sup-The struck Strutwear plant was en- port. The "employer-employee" dangering the national existence of committee for "industrial peace," the union. Running at top speed, set up by Mayor Latimer, composed is an historical absurdity. It will in three shifts, the open-shop Strutof President Cunningham of the wear plant was flooding the East State Federation of Labor, two with sweatshop-priced goods. Previother conservative trade union offious attempts to unionize the plant cials, a "neutral" member who is had met with no success, the weak head of a local bosses' industrial in-Do we call for the assassination forces of the Central Labor Union stitute, and three open-shop bosses mon with those dubious "Friends problems which dominate and Yet the Russian revolution was and is of immense significance for American workers. The idea that it is a "Rooshian" affair, "foreign," something that does not concern us, unless it be as an evil example, is of course false and dangerous. It it is a "more to e close. He is the liv-

# ong Live the Russian. Revolution

(Continued from Page 1) ment of the social crisis

The Russian workers inherited from Czarism a poorly decapitalist world, in reconstructing the shattered basis of preat a pace unprecedented in history, has proven for all to France , to Latin America. He the Soviet system over the capitalist system of private owneralways maintained has been irrefutably confirmed in practice

> conditions by the Soviet proletariat. The productive forces of mankind, fettered by capitalist property relations and disorganized by ever-deepening crises, will be again vastly expanded under the socialist world system. All possible moved by the achievements of the Russian revolution in the field of industry regardless of

> > The true adherents of the Russian revolution do not blind themselves to its weaknesses which are fundamentally the result of its isolation and capitalist encirclement and inseparable from it. The nationalist degeneration, which has proceeded uninterruptedly since Lenin's death and which expresses the pressure of alien

Soviet Union and the most



tory as one and the same enter-

prise. The ideas of the Third

under the most unfavorable rian vanguard throughout the world. But for the revolutionary Marxists who remain true to themselves the betraval of the usurpers is only a summons to conduct a new struggle for the old cause. The downfall of the Third International sounds the call for the creation of the Fourth.

The teaching and practice of the leaders of the Russian Revolution and the Third Internaeventual fate of the present tional, brilliantly exemplified in the greatest victory the working class has ever known, retain all their validity today. To be true to these teachings and apply them-therein lies the task of the proletarian vanguard and the assurance of its victory. To that task we dedicate ourselves again on the 18th anniversary of the Russian revolution.

In order to go forward we classes at home and abroad, is must return to Lenin. We must the greatest menace to the raise again the banner of revolutionary internationalism. We formidable obstacle to the ex- must revive the concept of the tension of the revolution to Russian revolution as the beother lands. Stalinism, the ginning of the international bearer of this nationalist de- revolution and dependent on it. generation, is the mortal enemy | That is the way, and the only of the Soviet Union and the in- way, to defend the Soviet Unternational revolution. He who | ion, to fight the impending war does not see this and say it of the imperialists and to prefrankly is no revolutionist. Our pare the way for the world attitude has nothing in com- October. All these tasks and

workers to understand something of the significance of the Russian revolution, though it must always be remembered that the average worker is mainly concerned about things very near to home. It is after a new regime has been established in the U.S. also, not before. that his nsychology and outlook be genuinely internationalist.

In the first place, the story of the revolutionary crisis itself, the misery and disorganization resulting from the war under the Czarist bureaucracy, the overthrow of the czar, the miserable failure of the bourgeois and non-revolutionary economic life, to meet the needs of of collectivization, as well as the the first, the fifteenth and the one

propaganda. Show the Connection with War

The development should be shown

### NEW MILITANT

#### with which is merged THE MILITANT

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> A. J. MUSTE JAMES P. CANNON ARNE SWABECK MAURICE SPECTOR

of course false and dangerous. It had come to a close. He is the liv-is furthermore possible, I believe, ing embodiment of a bureaucratic stalin—after its own image. The 574 resulted in the shut-down of Thermidor. In his hands, terror replacement of Kirov by Zhdanov the plant in August and it has rewas and remains primarily the in-strument for crushing the party, state of affairs. Unlike the situa-erous attacks by the police on the the trade unions and the Soviets, tion that prevails with goods for picket lines. Vincent Dunne, leader weapon of self-preservation for us-urpers, thus transforms itself into we eulogies of Stalin. The re-thing else they are as alike as their own eulogies of Stalin. The re-the formation of vigilante gangs to the formation of vigilante gangs to

an "absurdity," to use Engels' ex-pression. In the language of dialec-of the Kaganovitches would intro-be the formation of vigilante gangs to war on strike leaders and the emtics this means that it is doomed to duce almost as little novelty as did that the police reopen the plant. inevitable collapse.

The Basis of the Terror

ov. But would a Kaganovitch have to keep the plant shut until it signs The senseless bestialities, which sufficient "authority"? There is no up wth the American Federation of parties to stop the break-up of all grew out of bureaucratic methods cause for worry, all the Kossiors-

the masses, the gradual upsurge of vile reprisals and violence against thousand and first-would immedithe masses and their rise to power, the best elements of the proletarian ately provide the necessary author--all this merely as a dramatic vanguard inevitable arouse exasper- ity for him by means of the bureauspectacle is tremendously impres. ation, hatred and yearning for re- cratic conveyor, just as they creat- cluding the Arrowhead steel strike, sive. Workers who have been in venge. This atmosphere engenders ed Stalin's "authority," i.e., "authorstrikes can live it from the inside. moods of individual terrorism ity" for themselves, for their un-A popular version of Trotsky's His- amongst the youth. The petty controlled rule. tory of the Russian Revolution Ukranian Bonaparte, S. Kossior, That is why individual terror ap- trades strike. In the last two weeks

would be a powerful means for mass famous for his brazenness, said not pears so pathetic and puny in our hitherto unorganized workers in meeting and denounced Mayor Lat long ago that Trotsky "calls in the eyes. No, we have not unlearned the candy industry and chicken imer as a murderer. press for the assassination of Soviet the A B C of Marxism. Not only pickers came to the headquarters of

leaders," while Zinoviev and Kam- the fate of the Soviet bureaucracy 574 for aid in organizing unions, in connection with the war. War is enev, as proved-if you please by but the fate of the Soviet regime as the only "way out" that capitalism the Yenukidze case - participated a whole depends upon factors of a knows. Permitted to remain in directly in the preparation of the world historic magnitude. Only leadership of Local 574 has been power it will lead the masses every- Kirov assassination. Since verybody successes on the part of the interwho has access to the writings of national proletariat can restore Trotsky can easily verify whether self-confidence to the Soviet prole-

> assassination of Soviet leaders" (if olutionary successes is the unificaone were to allow, in general, that tion of the world proletarian van- al union-busters, Green, Woll and elected representatives for using there are adult people who have to guard around the banner of the Co. have now been called in. verify canards of this sort), this Fourth International. The struggle now in process of manufacture any cy in a "classless" society cannot against the "reds and other lawless office. fraudulent documents with the aid and will not endlessly endure. The elements," will undoubtedly support officers." The Kossiors of the Bon- revolutions will once again lift up as will the employers' open-shop or-

hound, strangle and shoot quite a cratic "absurdity" resist? The proper year: \$1.00 six months. Bundle number of impeccable revolution- letariat will find a large enough recently went to Washington to apists, but this will not change the broom. And we shall assist them. Vol. 1 NOVEMBER 2, 1935 No. 45 essence of the matter: their terror September 6, 1935

of the Kaganovitches would intro- ployers are hysterically demanding

the replacement of Kirov by Zhdan- But the hardy pickets of 574 intend

Hosiery Workers.

Other Services of 574

In addition to these strikes, Local

574 has aided numerous others, in-

the Minneapolis-St. Paul mechanics'

But Green will have to look far tines serving reactionary ends Toledo and Minneapolis and wide for support from the labor and at worst wretched careermovement.

Only two weeks ago a delegated conference of fifteen local unions met in the machinists' headquarters and voted to send resolutions to Tobin, Green, the State Federation and the Central Labor Union, demanding reinstatement of Local 574 as essential to the welfare of all local unions. Union our criticism which is in-Local 574 sits on a joint council

with the unions of the filling-staseparable from the real and untion attendants and the automobile mechanics.

The organizer of the Central La bor Union comes to 574's hall to appeal for help on the picket lines. The "women's clubs" to whom Green's representative announces

he will appeal, certainly will not world. include the most powerful of all, the Farmer-Labor Women's Federastrike of last January, the Fargo tion which, immediately after the drivers' strike and the building- attack on the ornamental iron

workers' picket lines, held a mass

The "veterans' organizations" will not include the Farmer-Labor and won immediate success Veterans Association, which joined The example of what the militant the women's federation in demanding the expulsion from the party of able to do for the workers of Minn-Mayor Latimer.

eapolis has driven the local bureau-Nor will Green get much help crats into a frenzy of hatred. All from the Farmer-Labor Hennepin or not Trotsky has called for "the tariat. The basic condition for rev- attempts of local talent to destroy (Minneapolis) County central com-Local 574 having failed, the nation- mittee delegates, who cursed their the police against the strikers.

The capitalist press and radio, Nor will Green get much help itself casts sufficient light upon the for this banner must be waged in which commented approvingly on from the many Farmer-Laborite other half of Kossior's lie which the U.S.S.R. as well: prudently but former New York police commis- aldermen and state representatives concerns Zinoviev and Kamenev. unyieldingly. The historical ab sioner Richard Enright's recent who called for Latimer's expulsion We do not know whether there are surdity of an autocratic bureaucra- declaration here calling for violence from the party and his recall from

Green, Woll and Tobin are un-Subscription rates: In the United of "Latvian consuls" or "Wrangel proletariat that has achieved three Bill Green's assault on the unions, doubtedly assured of one thingthey have picked out the toughest apartist regime are still able to its head. But won't the bureau-ganization, the Citizens Alliance place in the country for their union-Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer, who busting.

> SUPPORT THE NEW MILITANT peal to Green to help him against the unons, declaring that "Progress SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN.

(Continued from Page 1) ists and hired flunkeys of the News-Bee editors would have their opulent bureaucracy, are out- Minneapolis confreres believe,-or side the revolution and, at the it is necessary to refer them to their critical moment, will turn up on the sidelines or on the other dozen of other militant battles.

side of the barricades. As for The first wave of labor struggle us, the Russian revolution is in Toledo is ended, the flood that our own. We owe the Soviet started two years ago with the "Battle of Chestnut Hill." Labor here is utilizing the present lull in strike activity, similar to that conditional support which gen- throughout the country, to enuine revolutionists have always trench itself in its new won posigiven it. Our fight against Stal- tions and to lay the groundwork inism is a fight for the real for more and greater battles to defense of the Soviet Union and Labor Political Congress, while in its extension throughout the itself an ineffective agency for genuine working class political action,

is an indication of the breaking The October revolution and away of Toledo workers from oldthe Third International of line capitalist party loyalties and a Lenin are forever united in his- desire for class action.



CELEBRATE EIGHTEEN YEARS OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION THE

**IRVING PLAZA** Irving Place and 15th St. THURSDAY, NOV. 7th, 8 P.M.