

HAIL THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION!

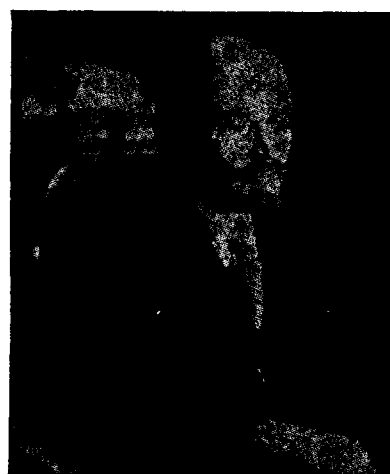
NEW MILITANT

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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 victory on an international scale. This is the spirit in which all the authentic representatives of the great proletarian revolution in Russia celebrate its 18th anniversary. Not as a completed, self-sufficient 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 understand it. We hail the Russian revolution as the prelude to the world "October."

The Russian revolution represents the triumph of an idea which had penetrated the masses and become a material force. Marx transformed socialism from utopia to science; the 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.

It was the inspiring force in the regroupment of the vanguard which had been dispersed and demoralized by the treachery of the Social Democracy in the war, and also the rallying point for the masses in their struggle against capitalism on a world-wide arena. The will to defend the Soviet Union which animated every class-conscious worker in the capitalist countries was expressed—as Lenin taught—by the revival of the revolutionary fight against the exploiters at home. That is the line upon which we reconstituted the American movement. It remains our line today.

The Russian revolution demonstrated the heroic qualities of the proletariat and showed that revolutionary Marxism alone is capable of shaping leaders equal to the highest test of the historic turning point of humanity. In the persons of Lenin and Trotsky the revolution found its authentic representatives—organizers of the victory who stood on a historic level with the founders of the doctrine, Marx and Engels. In the organization of the Red Army and its magnificent and victorious campaigns against the people's enemies in the civil war and the war of intervention the unbounded resourcefulness, creative energy and courage of the historically rising class was displayed. The working class, even in a backward country in which it constitutes but a small percentage of the total population, is capable of making its revolution and also of defending it. This is the message of the Russian Revolution to the whole class. What miracles of energy may confidently be expected from the working class in the advanced countries when the masses are fused with a Marxist leadership at the mo-

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Peace Parade Bluff in Fact and Figures

Unions Protest Use of Name in Jamboree Led by Father Divine

The Daily Worker reports that 50,000 turned out for the People's Parade for Peace . . . the metropolitan papers put the figure at 15,000, including 2000 followers of Father Divine's eggshell-blue limousine.

Two letters we have received make it clear that the Daily Worker's estimate was arrived at by counting the organizations who did not march in the parade. From the American Youth Congress the following:

"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. Hinekey,
Executive Secretary."

Our information was derived from an article on page 1 of the Daily Worker for October 22: "In a ringing statement endorsing the People's March for Peace . . . Wal-

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INSPIRED!

Il Duce Colors Hearst Stories on Ethiopia

Readers of the Hearst press, 28 newspapers with a total daily circulation of 5,500,000, and other newspapers carrying the Hearst-owned International News Photo Service, are being daily fed photographs of the Ethiopian war, none of which are taken by American photographers, but are supplied to Hearst by Mussolini's official picture agency, Luce. Editors have to rely on the Italian firm's word that the pictures are bona fide.

This is the most obvious example of the way in which Fascist propaganda about the war is being fed to the American masses. But it is only part of the story. Mussolini has made special arrangements to accommodate the Hearst, United Press and Associated Press correspondents directly behind the Italian lines. This is in order to secure "eyewitness stories," which carry more plausibility than the usual dispatches. But all correspondents' reports must travel the regular military wireless route, with censorship at Asmara and then again at Rome. Nothing gets through this filter except stories satisfactory to the Fascists.

An example of the usefulness to the Fascists of so-called eyewitness stories is the A.P. dispatch sent by Andree Berding, who is being accommodated by high officers of the Italian Army. According to this lackey, on a 26 hour visit to the northern front, he found the natives not only already accustomed to the Fascist occupation, but that "Scores of Ethiopians gave the Fascist salute" and "Young Ethiopians already were calling out Buon Giorno."

Unfortunately, the lack of adequate communications and the difficulties of coverage from the Ethiopian side have so far made it impossible to counteract the Fascist propaganda by more accurate news.

Extend the October Revolution!



France Faces Civil War as C.P. Prepares Government for Imperialist Defense

By H. F. ROBERTS

Approaching war—now closer than ever with the impending conclusion of an Anglo-French alliance—is hastening the maturing of the internal political crisis in France. Laval stands today atop a teetering structure which will dissolve and disappear in the decisive days to come.

France faces civil war. The result will be either a new star in the European Fascist constellation or a revolutionary workers' and peasants' government. The choice of those two alternatives is being made now, when the preparation of the French working class for the offensive against war and Fascism—which means and can only mean the offensive against the bourgeois state—is the only hope of preventing Fascism from grinding the workers' organizations out of existence and hurling France and all Europe into war.

What is monstrous in the present crisis in France is the fact that the way may well be paved to fascism and to war by a Government of the Front Populaire. Under the direct pressure of Cachin, Thorez and Co., the Front Populaire is striving to prove to the French bourgeoisie that it does not intend to fight the bourgeois state, that it is capable of mobilizing the French workers for the holy war against German Fascism—for the defense of "democracy"—for the defense of the French imperialist state.

Class Struggle Set Aside
Class lines and the class struggle have been entirely obliterated by the Front Populaire. At its meetings the red flag of the workers is set alongside the tricolor of the French bourgeoisie. On its platforms sit representatives of the

French workers and the Daladriers, the Cots, the representatives of the French bourgeoisie. Daladier, "the murderer of workers of February 6," urged the Front Populaire policy upon the Radical Socialist Party at its Congress last week as an "alliance of the third estate and the proletariat." The Radical Socialist

cuts, bloody repression against the workers. With all this the Stalinists of France are not concerned. For Herriot is an adherent of "collective security" and the Covenant of the League of Nations and when he speaks in this spirit "Humanite" nods happily: "We cannot but approve of these words and it would be good if Laval could be inspired by them." (Sept. 30). The Stalinists are not so interested in protecting the workers against Herriot but they gratuitously offer to protect Herriot against the Fascists.

Protection for the French Bruening
"We can assure you," wrote the C.P. to the Radical Socialist Party in Lyon, "that the adherents of our party are determined not to permit injury to a hair on the head of those who fight for bread, peace and liberty—and in the very first place, of Chairman Herriot." (Quoted by Populaire, Oct. 19.)

Herriot is a member of the Laval government which last week passed a series of decrees stated to be directed against "all anti-Republican forces" but which were patently designed to deal with the organizations of the workers—just like the decrees of Bruening, von Papen and von Schleicher—to ease the way for the Hitler, the de la Roquette of tomorrow.

The most important of these decrees increased the Garde Mobile, which is a force educated in the spirit of civil war against the workers, from 15,000 to 20,000—and the new men were ordered to posts in 150 towns in the Seine and adjoining regions—the proletarian heart of France. Other decrees put restrictions on public demonstrations, on the carrying of arms by demonstrators and in addition gave the government the right to dissolve

Party, which stands at the head of the Front Populaire, closed its congress with resolutions calling for "passionate devotion to national defense" and the "restoration of the authority of the state."

At the head of this party stands Herriot, minister in the Laval government, responsible for the miserable regime of decree-laws, wage

Britain Acts for the 'Small Nations'

Since 1870 the British government has annexed the following "independent" territories:

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

In addition, the following territories were mandated to Britain at the end of the World War:

South West Africa, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Tanganyika, Togo, Cameroun, Samoa and other Pacific islands. And Sir Samuel Hoare says Britain is now acting in the interests of "small nations!"

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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 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.

Both Sides Are Right!

Toledo and Mpls. Press Argue on which City Has Most "Labor Trouble"

By ART PREIS

Toledo and Minneapolis newspapers have been heaving editorial bouquets at each other recently, each one offering the palm to the other's city for the distinction of having the most militant labor movement in the country.

The following editorial published in the Toledo News-Bee (Scripps-Howard sheet) on October 16 is a humorous commentary on how the bourgeoisie is "whistling in the dark," and likewise an eloquent tribute to the effective work of the Workers Party in helping to make Toledo and Minneapolis the "hot-spots" of the class-struggle in America. The editorial, entitled "The Pot to the Kettle," is here given in its entirety.

"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, following that city's latest killing on the streets, and the editor told 'em: 'Boys, we've got to do something to show that Minneapolis isn't so bad, after all. Let's get a piece about Toledo. That ought to make Minneapolis look pretty good.'

"We will give The Journal piece credit, nevertheless, for its recognition that things have changed for the better in Toledo during the past summer, and particularly since the philosophy of the Toledo Plan has been applied.

"Throughout the country, however, 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 controversies.

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

Short Memories
Of course, that crack about things turning for the better in Toledo during the past summer—meaning that the industrialists, etc., of Toledo have succeeded in putting the quietus on the labor movement here—is merely wistful wish-thinking. The Auto-Lite strike was merely a beginning, and not an end, as the

574 Leads Minneapolis Labor

Preceded by a successful coal drivers' strike in January, 1934 and a general strike of other drivers four months later, the famous July, 1934 strike of Local 574, which received nationwide attention, established the union's control of the transport industry of Minneapolis. This made it the largest union in the city. Its militant leadership and success, its popularization of the slogan, "Make Minneapolis a Union Town," and its aid to other unions, inspired hitherto dormant labor into a series of successful strikes which have put Minneapolis into the forefront of the labor movement. This threat to the swivel-chair bureaucrats led, six months ago, to the lifting of Local 574's charter by Dan Tobin, head of the Teamsters' International. Despite this move, which split the Minneapolis labor movement wide open, half the Central Labor Union delegates refusing to unseat 574's delegates, a majority for unseating being 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 industry.

The other two strikes mentioned by Green's representative were rescued by Local 574.

Iron Workers' Strike

The ornamental iron workers' strike, led by an A. F. of L. union against a plant owned by Walter Teitzlaff, 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 industrial plant. On appeal from the striking union, Local 574 sent representatives 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 administration's police climaxed a three-night attack on the picket lines with an armored-car shooting barrage on September 11. Two workers were killed. But the strike held strong until the boss was compelled to settle with the union on terms favorable to the strikers.

Big Hosiery Workers' Struggle

The other strike mentioned by Green's representative as an excuse for a "purge" of "radical communist groups" is being conducted directly under the leadership of the national office of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, unit

(Continued on Page 5)

J. P. Cannon
Chairman:
A. J. Muste

FRANCE
The Key to the Int'n'l Situation

Sunday, Nov. 3 - 8 P.M.
IRVING PLAZA HALL
Irving Place & 15th St.

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

PEACE ON EARTH

Stimulated by the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, world arms exports to August 1, 1935 mounted to more than \$120,000,000 or 20 percent above 1934. An increase of 29 percent is expected as compared to a general world trade gain of 2 percent. The price level of arms dropped only 14 percent compared with a general world price drop of 50 percent. . . . The National Council for the Prevention of War urges that the present U. S. embargo on arms and ammunitions be extended to cover loans, credits and raw materials for war purposes. . . . 10,000 Missouri mules were shipped to Ethiopia via Cuba. . . . U. S. motor manufacturers have sold 2,200 trucks to Italy in the past five months. . . . In reply to Secretary Hull's request that no war materials be sent to Italy, Walter Teagle, president of the Standard Oil Co. of N. J., announced indignantly: "My firm has been doing business with 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 that war is a manifestation of insanity and that Hitler and Mussolini who glorify war suffer from "hallucinations and delusions." . . . "If Duce impressed me as being probably the calmest ruler in the world today," remarked Henry Allen, former Governor of Kansas, after a half hour interview with Mussolini.

EDUCATION

One schoolboy in Massachusetts, two in Pennsylvania, have been expelled 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 oath of allegiance to the state and national constitutions twice weekly. . . . French psychologists are conducting extensive experiments with children to find their reaction to eating animals that have been kept in cages. . . . In Willard, Ohio, Eugene Truschel, 11, despondent because there wasn't a bite of food in the house, offered his pet rabbit as supper to his mother and brothers and sisters. He then hanged himself to leave one less mouth to feed.

LAND OF THE FREE

David Ashcraft, crippled news seller, killed his five-year old son rather than see him starve. "I had to do it," he said. "The boy was all I had in the world, but I had to do it. I didn't want him dragged through the world the way I've been. I carried him over to the stove and held him there while the gas filled the room. Then I fell. After that I just remember being sick." . . . Representative Sol Bloom of New York orates on freedom: "The American Citizen is still the 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 Poosetuck Indians, who have been occupying a 500 acre reservation near Mastic, N. P., since 1700 have been served with an eviction notice. A white neighbor claims the land. . . .

RELIEF

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railway has asked for a \$5,000,000 loan from the R.F.C. Its current liabilities are \$36,000,000, its assets \$20,000,000. . . . John Haskin, 52, of Chicago faced eviction. Unable to endure the red tape of applying for relief, he slashed both wrists and turned on the gas. He left six children fatherless. . . . Miss Lucy Gillet of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor defends the 25 cent a day food allowance of the home relief bureau as being adequate for an emergency diet. . . . In Kentucky relief averages \$7 a month, or 5 cents a day per person. . . . Lewis W. Douglas, former director of the Budget, states: "Relief expenditures must be cancelled if our government is to be saved." . . . Roger Babson, statistician, predicts a period of prosperity accompanied by a lowered standard of living. His formula for prosperity: "If employers were encouraged to extend their plant, to conduct sales campaigns and to make profit, three-fourths of the unemployed would be absorbed immediately."

LABOR DEFENSE FRONT

Protest Against the Frame-Up and Deportation of Jack Warnick

It has been revealed that the evidence being used against Jack Warnick by Federal Immigration authorities seeking to deport him to Canada consists of material obtained from the Sacramento court which acquitted him in the criminal syndicalism trial in April.

This material consists of a Communist party membership book issued in the name of Bertrand Warner, and an I.L.D. membership book in the name of Jack Warnick. A letter from Austin Lewis, attorney for Warnick, to a member of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense asks him to "get us all the help you can" in the Warnick case. The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, which is handling the appeal of Norman Mini, Prisoner 57606 in San Quentin, and which fights for the release of all criminal syndicalism victims in California, has voted to aid Warnick's fight to stay in this country.

"The hounding of Warnick," according to Herbert Solow, Secretary of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, "is a continuation of the drive to smash California unionism. Warnick is guilty of no crime. He was acquitted even by the frame-up court in Sacramento. Six years ago he tried to take out naturalization papers, but could not prove that he had been born in Montreal because that city had no birth registration. Consequently, he was not naturalized."

"It is not enough for the Associated Farmers and Chamber of Commerce that they have put Warnick's wife, Caroline Decker, in Tehachapi Prison. Now they want to prevent Warnick from alleviating her suffering by an occasional visit. They want to deport him from the country in which he has spent his whole life since the age of two. They want every militant worker to understand that to take part in a strike struggle or a union organizing drive is to become subject to the most bitter and endless persecution."

Importance of Case
Warnick is deserving of wide support. His case is of concern to the whole working class and to every friend of civil rights. Protests should go at once, from organizations and individuals, to Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C., calling for the abandonment of deportation proceedings in the case of Jack Warnick. The N.S.A.C. will be glad to transmit to Warnick's attorney any funds contributed to his defense.

The N.S.A.C. is continuing its drive for funds for the Mini appeal. Raymond W. Henderson, Bakersfield attorney who handled the famous Wobly trials, is now preparing his brief. Contributions should be made payable to Harry W. Laidler, Chairman, National Sacramento Appeal Committee, Room 707, 41 Union Square, N. Y. C.

Jack Warnick is a graduate of the University of California. He was brought to the West coast from his birth-place, Montreal, at the age of two and has lived in the United States ever since. He was a leading militant of the now-extinct Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, and belonged, with Caroline Decker and Norman Mini, to the faction which dared criticize the policies of Sam Darcy of the Communist party. He was active in the Redwood City mush-

room strike and other union work. During the criminal syndicalism trial in Sacramento, Warnick and Mini protested against the C. P. defense policies in several respects. When the C.P. tried to wipe out its record of disruption by denouncing Mini as a stool-pigeon, Warnick issued a statement blasting the slanderers and expressing solidarity with Mini.

He resigned from the C. P. and was subsequently "expelled" with the proper ceremonies of denunciation. He was "charged" with being a "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite," but in fact has not been connected with the political movement since leaving the C. P.

Herndon Sick; Faces Chain-Gang

Angelo Herndon surrendered to the Georgia authorities October 23 in accordance with the orders of the U. S. Supreme Court. An attorney immediately applied for a writ of habeas corpus on the grounds that the ancient slave insurrection law under which Herndon was sentenced to 18 to 20 years on a chain gang has never undergone a test of constitutionality.

Herndon's motion will be heard Nov. 12. In the meantime, the court has ordered that he shall not be removed from Fulton County (Atlanta) before the issue is settled. He is now lodged in Fulton Towers, the county jail. While he is thus saved for the moment from the chain-gang, his health is endangered by the damp atmosphere in Fulton Towers. Herndon suffers from gastritis and chronic bronchitis, the latter being almost as bad as tuberculosis.

Should Herndon win a writ, he would be retried. Should he fail to get a writ, an appeal will be made all the way to the U. S. Supreme Court, demanding such a writ. This would involve a long struggle, somewhat similar to Mooney's repeated efforts to force the Supreme Court to act on his case.

During such a struggle, whose eventual outcome cannot be foretold, the courts could grant or refuse bail as they chose. Herndon might have to go to the chain-gang while the issue is fought out.

The Joint Committee to Aid the Defense of Herndon, organized by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and five other organizations, is extending its petition campaign. The N.P.D. has brought out a special edition of the new Herndon pamphlet. Already 4,000 copies have been sold. A few more are available at 2 cents each or \$1.50 per hundred, at the office of the N.P.D., 22 East 17th Street, N. Y. C.

Sac'to Defense Meet In Cleveland

John N. Thurber, leading Socialist, will preside at a mass meeting called by the Cleveland sub-committee of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee on Nov. 1 at 8 P.M. The meeting will take place in Morgan Hall, 1550 E. 40th St. The speakers will be F. Codervall of the I.W.W., Joseph Knight of the Workers Party and J. Sommer-

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 mass meeting, selling pamphlets 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 Railroad

Mike Lindway, National Screw Co. striker framed on a dynamite charge in Cleveland, Ohio, has advanced a step in his fight for freedom. The Ohio Court of Appeals reversed the conviction on the grounds that certain evidence used by the prosecutor should not have been allowed in the case. Prisoner 99349 of the Columbus Pen, and the General Defense Committee which handled his case, thus win a real victory. The Associated Industries may compel a new trial of Lindway, according to Tor Cederwall, secretary of Local 2 of the G.D.C.

Mendieta Gag-Law Outlawed in Cuba

The Cuban Supreme Court having declared unconstitutional a newspaper gag-law adopted by the Mendieta regime, conditions for the work of the Cuban National Committee for Amnesty for Political Prisoners may be eased somewhat. The work of this Committee, itself a united front of thirty-one workers' organizations, is being supported in this country by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Vigilante Justice in Santa Rosa, Cal.

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 21.—District Attorney Wm. F. Cowan of Sonoma County late today refused to accept statements from three victims of the Santa Rosa vigilantes, so long as they insisted upon having one of their own representatives present. Mr. and Mrs. Sol Nitzberg and Charles Mayer met at the District Attorney's office in Santa Rosa by appointment, but Mr. Cowan refused to conduct his inquiries in the presence of Ernest Besig, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union from San Francisco. The entire group thereupon departed with Besig, promising to submit sworn statements from all three.

"It is perfectly obvious," declared Mr. Besig, "that Mr. Cowan by delays is maneuvering to escape issuing complaints against the more than twenty known vigilantes. Previous interviews with victims of the vigilantes have been turned into fishing expeditions concerning their economic and political opinions because they did not have the protection of counsel. The district attorney is doing no more than attempting to put our clients in a bad light."

Explaining the two-month delay in taking any action, Cowan in a letter to Besig complained that "None of these victims, except one, ever solicited a personal interview with this office. . . ." In today's brief conference the District Attorney also asserted that, "If it weren't for outside interference, these people would be content to do nothing."

Moreover, the October meeting of the National Committee laid down regulations to guarantee the minority the same rights to present their case in the period preceding the second convention of the party which is to convene on Dec. 27. This opportunity is still open to the Oehler-Stamm group if they wish to return to the party and conduct themselves as loyal members. Their refusal to accept it is only a confession of lack of confidence in their ability to influence the party members with their arguments.

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Opportunities Big for New Rubber Union

Confidence in Own Strength; No Reliance in Boards or Labor Fakers Is the Road to Victory

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Oct. 28.—The prelude to a new epoch in the history of the labor movement in the rubber industry is being written by the United Rubber Workers of America since its inception as an international union following two years of constant defeats for the workers under the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

Not only did the rubber workers distinguish themselves by freeing the unions here from the stranglehold of William Green and his henchman at their convention but now they are leading a fight against the establishment of an eight-hour day and wage cuts. Non-union members are rapidly returning to the fold.

Sunday night a mass meeting with the young officials of the international union as speakers was attended by nearly 2,000 workers, the largest gathering since the fall of 1933 when the unions were just formed.

The futile "effort" of the Goodyear company union to fight against the 8-hour day under the pressure of the 12,000 workers in the two plants here has neatly exposed the lies built by Goodyear in the 20 years existence of this tool, and swung more workers into the bona-fide union.

Union Active

The United Rubber Workers' leaders took quick advantage of the exposure of the company union. A committee went to the Goodyear president and demanded a return to the six-hour day. Mass meetings were held. A picket line was established around the entrance of the Goodyear plants, urging the workers to rejoin the union.

The Union Buyers club held militant demonstrations at the factories pleading to all workers to join the union so that a real fight against the starvation policies of the rubber barons could be made.

These facts indicate what the temper of the rubber workers has become as the rubber barons are trying to foist the cost of a price war upon the backs of the already underpaid workers.

Significant too is the open letter written by the independent union leaders who have been fighting the A. F. of L. since they were ousted for trying to form prematurely the international union. These leaders praised the United Rubber Workers of America and asked for re-admission into the ranks of the bona-fide union.

What has caused this seemingly sudden lift from the apathy of last spring after the betrayal by Claberty? What does the future hold for the rubber workers in view of the facts of today? These are questions in every progressive's mind which need an answer.

Struggle of Rubber Barons

We have already mentioned the valiant fight against Green and company. This gave self-autonomy and an opportunity for the rubber workers themselves to guide their union.

Then the inexorable laws of capitalism forced the rubber barons to try to save their profits, defeat their competition and fight for monopoly control of the industry which created the basis for the present upswing of labor.

To defeat competition Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich and the others had to sell tires and other articles for lower prices. But they wanted to make profit so they naturally wanted to cut wages. That's why they introduced the eight-hour day under which a worker toils 40 hours a month more but receives only \$3 extra! In other words, he gets longer hours and a wage cut.

The workers began to fight against this move. At Goodyear the company union was meeting. It

claimed to be there to help the workers. That's why 150 workers jammed the meeting and asked for the return of the six-hour day.

But the move of the company union naturally failed. John House, Goodyear local president, told the workers at a mass meeting that "the company union will never bite the hand that feeds it. Join our bona-fide union and we'll really fight together against the rubber barons!"

Fight for Six-hour Day

The other union leaders took up the cry. Warned by the NEW MILITANT, the progressive and other unionists were prepared for the rubber barons. They used the slogans advocated in these columns: Fight for the Six-Hour Day! No Wage Cuts! No Discrimination in Lay-offs!

"Only through the United Rubber Workers of America can the workers fight against the attempt of the companies to lower the miserable standard of living!" This message has been patiently explained to workers at meeting after meeting. The utility of the company union moves has helped greatly in establishing this truth.

Boldly the leadership of the international is trying to meet the challenge of the rubber barons. Holding mass meetings; the picket lines; patiently teaching the facts to the workers; these are correct steps to rebuild the unions.

But there is much more that can be done and must be done if the challenge is to be met successfully. And the first thing is the necessity of realizing that the federal government, despite talk of Madame Perkins, won't do anything.

No Illusions in Boards

Remember, this same woman helped in the rubber betrayal this spring. Likewise, at best she will only appoint a fact-finding board. But the rubber workers know the facts. Smaller pay checks with more work speak for themselves.

No illusions must be tolerated regarding the role of the federal government. It has in the past, it does today, and it will tomorrow do all in its power to aid the rubber barons. For it is their government, not the workers'.

The workers must realize that the simple act of their joining the union will not mean that the companies will be frightened into returning the six-hour day. Quite to the contrary. The rubber barons will fight more strongly than ever against the workers.

What is necessary is to educate the workers into seeing that organization can mean something only if it has the correct program, not only of what they want, but how the workers can achieve it. How they can re-establish a six-hour day.

Capitalists have never given anything voluntarily. Only insofar as the rubber workers have strength to force their demands, by strike, if necessary, can they succeed in wresting back the wages and hours stolen from them by the companies.

Until this is permanently established in the workers' minds and they are convinced they must fight with this fundamental idea as their policy, the hard work of the union leaders will come to naught.

The basis for the defeats by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats lay in their class-collaboration philosophy. They preached that the rubber barons and the workers were brothers. The latest company moves tears this falsehood apart. The lesson of this should not be forgotten.

The progressive platform of the United Rubber Workers, which recognizes this idea—class struggle—as embodied in the constitution, gives a good basis for winning back the rubber workers. Events favor the union too.

Continue the Battle

By starting a fight against the companies, the union leaders have aroused the workers who are rejoining the ranks. They are writing a good first chapter in the future history of the labor movement in rubber.

A continuation and intensification of the efforts, bringing more sharply into play the progressive program adopted at the rubber workers' convention, will bring further success and stave off the drive of the companies.

The battle between the capitalists and the workers has begun more openly than ever before in the rubber industry. Final victory can come to the workers only when the present decaying system is buried in its grave and a socialist economy under the control of the workers lives in its place.

In this epoch of imperialism with nothing but war and further degradation of the workers' standards possible under capitalism, no illusions can be tolerated that security and peace will reign in the future. This can come only under a workers' government. These thoughts must prevail among the rubber workers if they are to fight correctly against the rubber barons. In them lies the only hope of victory!

LEFT JABS

By BILL

PRAVDA ON "MOTHER"

All the old, worn-out claptrap of bourgeois democracy finds a ready market in Moscow today. In an article that outdoes a 1927 Mother's Day speech by the president of the Florists' Association "Pravda" describes a visit of Stalin to his "dear old mother." Any hack who translates into Russian the song "Mother"—"M is for the million things she gave me"—is due for a sure fire success.

"POPE'S COUSIN ONCE REMOVED"

The Daily Worker announces with justifiable pride that a "First Cousin (once removed) of the Pope" has come out in favor of the Stalinist Peaceful People's Peace Program and joined the League Against War and Fascism. The D. W. says that this "once removed cousin" is a real "religious Catholic." ("Real religious" to differentiate her from the ordinary Stalinist stooge type.) The cousin is all for Pope Pious but the "D. W." informs us that she has learned "that more than prayers are needed to preserve peace." "Organic Unity" of "Christ's Vicar" and "the infallible Leader" is now on the order of the day. I suggest as the first article of the new creed: "I believe in the Holy Roman Catholic Church, the forgiveness of sins, the life everlasting, the indivisibility of peace, and the infallibility of Stalin."—"I knows it, Browder, I knows it, Browder, I knows it Browder—our line's been changed again."

CHAMPS

"Detroit Michigan, Oct. 21.—A leaflet issued by the Young Communist League here, calling for the support of Morris Sugar, labor's candidate for the Common Council, carries the picture of three champs—Joe Louis, Tommy Bridges and Morris Sugar."—Daily Worker, Oct. 22.—The Daily Worker should have added that the three champs were blindfolded, then copies of the "Mirror," the "News," and the "Daily Worker" were placed before their noses, all agreed that the Daily Worker smelled equally as strong as the other two.

THE CHANGING LINE

"Jasper McLevy is a bosses' skate—our line's been changed again. Now we vote the S. P. slate—our line's been changed again."—The Daily Worker of October 24 announces the withdrawal of all C.P. candidates in Bridgeport and the pledge of support "to Jasper MacLevy and the entire S.P. slate."—"I knows it, Browder, etc."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"I will support all moves of the League of Nations or any individual nation for genuine peace"—O. C. Doolan, Communist candidate in East Edmonton as reported in the Canadian Worker.

Point 6 of the 21 conditions for admission to the Third International, "Every party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obligated to unmask not only open social patriotism, but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social-pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the fact that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armaments, no kind of a 'democratic' renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars."

—But "the line's been changed again." Today, any C. P. member carrying out Point 6 is a "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite" and is excluded from the C. P., while the spokesmen and press of the C. I. with Stalin at the head, are busy painting up that old prostitute hag, the League of Nations as a blooming, peace-loving virgin.

Philadelphia Mass Meeting on

"WAR AND THE WORKERS"

Issues of monumental importance have arisen out of the present Fascist onslaught 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, 6 P.M.
Garrick Hall

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.

5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

Statement of Nat'l Comm. of the Workers Party

The opposition group of Oehler and Stamm, hopelessly defeated and isolated in the Workers Party and despairing of their ability to influence the party members or even to avoid further disintegration of their own ranks in the internal party discussion, have left the Workers Party. Following the October Plenum of the National Committee, which witnessed the rejection of the Oehler-Stamm position and the condemnation of their disruptive methods by a vote of 18 to 2, they have proceeded to address their appeal to the "public."

A publication of the faction has been issued as a rival to the party press. Members of the faction were put up to attack the party and its position at a public meeting in New York on October 20. On October 27 the faction held a public meeting devoted to slanderous attacks on the party. By these acts Oehler and Stamm have put themselves outside the ranks of the Workers Party and taken their place in the camp of its enemies.

Together with Zack, who left the Stalinist party before he was cured, Oehler and Stamm advanced a platform of sterile sectarianism completely alien to the concepts and methods of Bolshevism and deriving fundamentally from the "third period" radicalism of the Stalinists. With arguments and slanders borrowed from the arsenal of the Stalinists they conduct a frenzied campaign against the liv-

ing forces of the Fourth International throughout the world, and Trotsky and the French Bolshevik-Leninists in particular. Their position is identical with that of the reactionary sectarian cliques, represented most typically in this country by the Weisbord and Field groups, which vegetate on the fringes of the movement for the Fourth International and devote themselves exclusively to a venomous though ineffective struggle against it.

In an intensive internal discussion organized by the June meeting of the National Committee and continuing 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 without discrimination in the internal bulletin distributed to all party members. At membership discussion meetings the reporters for the minority were given equal time to expound their position. Four such general membership discussion meetings were held in New York during the summer and, in addition, the discussion was continued at meetings of the branches. The history of the workers' movement does not know another example of such thorough-going, fair and democratic discussion.

PARTY AT WORK

NEWARK, N. J.

Building of the Association for Adequate Relief, Newark section of the N.U.L., goes on at a rapid pace. The local League now boasts of four locals and three headquarters. The party program has been very favorably received by individual Unemployed League members.

A committee is working to set up a local organization of the Sacramento Appeal Committee. The Socialist party here is inclined to give lip-service to this work.

The Newark branch will hold open forums every Sunday night, the first having been held on Oct. 27.

An Entertainment Committee expects about 100 persons to take a trip across the river to a theatre benefit at the New York Civic Repertory Theater.

The Danger of War and the Defense of the Soviet Union

New Version of Social Patriotism as Deadly as Old

Fourth Int'l Only Guardian of Workers Fatherland

By MAURICE SPECTOR

Theodore Dan of the Russian Social-Democratic Party bitterly resisted the Soviet seizure of power. Otto Bauer of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party dragged the masses with poison of "constitutional" Marxism and confidently took Dollfuss' word for it that the latter was not plotting a counter-revolutionary coup d'état. Jean Zyromski of the French Socialist Party lavishly scatters revolutionary phrases while supporting the expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Having thus brilliantly acquitted themselves in the class struggles of their several countries, these worthies in a thesis on "Socialism and the War Danger" jointly rally to the defense of the Soviet Union.

The International, they declare, meaning the Second International, must free itself from "traditional opinions." It is common knowledge that the "traditional opinions" meant rattling the sword of "revolution against war" in the security of peace-time and docilely capitulating to the military budgets on the declaration of war. In 1914, says Bauer, "the International could not decide in favor of either of the two coalitions which were both composed of capitalist and imperialist powers, and the Socialist parties accepted a policy of National Union with their respective governments." But the present danger of a war between two coalitions, one headed by Hitler Germany, the other including the Soviet Union, creates an entirely different situation. The amendments to the "traditional opinions" the thesis presents for the changed situation only prove that the more Bauerism changes, the more it remains the same, with this difference that in its pre-war manifestoes at least, the Second International never did come out in support of "National Union." In words at least, the pre-war pledges of the 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-Zyromski to flaunt their social-patriotic policy are the noblest, the most impeccable. "The interests of international socialism demand that German fascism shall be defeated. The interests of international socialism demand that the Soviet Union shall be victorious." How is all that to be effected? By a revolutionary struggle against capitalism, and not against the war danger merely as some isolated phenomenon? By organizing the forces of the working class in the direction of the dictatorship of the proletariat? By registering the bankruptcy of the Second and Third

Internationals whose policies and leadership were impotent to stem the tide of fascism? Do Bauer and Company urge the British Labor Party to fight for a government to establish socialism and not administer capitalism or the Socialist-Stalinist leadership of the People's Front to quit collaborating with Herriot-Laval and organize the workers' militia against the armed menace of La Roque?

Not at all. To appeal to the independent action of the masses was never the weakness of Bauer-Dan-Zyromski. As their signal achievements indicate, they are realists. To overthrow fascism, promising their recruiting services in advance, they invoke the powerful aid of the peaceful and democratic imperialist powers associated in the League. The Comité des Forges, Schneider-Creusot, and Winston Churchill, these will make the world safe for the Soviet Union! But if you think we are going too far, let us quote: "In fighting against war, international socialism must support the governments of those countries which, saturated by the results of the last war, want to preserve peace"—as the British Royal Air Force is preserving peace beyond the north-west frontier of India. "International socialism," they add, "must support the institution of the League of Nations. . . . In all countries allied with the Soviet Union, Socialists cannot and must not hinder the conduct of the war. They must appeal to the workers to do their duty as soldiers as well as in the war industry." Compelled by the obvious realities to admit that the League is an instrument of imperialism, that the good Democracies are based on subjection of the proletariat and the colonial peoples, that the regional pacts are modern military alliances, they nevertheless cling to their main thesis that imperialism in military alliance with the U.S.S.R. is still hallowed.

Essentially the Bauer thesis urging the alliance of the working class with the capitalist state allied with the U.S.S.R., is the now familiar and reasonable position of the Stalin-Laval communique. Both declarations of policy serve as the basis for "organic unity" of the Second and Third Internationals. Unless the masses can be organized to resist the social-patriotic sophistry of Stalin-Bauer, they will be involved in a ghastly repetition of August 1914. The most tragic illusion of all is that the defense of the Soviet Union requires the betrayal of the working class independence in countries allied with the U.S.S.R. The Stalin-Bauer policy invites the defeat of both the Soviet Union and the international working class.

The one reliable ally of the Soviet Union is the international working

class. But it is that ally that Stalin and Bauer with their social-patriotism are attempting to demoralize, systematically driving them into the camp of the rival imperialisms struggling for the redistribution of the world market. On this point there can be no doubt. The whole policy of the People's Front in France is directed to civil peace, class collaboration in preparation for the coming war. The support of the sanctions policy of the League of Nations involves the proletariat in support of the gov-

ernmental policies of the imperialist powers in the League. The Bauer thesis piously expresses the hope that the lessons of the last war "will inspire the working class of the world with the determined will to use a new war . . . to overthrow the capitalist system." The Bauer position will do anything but that. The fruits of the Stalin-Laval pact are already tragically apparent. The former communist and revolutionary ideology in the ranks of the Comintern is being supplanted by the ideology of liberalism,

patriotism, and pacifism. The collaboration with the "remnants of bourgeois democracy" proclaimed by the Seventh Comintern Congress must inevitably sabotage any developing struggle for power, lest it undermine the military capacity of the bourgeois ally and appear to redound to Hitler's advantage. Once educated in the spirit of the "sacred union," it is not easy to make a right about face at anybody's command. Declaration of war will be followed by the suppression of all critical working class organization

and press. The General Staff will rule. Bauer's policy will never lead to the revolution; it can only lead to another Versailles or the complete collapse of civilization.

Our's Is the Policy of Lenin

To the social-patriotism of Bauer-Dan we oppose the only policy that can save the Soviet Union as a socialist state, the position of revolutionary defeatism in every capitalist country whether allied with the Soviet Union or not. Lenin advocated the defeat of Czarist Russia and the overthrow of the Kerensky Government regardless of the protestations and oburgations of patriotic socialists that defeat, revolution and a separate peace would betray the cause of Western Democracy and play into the hands of Prussian Militarism. Lenin and Trotsky were vociferously denounced as German agents. Their former slogan of "make the world safe for democracy"—the democracy represented by the imperialist Allies,—the socialist-patriots have now supplemented with the plea of the Defense of the Soviet Union. But this kind of "Defense" must lead exactly to the same results as their 1914 defense of Entente democracy or "socialism" on the part of the German government-socialists. Social-patriotism had done its work so thoroughly that despite the terrible slaughter of the war and the subsequent chaos, in the victorious and vanquished countries alike, the proletariat was unable to overthrow the guilty ruling classes.

The working class," Bauer-Dan write coolly, "were not able to overthrow capitalism when it was weakened by the World War; they are now threatened with the danger of having to go through the hell of a second World War." If that is the case, it is thanks principally to the social-patriotic and treacherous doctrine and leadership of Bauer and Company in the last war.

Logic of Stalinism Predicted

The whole course of events which culminated in the Stalin-Laval pact and now finds expression in the Bauer thesis accurately verifies the consistent contention of the Russian Opposition that for the U.S.S.R. the most serious of all questions in connection with the war danger was the inner regime. The ebb in the tide of the post-war revolutionary movement nurtured the soil of the nationally disposed bureaucracy. Stalinism rationalized its position in the familiar theory of socialism-in-a-single-country, which by implication dispensed with the necessity of a revolutionary Communist International, since socialist construction was independent of the "state aid of the Western proletariat." Accommodation with the "neutralized bourgeoisie" and maneuvering through the League of Nations realistically followed. To destroy

the Leninist Opposition it was necessary to crush the party. The anti-Marxist policies of the Stalinized Comintern contributed decisively to the accession of Hitler. The sequel of it all was the defensive measure of the Stalin-Laval communique which directs a mortal blow at the remnants of revolutionary policy of the Comintern. Every defeat of the Western working class has in turn resulted in the strengthening of the bureaucratic reaction, to the point where its most perfect expression is the personal dictatorship of Stalin. A new world war in which the workers would fail to achieve their independence of both the Soviet and the Comintern bureaucracy, in which they would continue to take part as an ally of the imperialist governments would spell doom to the Soviet Union as a workers' state.

The Two Roads

If the Stalin-Bauer policy leads to the calamitous repetition of August 1914, it criminally opens the door to the peril of imperialist intervention, not only from the direction of Hitler, but also from the "democratic" allies of the U.S.S.R. In the event of a protracted struggle and under the dictatorship of the most reactionary elements whom the imperialist war inevitably brings to the top, the "democratic" allies may turn openly fascist, concluding their own peace with their fellow-fascists at the expense of the Soviet Union. Even now, Laval's collaboration with the Soviet Union is sufficiently precarious and feelers for a rapprochement with Hitler have been extended more than once. But if the proletarian revolution does not destroy Western imperialism, the Soviet Union will be subjected to the terrific pressure of world reaction. This and the exhausting demands of modern military operations would confront the Soviet Union with the peril of an internal bourgeois-Bonapartist attack on its social basis. In these circumstances it is in the vital interests of the defense and preservation of the U.S.S.R. as a Workers' State (1) to build up the new revolutionary Fourth International independent of the diplomacy of the Soviet bureaucracy, and directing its energies to the transformation of the impending world imperialist war into a civil war for international socialism; (2) despite the perilous difficulties involved, to make every effort to renew the Bolshevik party of Lenin by the organization of the Soviet section of the Fourth International, pledged to the unconditional defense of the U.S.S.R. but in the interests of that very defense to the unsparing criticism of everything in the war and diplomatic policy of the Stalin regime that is incompatible with revolutionary Marxism.

WHO FINANCES ITALY'S WAR?

How Big Business Provides Loans to Mussolini

(Reprinted from the British "New Leader," Organ of the I.L.P.)

Speculation has been very active in European capitals recently about the possible source of funds to keep the Italian war machine going. Will France furnish Italy the money to fight a war in Abyssinia? It is extremely improbable that the Laval government, pledged to economy and the security of the franc, will permit any loans. But there is another power in the French Republic from which Italy can obtain funds.

Observers have been wondering why certain French newspapers have shown such an exaggerated friendliness towards Italy. This friendliness cannot be entirely attributed to outright subsidizing of French journalists by the Italian government (it is common gossip that there have been large quantities of Italian money going around the Paris publishing world). A better explanation can be found in the enormous influence certain portions of French industry have on the press.

Loans to Industry

If the French banks, so the story goes, cannot lend directly to the Italian government, there is nothing to prevent them from offering loans to French industry. And the latter are in no way forbidden to assist Italian industry. It is a roundabout way, but, for that matter, no less effective.

This is how this reported scheme will work. French industries will invest their funds in Italian industry. The Italian government, which has a very thorough control over Italian industry, will convert those francs into lira and utilize them for the purchase of the raw materials, which Italy so sadly lacks, from foreign countries. It is very simple, and works just as well as a direct loan.

There have been some indications which support this story.

At the time of the Stresa Conference, a delegation of French bankers and industrialists, led by Ernest Mercier (one of the subsidiaries of Colonel de la Roque's Fascist Croix de Feu), were escorted on a tour through Italian industrial plants

under the guidance of Count Volpi, the great Italian capitalist who has profited heavily from his connections with the Fascist government. As a climax, this delegation was received in Stresa by the Duce himself.

Another straw in the wind.

Money from War. Late in July, the "Echo de Paris," a newspaper with Fascist sympathies, which has shown a marked friendliness to Italy, published an article signed by the editor on the state of Italian finances. The article painted a very rosy picture of Italian finances and industry. But there was one very significant sentence in it: "It is probable that Italy must sooner or later make a bid, under one form or another, for foreign credit." The "under one form or another" was obviously the Duce's bid, through his principal spokesman in the French press, for the sort of circuitous financing described above.

Whether the Laval government will allow such a deal to be made remains to be seen. But deal or no deal, there is little doubt that French industry stands to make money from war and preparation for war in Italy. For important French firms are closely connected already by investment in Italy.

M. Albert Galcier, for instance. M. Galcier is one of the directors of the great Italian trust Montecatini, whose chemical works profit from the sale of explosives. He is also director of Hautx Fourneaux, Forges et Aciéries de Denain et d'Anzin, affiliated with the Comité des Forges, and having as vice-president M. Léopold Pralan, vice-president of the Comité des Forges. This firm of Denain and Anzin make special steels for war vessels and other steel products for military purposes.

There is another director of Montecatini, M. Paul Ernest Picard, also director of the Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, one of the great credit establishments in Paris. M. Picard is also a director of Forges et Chantiers de la Méditerranée, which makes armaments.

Explosives Pay

The lines run the other way, also—Italy into France. Montecatini

is interested in the subsidiaries of the great French chemical trust of Kuhlmann and in another French chemical firm, La Société des Phosphates Tunisiens et des Engrais et Produits Chimiques.

The French financial paper, "Information," August 1, gives a brilliant picture of the place Montecatini holds in Italy, especially in war time:

"The explosives branch is prospering. Besides receiving the ordinary orders, it is a secret to no one that the present outlook of the exterior politics of Italy is provoking additional orders which are not confined only to explosives. It is certain that, under the present circumstances, Montecatini will find their importance increasing, especially since Montecatini tends, more and more, to satisfy all Italian industrial needs."

While the French business men are profiting from these war preparations, it is interesting to find the Germans are not absent either from the fertile field of Montecatini.

Germany's Part

The I. G. Farbenindustrie, the enormous German chemical trust, long ago leased patents to and acquired shares in the Italian trust. And now we find that, according to "Information," a banking group, at the head of which is the Dresdener Bank, obtained, a short time ago, a block of Montecatini shares amounting to about 500 million lire, par value. Knowledge of this fact should throw light on the German attitude, which is undisguisedly hopeful for an Abyssinian war. Thus while German arms have been sold to the Abyssinians, German industry has been investing in the Italian munitions business.

And Britain?

It is well known that Britain's export trade with Italy is larger than that of other countries. Even without this trade, there are British investments in Italy, prominent among which is the branch of the armaments firm of Vickers, called Vickers Terri.

Participation of British industry in the profits of war in Italy may provide one explanation why the "big business" press in London has been so friendly towards Italy.

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

THE story is told of an honest 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 high point of that convention, all must recall, was a programmatic speech by Earl Browder, which lasted six hours; its conclusion was, according to the Daily Worker, rapturously greeted by a prolonged ovation from the assembled delegates.

At the very moment Browder finished his report, Candide suddenly lapsed into utter unconsciousness. After several weeks at the hospital, the doctors diagnosed his case as sleeping sickness, and there he lay in a coma for over a year, kept alive by artificial feeding.

During that time tremendous changes came over the policies of 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 evil" was taken up by the C. P. through the medium of the Popular Front. The dual Red trade unions, which had been declared parts of the capitalist state-apparatus and even semi-fascist and company union in character, were dismantled

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.

Oblivious to all these mighty events, our hero slumbered on, until, on May Day of this year, he was unexpectedly aroused from his coma by the stirring strains of the Internationale from a workers' parade. His revolutionary spirit reawakened, Candide's body quickly followed, and he was soon on the road to recovery.

While convalescing, Candide began to read the Communist press with great eagerness, to review the progress made by the movement during his long sleep. He could hardly believe his eyes. Slogans in the Daily Worker: "For a Labor Party—Invoke Sanctions Against Fascist Italy—Support the League—Blockade the Suez Canal—United Front—Popular Front—Hurrah for John L. Lewis, etc., etc." He asked himself: had illness affected his mind? Or was all this a monstrous deception perpetrated upon the revolutionary workers? Had the enemies of the C. P., the social-fascists or the Trotskyites, captured the Stalinist press? He piled the comrades who visited him with question after question without satisfaction. They kept assuring him that all this was the new official line. He could not believe them; they were merely trying to humor and soothe an invalid.

Browder's magnificent speech at the Eighth Convention still echoed in his ears; its compelling analysis of the world situation and its clear directives for the forthcoming period were still fresh in his memory. Candide could not rest until he had seen his beloved leader to find out from his lips the truth of the matter.

Chapter II

ONE day last week, restored to health, comrade Candide made his way to the ninth floor where Browder held court. We have received a transcript of their conversation from our private agents, from which we extract the following:

Candide: "Comrade Browder, for four years I have been a loyal member of the party, the International Workers Order, the International Labor Defense, the Trade Union Unity League, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the League Against War and Fascism, the United Front Supporters, the A. F. of L. Rank and File Committee for Unemployment Insurance, the Anti-Nazi Federation, Friends of the Workers School, Film and Photo League, the Freiheit Mandolin Orchestra, the Pierre Degeyter Society, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, the Workers International Relief, and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. For the past year and a half through no fault of my own, I've been out of touch with party affairs. I've hardly known where to begin. But tell me, comrade, is it true that the Central Committee addressed a letter to the leaders of the Socialist Party here, asking for a united front?"

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

Candide: "But only two months before your letter at the Cleveland Convention I heard you say: 'Unity behind these gentlemen, Norman Thomas and the S.P. leaders, means surrender to the capitalist attacks. That is not the kind of unity the

workers need. We need a united front of the workers against the capitalists, and all their agents. But that means that unity must be built up, not with these leaders but against them. That means not a united front from the top, but a united front from below.' (p. 58.) To verify my recollections, I bought a copy of your speech the other day, and, sure enough, those were your very words."

Browder: "The world situation has changed since then, comrade, and we must adapt our tactics accordingly."

Candide: "But has the situation so radically changed in this country, or has the essential character of all these social-fascist leaders changed?"

Browder: "Dimitroff, the new leader of the Comintern, declared at the recent Congress: 'We must unite all democratic forces in the non-fascist countries in order to defend the remnants of bourgeois democracy.'"

Candide: "How can we unite with social-fascists, those cunning agents of fascism in the ranks of the working class, to fight fascism? Isn't the slogan of the 'defense of democracy' a social-fascist slogan, and a reliance on the democratic state in the struggle against fascism, the fatal policy of the 'lesser evil' that handed Germany over to Hitler? How well I remember your condemnation of these craven Socialists and the reformist trade union bureaucracy who hold back the workers from revolutionary struggle which alone can defeat and destroy fascism, and under the slogan of defense of democracy, and choosing the lesser evil, lead the workers to submit and support the intermediate steps to the introduction of fascism. That is why we call these leaders social-fascists, and their theories social-fascist. (p. 15.)

Aren't we falling into a social-fascist trap when we limit our struggle against fascism to the defense of democracy? That's not revolutionary struggle, it seems to me, but an imitation of the lesser evil policy. Don't you remember saying that 'the social-fascists try to confuse and disarm the workers . . . by means of counterposing 'democracy against dictatorship,' by trying to hide the fact that the capitalist dictatorship is only a form of capitalist dictatorship; that this slogan is used to hide the fact that capitalist democracy is not the enemy but the mother of fascism; that it is not the destroyer, but the creator of fascism? It uses the truth that fascism destroys democracy, to propagate the falsehood that democracy will also destroy fascism . . . thus delivering the working class over to fascism bound and helpless.' (p. 16.)

Browder: "The Communist Party under the leadership of our beloved Stalin is a realistic party of Bolsheviks. We have a monolithic party, but we have flexible policies. We do not let outworn policies hamper our adaptation to new conditions. Discard the policies without delay, without discussion, if necessary, but our party goes forward from one triumph to another, despite temporary setbacks. Have you read the latest statistics from the Soviet Union? Have you even heard how the Popular Front in France has stopped the advance of fascism there? Isn't that already vindication enough for our change in tactic?"

Candide: "I'm glad you brought up the united front in France. One of the conditions for the united front agreement there reads that both parties shall abstain from criticism of each other. But at Cleveland you said: 'In all united front

activities, the Communists must always grant the right to all other groups, and reserve the right for themselves, of mutual criticism.' (p. 72.) Why did the French Communist Party give up the right of criticism, and even agree to abandon all factional work in the trade unions?"

Browder: "It was necessary in order to attain unity and maintain it."

Candide: "But you went on to say: 'The Communists can never agree to be silent, to refrain from criticism, on any breaking of agreements for struggle, or any betrayal or desertion of the fight. Any such agreements would not be contributions to unity, but rather to disunity.' (p. 72.)

Browder: "Our Socialist comrades are fighting side by side with us and the Radical Socialists, against the fascists. There have been no betrayals, no desertions of the fight."

Candide: "But at Brest and Toulon, the sailors, who protested against the Laval-Herriot decrees, were killed and wounded. What did the Socialist leaders, what did we do about that? Could we stand silent when workers are shot down by French gendarmes, while Herriot sits at the same time in the Laval cabinet and the Popular Front?"

Browder: "You don't understand the cunning of the fascists, comrade. Those riots were the work of police provocateurs, of fascist agents, possibly of White Guard, Trotskyites, Blum and Cachin, the leaders of the united front, agreed on that. No, we have the most harmonious relations within the Popular Front, and, as for the united workers' front, that has been going so well that we are even now negotiating to form a single party."

Candide: "Unite in the same party with social-fascists? On what basis? A revolutionary program of struggle, the program of Marx and Lenin?"

Browder: "The time is not ripe for that. We will unite today on a program of struggle against war and fascism. We must overcome the sectarian tendencies in the party. That's why it's necessary, for example, to build a Labor Party here."

Candide: "But, comrade, how can you win the workers to a revolutionary program in this epoch, which Lenin called 'the epoch of wars and revolutions,' by uniting with reformists on a reformist program? Isn't it the worst form of right opportunism to hide the face of the party in that manner? You, yourself, said at the last convention that 'we must again emphasize . . . that . . . under no circumstances . . . (can we allow) . . . the abandonment of the independent role of the Communist Party. To push the Communist Party into the background, to allow it to be forgotten, is fatal to the success of a particular campaign, as well as endangering our future development. The tendency to bring forward workers' tickets in large industrial cities is generally wrong; it is a tendency to succumb to Farmer-Laborism.' (p. 69-70.) How can we withdraw our party candidates in favor of a joint labor or people's tickets, as we are doing today?"

Browder: "Don't you read the Daily Worker, which explains all these things?"

Candide: "Every day, comrade, and sometimes three and four times a day. Now I think I understand the reasons for all these things, and then again I'm not sure. There are so many innovations in the (Continued on Page 6)

The Art of Insurrection

By LEON TROTSKY

(From Volume III of the History of the Russian Revolution by Leon Trotsky)

People do not make revolution eagerly any more than they do war. There is this difference, however, that in war compulsion plays the decisive role, in revolution there is no compulsion except that of circumstances. A revolution takes place only when there is no other way out. And the insurrection, which rises above a revolution like a peak in the mountain chain of its events, can no more be evoked at will than the revolution as a whole. The masses advance and retreat several times before they make up their minds to the final assault.

Conspiracy is ordinarily contrasted to insurrection as the deliberate undertaking of a minority to a spontaneous movement of the majority. And it is true that a victorious insurrection, which can only be the act of a class called to 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

In every class society there are enough contradictions so that a conspiracy can take root in its cracks. Historic experience proves, however, that a certain degree of social disease is necessary—as in Spain, for instance, or Portugal or South America—to supply continual nourishment for a regime of conspiracies. A pure conspiracy even when victorious can only replace one clique of the same ruling class by another—or still less, merely alter the governmental personages. Only mass insurrection has ever brought the victory of one social regime over another. Periodical conspiracies are commonly an expression of social stagnation and decay, but popular insurrections on the contrary come usually as a result of some swift growth which has broken down the old equilibrium of the nation. The chronic "revolutions" of the South American republics have nothing in common with the permanent revolution; they are in a sense the very opposite thing.

This does not mean, however, that popular insurrection and conspiracies are in all circumstances mutually exclusive. An element of conspiracy almost always enters to some degree into any insurrection. Being historically conditioned by a certain stage in the growth of a revolution, a mass insurrection is never purely spontaneous. Even when it flashes out unexpectedly to a majority of its own participants, it has been fertilized by those ideas in which the insurrectionaries see a way out of the difficulties of existence. But a mass insurrection can be foreseen and prepared. It can be organized in advance. In this case the conspiracy is subordinate to the insurrection, serves it, smoothes its path, hastens its victory. The higher the political level of a revolutionary movement and the more serious its leadership, the greater will be the place occupied by conspiracy in a popular insurrection.

It is very necessary to understand the relations between insurrection and conspiracy, both as they oppose and as they supplement each other. It is especially so, because the very use of the word conspiracy, even in Marxian literature, contains a superficial contradiction due to the fact that it sometimes implies an independent undertaking initiated by the minority, at others a preparation by the minority of a majority insurrection.

The Role of Spontaneity in Social Crises

History testifies, to be sure, that in certain conditions a popular insurrection can be victorious even without a conspiracy. Arising "spontaneously" out of the universal indignation, the scattered protests, demonstrations, strikes, street fights, an insurrection can draw in part of the army, paralyze the forces of the enemy, and overthrow the old power. To a certain degree this is what happened in February 1917 in Russia. Approximately the same picture is presented by the development of the German and Austro-Hungarian revolutions of the Autumn of 1918. Since in these 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 transfer the power to those parties which up to the last moment had been opposing it.

To overthrow the old power is one thing; to take the power in ones own hands is another. The bourgeoisie may win the power in a revolution not because it is revolutionary but because it is bourgeois. It has in its possession property, education, the press, a network of strategic positions, a hierarchy of institutions. Quite otherwise with the proletariat. De-

prived in the nature of things of all social advantages, an insurrectionary proletariat can count only on its numbers, its solidarity, its cadres, its official staff.

Just as a blacksmith cannot seize the red hot iron in his naked hands, so the proletariat cannot directly seize the power; it has to have an organization accommodated to this task. The coordination of the mass insurrection with the conspiracy, the subordination of the organization of the insurrection through the conspiracy, constitutes that complex and responsible department of revolutionary politics which Marx and Engels called "the art of insurrection." It presupposes a correct general leadership of the masses, a flexible orientation in changing conditions, a thought out plan of attack, cautiousness in technical preparation, and a daring blow.

Limits of Spontaneous Insurrection

Historians and politicians usually give the name of spontaneous insurrection to a movement of the masses united by a common hostility against the old regime, but not having a clear aim, deliberated methods of struggle, or a leadership consciously showing the way to victory. This spontaneous insurrection is condescendingly recognized by official historians—at least those of democratic temper—as a necessary evil, the responsibility for which falls on the old regime. The real reason for their attitude of indulgence is that "spontaneous" insurrection cannot transcend the framework of the bourgeois regime.

The social democrats take a similar position. They do not reject revolution at large as a social catastrophe, any more than they reject earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, eclipses and epidemics of the plague. What they do reject—calling it "Blanquism," or still worse, Bolshevism—is the conscious preparation of an overturn, the plan, the conspiracy. In other words, those overturns which hand the power to the bourgeoisie, but they implacably condemn those methods which might alone bring the power to the proletariat. Under this pretended objectivism they conceal a policy of defense of the capitalist society.

The Significance of "Blanquism"

From his observations and reflections upon the failure of the many insurrections he witnessed or took part in, August Blanqui derived a number of tactical rules which if violated will make the victory of any insurrection extremely difficult, if not impossible. Blanqui demanded these things: a timely creation of correct revolutionary detachments, their centralized command and adequate equipment, a well calculated placement of barricades, their definite construction, and a systematic, not a mere episodic, defense of them. All these rules, deriving from the military problems of the insurrection, must of course change with social conditions and military technique, but in themselves they are not by any means "Blanquism" in the sense that this word approaches the German "putschism," or revolutionary adventurism. Insurrection is an art, and like all arts has its laws. The rules of Blanqui were the demands of a military revolutionary realism. Blanqui's mistake lay not in his direct but his inverse theorem. From the fact that tactical weakness condemns an insurrection to defeat, Blanqui inferred that observance of the rules of insurrectionary tactics would itself guarantee the victory. Only from this point on is it legitimate to contrast Blanquism with Marxism. Conspiracy does not take the place of insurrection. An active minority of the proletariat, no matter how well organized, cannot seize the power regardless of the general conditions of the country. In this point history has condemned Blanquism. His affirmative theorem retains all its force. In order to conquer the power, the proletariat needs more than a spontaneous insurrection. It needs a suitable organization, it needs a plan; it needs a conspiracy. Such is the Leninist view of this question.

Engels on Barricade Fighting

Engels' criticism of the fetishism of the barricades was based upon the evolution of military technique and of technique in general. The insurrectionary tactic of Blanquism corresponded to the character of the old Paris, the semi-handicraft proletariat, the narrow streets and the military system of Louis Philippe. Blanqui's mistake in principle was to identify revolution with insurrection. His technical mistake was to identify insurrection with the barricade. The Marxian criti-

cism has been directed against both mistakes. Although at one with Blanquism in regarding insurrection as an art, Engels discovered not only the subordinate place occupied by insurrection in a revolution, but also the declining role of the barricade in an insurrection. Engels' criticism had nothing in common with a renunciation of the revolutionary method in favor of pure parliamentarism, as the philistines of the German social democracy, in cooperation with the Hohenzollern censorship, attempted in their day to pretend. For Engels the question about barricades remained a question about one of the technical elements of an uprising. The reformists have attempted to infer from his rejection of the decisive importance of the barricade a rejection of revolutionary violence in general. That is about the same as to infer the destruction of militarism from considerations of the probable decline in importance of trenches in future warfare.

The organization means by which the proletariat can both overthrow the old power and replace it, is the soviets. This afterwards became a matter of historic experience, but was up to the October revolution a theoretical prognosis—resting, to be sure, upon the preliminary experience of 1905. The soviets are organs of preparations of the masses for insurrection, organs of insurrection, and after the victory organs of government.

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 the soviets in revolutionary conditions—and apart from revolution they are impossible—comprise the whole class with the exception of its altogether backward, inert or demoralized strata, the revolutionary party represents the brain of the class. The problem of conquer-

ing the power can be solved only by a definite combination of party with soviets—or with other mass organizations more or less equivalent to soviets.

popular masses and the progressive class, between the proletariat and its vanguard, between the soviets and the party, between insurrection and conspiracy. But if it is true that an insurrection cannot be evoked at will, and that nevertheless in order to win it must be organized in advance, then the revolutionary leaders are presented with a task of correct diagnosis. They must feel out the growing insurrection in good season and supplement it with a conspiracy. The interference of the midwife in labor pains—however this image may have been abused—remains the clearest illustration of this conscious intrusion into an elementary process. Herzen once accused his friend Bakunin of invariably in all his revolutionary enterprises taking the second month of pregnancy for the ninth. Herzen himself was rather inclined to deny even in the ninth that pregnancy existed. In February the question of determining the date of birth hardly arose at all, since the insurrection flared up unexpectedly without centralized leadership. But exactly for this reason the power did not go to those who had accomplished the insurrection, but to those who had applied the brakes. It was quite otherwise with the second insurrection. This was consciously prepared by the Bolshevik party. The problem of correctly seizing the moment to give the signal for the attack was thus laid upon the Bolshevik staff.

When Is the Time Ripe for the Action

Moment here is not to be taken too literally as meaning a definite day and hour. Physical births also present a considerable period of uncertainty—their limits interesting not only to the art of the midwife, but also to the casuistics of the surrogates court. Between the moment when an attempt to summon

development of the nation. A revolution becomes possible, however, only in case the society contains a new class capable of taking the lead in solving the problems presented by history. The process of preparing a revolution consists of making the objective problems involved in the contradictions of industry and of classes find their way into the consciousness of living human masses, change this consciousness and create new correlations of human forces.

The ruling classes, as a result of their practically manifested incapacity to get the country out of its blind alley, lose faith in themselves; the old parties fall to pieces; a bitter struggle of groups and cliques prevails; hopes are placed in miracles or miracle workers. All this constitutes one of the political premises of a revolution, a very important although a passive one.

A bitter hostility to the existing order and a readiness to venture upon the most heroic efforts and sacrifices in order to bring the country out upon an upward road—this is the new political consciousness of the revolutionary class, and constitutes the most important active premise of a revolution.

These two fundamental camps, however—the big property holders and the proletariat—do not exhaust the population of a country. Between them the broad layers of the petty bourgeoisie, showing all the colors of the economic and political rainbow. The discontent of these intermediate layers, their disappointment with the policy of the ruling class, their impatience and indignation, their readiness to support a bold revolutionary initiative on the part of the proletariat, constitutes the third political premise of a revolution. It is partly passive—in that it neutralizes the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie—but partly also active, for it impels the lower strata directly into the struggle side by side with the workers.

That these pre-

conditions each other is obvious. The more decisively and confidently the proletariat acts, the better will it succeed in bringing after it the intermediate layers, the more isolated will be the ruling class, and the more acute its demoralization. And, on the other hand, a demoralization of the rulers will pour water into the mill of the revolutionary class.

The proletariat can become imbued with the confidence necessary for a governmental overthrow only if a clear prospect opens before it, only if it has had an opportunity to test out in action a correlation of forces which is changing to its advantage, only if it feels

above it a far-sighted, firm and confident leadership. This brings us to the last premise—by no means the last in importance—of the conquest of power: the revolutionary party as a tightly welded and tempered vanguard of the class.

Thanks to a favorable combination of historic conditions, both domestic and international, the Russian proletariat was headed by a party of extraordinary political clarity and unexampled revolutionary temper. Only this permitted that small and young class to carry out a historic task of unprecedented proportions. It is indeed the general testimony of history—the Paris Commune, the German and Austrian revolutions of 1918, the soviet revolutions in Hungary and Bavaria, the Italian revolution of 1919, the German crisis of 1923, the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, the Spanish revolution of 1931—that up to now the weakest link in the chain of necessary conditions has been the party. The hardest thing of all is for the working class to create a revolutionary organization capable of rising to the height of its historic task. In the older and more civilized countries powerful forces worked toward the weakening and demoralization of the revolutionary vanguard. An important constituent part of this work is the struggle of the social democrats against "Blanquism," by which name they designate the revolutionary essence of Marxism.

Cordons Coincide for Victory in Russia

Notwithstanding the number of great social and political crises, a coincidence of all the conditions necessary to a victorious and stable proletarian revolution has so far occurred but once in history: in

Russia in October, 1917. A revolutionary situation is not long-lived. The least stable of the premises of a revolution is the mood of the petty bourgeoisie. At a time of national crisis the petty bourgeoisie follows that class which inspires confidence not only in words but in deeds. Although capable of impulsive enthusiasm and even of revolutionary fury, the petty bourgeoisie lacks endurance, easily loses heart under reverses, and passes from elated hope to discouragement. And these sharp and swift changes in the mood of the petty bourgeoisie lead their instability to every revolutionary situation. If the proletarian party is not decisive enough to convert the hopes and expectations of the popular masses into revolutionary action in good season, the flood tide is quickly followed by an ebb: the intermediate strata turn away their eyes from the revolution and seek a savior in the opposing camp. And just as at flood tide the proletariat draws after it the petty bourgeoisie, so during the ebb the petty bourgeoisie draws after it considerable layers of the proletariat. Such is the dialectic of the communist and fascist waves observable in the political evolution of Europe since the war.

Attempting to ground themselves upon the assertion of Marx that no regime withdraws from the stage of history until it has exhausted all its possibilities, the Mensheviks denied the legitimacy of a struggle for proletarian dictatorship in backward Russia where capitalism had far from exhausted itself. This argument contained two mistakes, both fatal. Capitalism is not a national but a world-wide system. The imperialist war and its consequences demonstrated that the capitalist system had exhausted itself on a world scale. The revolution in Russia was a breaking of the weakest link in the system of world-wide capitalism.

Falsity of Menshevik Conceptions

But the falsity of this Menshevik conception appears also from a national point of view. From the standpoint of economic abstraction, it is indeed possible to affirm that capitalism in Russia has not exhausted its possibilities. But economic processes do not take place in the ether, but in a concrete historical medium. Capitalism is not an abstraction, but a living system of class relations requiring above all things a state power. That the monarchy, under whose protection Russian capitalism developed, had exhausted its possibilities is not denied even by the Mensheviks. The February revolution tried to build up an intermediate state regime. We have followed its history: in the course of eight months it exhausted itself completely. What sort of state order could in these conditions guarantee the further development of Russian capitalism?

"The bourgeois republic, defended only by socialists of moderate tendencies, finding no longer any support in the masses . . . could not maintain itself. Its whole essence had evaporated. There remained only an external shell." This accurate definition belongs to Millukov. The fate of this evaporated system was necessarily, according to his words, the same as that of the Czarist monarchy: "Both prepared the ground for a revolution, and on the day of the revolution neither could find a single defender."

Kornilov or Lenin -- No Other Road

As early as July and August Milukov characterized the situation by presenting a choice between two names: Kornilov or Lenin? But Kornilov had now made his experiment and it had ended in a miserable failure. For the regime of Kerensky there was certainly no place left. With all the varieties of mood, says Sukhanov, "the one thing upon which all united was hate for the Kerensky regime." Just as the Czarist monarchy had toward the end become impossible in the eyes of the nobility or grand dukes, so the government of Kerensky became odious even to the direct inspirators of his regime, the "grand dukes" of the compromiser upper crust. In this universal dissatisfaction, this sharp political nerve-tension of all classes, we have one of the symptoms of a ripe revolutionary situation. In the same way every muscle, nerve and fiber of an organism is intolerably tense just before an abcess bursts. The resolution of the July congress of the Bolsheviks, while warning the workers against premature encounters, had at the same time pointed out that the battle must be joined "whenever the general national crisis and the deep mass enthusiasm have created conditions favorable to the going over of the poor people of the city and country to the side of the workers." That moment arrived in September and October.

The insurrection was thenceforth able to believe in its success, for it

could rely upon a genuine majority of the people. This, of course, is not to be understood in a formal sense. If a referendum could have been taken on the question of the insurrection, it would have given extremely contradictory and uncertain results. And a readiness to support the revolution is far from identical with an ability clearly to formulate the necessity for it. Moreover, the answer would have depended to a vast degree upon the manner in which the question was presented, the institutions which conducted the referendum—or, to put it more simply, the class which held the power.

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 in, but it is impossible to question them as to whether to apply the brakes when the train is at full speed and accident threatens. If the saving operation is carried out skillfully however, and in time, the approval of the passengers is guaranteed in advance.

Parliamentary consultations of the people are carried out at a single moment, whereas during a revolution the different layers of the population arrive at the same conclusion one after another and with inevitable, though sometimes very slight intervals. At the moment when the advanced detachment is burning with revolutionary impatience, the backward layers have only begun to move. In Petrograd and Moscow all the mass organizations were under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. In the Tambov province, which has over three million population—that is, a little less than both capitals put together—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 syllogisms of the thought process of the masses. And when a great practical decision becomes unpostponable, in the course of events, that is the very moment when a referendum is impossible. The difference in level and mood of the different layers of the people is overcome in action. The advance layers bring after them the wavering and isolate the opposing. The majority is not counted up, but won over. Insurrection comes into being at exactly that moment when direct action alone offers a way out of the contradictions.

Although lacking the power to draw by themselves the necessary political inferences from their war against the landlords, the peasants had by the very fact of the agrarian insurrection already adhered to the insurrection of the cities, had evoked it and were demanding it. They expressed their will not with the white ballot, but with the red cock—a more serious referendum. Within those limits in which the support of the peasantry was necessary for the establishment of a soviet dictatorship, the support was already in hand. "The dictatorship"—as Lenin answered the doubters—"would give land to the peasants and all power to the peasant committees in the localities. How can you in your right mind doubt that the peasants would support that dictatorship?" In order that the soldiers, peasants and oppressed nationalities, floundering in the snowstorm of an elective ballot should recognize the Bolsheviks in action, it was necessary that the Bolsheviks seize the power.

Lenin on Dynamics of the Majority

But what correlation of forces was necessary in order that the proletariat should seize the power? "To have at the decisive moment, at the decisive point, an overwhelming superiority of force," wrote Lenin later, interpreting the October revolution. "... this law of military success is also the law of political success, especially in that seething and bitter war of classes which is called revolution. The capitals, or generally speaking the biggest centers of trade and industry . . . decide to a considerable degree the political fate of the people—that is, of course, on condition that the centers are supported by sufficient local rural forces, although this support need not be immediate." It was in this dynamic sense that Lenin spoke of the majority of the people, and that was the sole real meaning of the concept of majority.

The enemy democrats comforted themselves with the thought that the people following the Bolsheviks were mere raw material, mere historic clay. The potters were still to be these same democrats acting in cooperation with the educated bourgeoisie. "Can't these people see," asked a Menshevik paper, "that the Petrograd proletariat and garrison were never before so isolated from all other social strata?"

The misfortune of the proletariat (Continued on Page 5)



Leon Trotsky in exile on the island of Prinkipo.

November 7th, 1917

Victor Serge's Account of the Seizure of Power

THE AUTHOR

Victor Serge (Victor Kibalchich) was born in Brussels December 30, 1890. His parents were exiled Russian revolutionists.

He was active in the movement at the age of fifteen as an anarchist. 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 October Revolution came he tried to reach Russia. He was arrested and interned in the Sardinia 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 work (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 Goniier, Victor Marguerite, Magdeleine Paz, Luc Durain, Henry Poulaille, Charles Vildrac, etc. It has offered to stand all the expenses of repatriating Serge and 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 work: *"The Year One of the Russian Revolution."*

On the Eve of Battle

The conflict between the two powers—the Provisional Government headed by Kerenski, and the Soviet—entered a sharper phase in Petersburg after October 16, when the Military Revolutionary Committee was formed. The Committee was headed by Antonov-Ovseenko, Podvoiski, and Chudnovski. The Petersburg garrison had come over to the Bolsheviks. The government, citing the danger of a German offensive, tried to send the revolutionary regiments off to the front. The M.R.C. was equipped with liaison, information, and armaments departments. It began by appointing commissaries in every unit of the troops. The bourgeoisie was arming—but the appointment of commissaries at the armories put a stop to that. The delegates of the M.R.C. were welcomed by the troops who knew the Committee was opposed to the order sending them to the front. The M.R.C. simply refused to countersign the order. A refusal they were artful enough to explain as giving the Committee time to examine the question. . . . The M.R.C. assumed general power over the troops, and ended by ordering 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.

The Second All Russian Congress of Soviets was to meet in Petersburg on October 15. The Mensheviks managed to postpone the meeting until the 25th (Nov. 7, New Style), thus obtaining ten days grace for the bourgeois provisional government. No one doubted but that the congress, where the Bolsheviks were certain of a majority, would vote for the seizure of power. "You are setting the date of the revolution," said the Mensheviks to the Bolsheviks. In order that the foregone decision of the congress might be something more than a platonic expression of opinion it was necessary to support it by force of arms. As to the date for the insurrection two points of view were manifest: Trotsky wanted to tie up with the congress, believing that an independent insurrection of the party would have less chance of carrying along the masses; Lenin thought it "criminal" to temporize until the congress, fearing that the Provisional Government would forestall the insurrection by a vigorous offensive. Events failed to justify his fear, which was nonetheless legitimate. The enemy proved to be completely demoralized. In our opinion two perfectly correct conceptions, based on different considerations came into conflict on this point. The one strategic, based on the necessity for tying up the action of the party with an immediate demand intelligible to the widest masses ("All power to the Soviets"), certainly a condition for success; the other based on a general line, to eliminate every illusion of the possibility of proletarian power before the insurrection. Once this possibility is admitted in theory, why not admit the possibility of power without insurrection? That road could lead far. Since 1908 Lenin had attacked

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

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 undertakes 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 insurrection."

Kronstadt and the Fleet

On the morning of the 25th the revolutionary forces of Kronstadt received orders to prepare to defend the Soviet Congress (for the offensive was launched under the formal cover of defense). Let us pause for a moment on the preparations at Kronstadt, of which one of the participants (I. Flerovski) has left an excellent account. The rational element, 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 revolutionary general staff followed the plan of operations exactly, designated the various units and sections, made inventory of supplies and ammunition, assigned the different leaders. The night passed in feverish work. The following boats were ordered to support the operation: the torpedo boat mine-layer Amour, the old cruiser Dawn of Liberty (formerly Alexander III), the monitor Vautour. The Amour and Vautour were to disembark troops in Petrograd. The cruiser was to take up a station at the entrance of the maritime canal, commanding the coastal railroad with its cannon. A feverish but silent activity went on in the streets. Army and Navy detachments marched toward the port. Only the serious, concentrated faces of the first ranks were to be seen by the light of torches. Neither laughter nor talk; only the martial tread of marching men, sharp commands,

and groaning passage of trucks interrupted the silence. In the port the boats were hastily boarded. The detachments drawn up on the docks waited patiently for their turn to embark. Is it possible, I thought in spite of myself, that these can be the last moments before the Great Revolution? Everything went off with such simplicity and order that one could believe that nothing more was at stake than some everyday military maneuver. How little this resembled the revolutionary scenes that one remembers from history. . . . 'This revolution,' my companion said, 'is going off swell.'"

This revolution went off in swell proletarian style—with organization. That is why it conquered in Petrograd, so easily and completely.

Let us borrow another significant scene from these memoirs. On board one of the boats headed for the insurrection; the delegate of the revolutionary general staff enters the officers mess. "Here the atmosphere is different. They are worried, careworn, puzzled. As I enter and salute the officers rise. They listen to my short explanation while standing. I give the order: 'We are going to overthrow the Provisional Government by force. Power will pass to the Soviets. We do not count on your sympathy; we don't need it. But we urge you to remain at your posts, filling your duties punctually and obeying our orders. We shall spare you superfluous trials. That is all.'— 'We understand, the captain replies. The officers file out to their posts; the captain mounts the bridge."

A numerous fleet came to the aid of the proletariat and the garrison. The cruisers Aurora, Oleg, Novik, Zabluka, Samson, two torpedo boats and several other vessels steamed up the Neva.

The Capture of the Winter Palace

Three comrades, Podvoiski, Antonov-Ovseenko, Lashevitch, had been entrusted with organizing the capture of the Winter Palace. Chudnovski, a Bolshevik from the earliest days, who was soon to die in the Ukraine, worked with them. The former imperial residence is situated in the center of the city on the banks of the Neva. It faces Peter and Paul fortress which lies across the river at a distance of six hundred yards. To the south the palace looks out on a vast paved square which contains the Column of Alexander I. Across this square in a semi-circle are the former army and foreign affairs buildings. In 1879 the revolver shots of the student Soloviev, from whom the Autocrat Alexander II fled, doubled over, pale with fright, echoed among these buildings. In 1871 the explosion of a dynamite charge set by the carpenter Stephen Kaitourine under the imperial apartments, blasted through the square. Here on January 22, 1905, troops opened fire on the crowd of the hymn singing workers came to petition their "Little Father Tsar." There were fifty deaths and more than a thousand wounded—the autocracy most fatally of all, by its own bullets.

On the morning of the 25th of October Bolshevik regiments acting in concert with the Red Guard, began to encircle the Palace, now the seat of Kerenski's ministry. The attack was planned for nine o'clock in the evening, although Lenin, ever impatient, urged them to attack sooner. While a wall of steel gradually surrounded the Palace, the Congress of Soviets met at Smolny,

a former school for daughters of the nobility. Still hunted by the police a few hours before he was to become the leader of the first workers' state, still in disguise, Lenin strode up and down a small room in the building. Of each new arrival he asked, "The Palace? Not yet taken?" His anger against temporizers mounted hourly. He threatened Podvoiski "We must shoot him, we must shoot him." The soldiers grouped around bonfires in the streets near the palace were equally impatient. "The Bolsheviks are turning diplomat too," they muttered. Once more Lenin's view in a minor detail, was that of the masses. Podvoiski, sure of victory, deferred the attack. Agitators demoralized the already doomed enemy. Every drop of revolutionary blood, now easily spared, was precious.

The first summons to surrender was sent in to the ministers at six o'clock; at eight o'clock another ultimatum; Bolshevik orators harangued the defenders. A crack battalion came over to the Bolsheviks; welcomed by a tremendous hurrah as they crossed the square. The women's battalion surrendered a few moments later. The terrified ministers, left alone in the vast palace without lights, guarded by a handful of military cadets, still hesitated to surrender. Kerenski had run out on them, promising to return at the head of a detachment of faithful troops. They expected to be torn to pieces by an infuriated mob. The cannon of the Aurora—firing blank cartridges—demoralized the defenders. The at-



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

tack met only feeble resistance. Grenades exploded on the great marble staircases, there was hand to hand fighting in the corridors. In the shadows of a great anti-chamber a single file of cadets crossed bayonets before a panned door.

It was the last rampart of the last bourgeois government of Russia. Antonov-Ovseenko, Podvoiski, and Chudnovski pushed past the motionless bayonets. "I am with you," one of the youths whispered. Inside was the Provisional Government; thirteen pitiful, shaking ministers, thirteen fear-strained faces hidden in the shadow. As they went out of the Palace surrounded by Red Guards, a cry for their death went up. The soldiers

and sailors had slight desire to see a massacre. The Red Guard kept them close. "Don't soil the victory of the proletariat with excesses." Kerenski's ministers were sent off to Peter and Paul Fortress, the former Bastille through which so many Russian heroes had passed. There they joined the last ministers of the Tsar. That was all.

In the neighboring sections of the city traffic had not even been interrupted. On the wharfs sight-seers looked on quietly.

A detail of organization: in order that momentary successes of the enemy might not interfere with their work the military leaders of the insurrection had prepared two reserve headquarters.

all military operations must be immediately stopped. How can anybody think in the middle of a cannonade? To which Trotsky replies, "Who is embarrassed by the sound of cannon? To the contrary, we shall work all the better."

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," Mistslavski relates, "his gestures were curt, his words cut through the air like a knife. Stocky and strong, he mounted the platform, his hairy chest showing beneath 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!' groans the Menshevik Abramovitch, on his feet, distracted and wringing his hands, 'Oh!' The man from the Aurora responds to this cry with 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 come to the ministers and the woman's battalion.' A turmoil ensues. The national de'ensist Mensheviks and the right Social Revolutionaries, sixty delegates altogether, go out, 'To die with the Provisional Government.' They don't get far; their straggling cortege found the streets barred by the Red Guard and they dispersed."

Late in the night the Left Social Revolutionaries decided to follow the Bolsheviks and remain in the Congress. Lenin did not mount the rostrum until the following day when the decrees on land, peace, and workers' control of production were voted. His appearance was the signal for a tremendous acclamation. He waited calmly for it to end, looking out over the victorious crowd. Then he said quite simply, without any gesture, his two hands resting on the pulpit, his shoulders slightly inclined forward toward the crowd:

"Now we shall construct the socialist society."

The Congress of the Soviets

While the reds surround the Winter Palace the Petrograd Soviet meets. Lenin comes out of hiding. Lenin and Trotsky announce the seizure of power. The Soviets are going to offer a democratic peace to all belligerent powers; secret treaties will be published. Lenin's first words emphasize the importance of the bond between the peasants and the workers, which is yet unsealed:

"In Russia the immense majority of the peasantry has said: 'Enough of this game with the capitalists, we shall march with 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. . . ."

The All Russian Congress of Soviets does not open until evening in the great white ball room at Smolny, illuminated by enormous chandeliers. Five hundred and sixty-two delegates are present; three hundred and eighty-two Bolsheviks, thirty-one non-party sympathizers with the Bolsheviks, seventy Left Social Revolutionaries, thirty-six center Social Revolutionaries, sixteen right Social Revolutionaries, three nationalist Social Revolutionaries, fifteen United International-

ist Social Democrats, twenty-one Menshevik partisans of national defense, seven Social Democrats from various national organizations, five anarchists. The room is crowded and feverish. The Menshevik 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 Palace drags on. Kamenev, "dressed in his best and in a holiday mood," replace Dan as president. He proposes a three point agenda: "Organization of Power; War and Peace; The Constituent Assembly." The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries take the floor first. For the former Martov, their most gifted and intelligent leader, whose physical sickness seems, in spite of his great personal courage, to be sickness of the idea he serves, "Martov, planted as usual with his hand on his hip, pale, trembling and queerly twisted, shaking his ruffled hair, urges a peaceful solution of the conflict."

A little later! Mistslavski takes the floor for the Left Social Revolutionaries. His party mistrusted the Provisional Government and was favorable to the seizure of power by the Soviets, but had refused to join in the insurrection. He speaks in nuances. All power to the Soviets, certainly! All the more so since they have already seized power. But

Peace Parade Bluff in Facts & Figures

(Continued from Page 1)

do McNutt, national chairman of the American Youth Congress, representing more than 2,000,000 organized youth, called upon the youth of America to "prepare for war by marching for peace."

If the A. Y. C. wants to avoid such misleading appearance we would suggest that it curb the pub-

lic statements of its overzealous national chairman who deals out their "2,000,000 organized youth" with such a free hand.

Knitgoods Union Protests
We have received another letter, a press release from the Knitgoods Joint Council:

"For immediate release. The following letter was sent by the Joint Council of Knitgoods Unions to the People's March for Peace Committee protesting the unauthorized use of the names of their affiliated locals, 155 and 2085 United Textile Workers of America, as endorsers of the People's March for Peace Committee:

"Mr. S. R. Solomonick, Trade Union Organizer
"People's March for Peace Committee
"Dear Sir:
"We are in receipt of your communication with reference to the People's March for Peace Parade to be held next Saturday, October 26, and note that two of our affiliated locals, 155 and 2085, United Textile Workers, are listed as endorsers of your organization.

"While our organization is opposed to war and is at all times ready to take action in support of peace, we cannot permit the names of our affiliated locals to be used as endorsers of an organization about which we know nothing and of a parade in the arrangement of which we have not even been asked to participate.

"We want to protest this unauthorized use of the names of our locals. We believe that such methods of obtaining endorsers act against attempts of sincere labor organizations to organize movements for peace. . . .

Yours truly,
Joint Council, Knitgoods Workers Union,
Morris Liskpy, President
Lewis Nelson, Manager."

How many other organizations which did not attend the gala affair last Saturday went to make up the difference between the 15,000 reported in the capitalist press and the 50,000 reported in the Daily

Worker we cannot say. We can only guess how fifteen became fifty thousand.

The parade came off under the appropriate slogan of Waldo McNutt: "Prepare for war by marching for peace." (How true, how true. The prodigal son of the American Youth Congress speaks truer than he knows.)

The Art of Insurrection

(Continued from Page 4)

and the garrison was that they were "isolated" from those classes from whom they intended to take the power!

But was it really possible to rely upon the sympathy and support of the dark masses in the provinces and at the front? "Their Bolshevism," wrote Sukhanov scornfully, "was nothing but hatred for the coalition and longing for land and peace." As though that were little! Hatred for the coalition meant a desire to take the power from the bourgeoisie. Longing for land and peace was the colossal program which the peasant and soldier intended to carry out under the leadership of the workers. The insignificance of the democrats, even the most leftward, resulted from this very distrust—the distrust of "educated" septs—in those dark masses who grasp a phenomenon wholesale not bothering about details and nuances. This intellectual, pseudo-aristocratic, squeamish attitude toward the people was foreign to Bolshevism, hostile to its very nature. The Bolsheviks were not ill-handled, literary friends of the masses, not pedants. They were not afraid of those backward strata now for the first time lifting themselves out of the dregs. The Bolsheviks took the people as preceding history had created them, and as they were called to achieve the revolution. The Bolsheviks saw it as their mission to stand at the head of that people. Those against the insurrection were "everybody" except the Bolsheviks. But the Bolsheviks were the people.

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The Significance of the October Revolution for the Orient

By LO SEN

Few were the countries under imperialist domination which failed in the post-war years to react to the revolutionary stimulus which radiated from proletarian Russia. The war had strained the imperialist world until it broke at its "weakest link." This breach once made, the tide of revolt rose in the whole colonial and semi-colonial world. The

October Revolution led not only to convulsions in Europe but directly opened the path to national revolutionary 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 ways—and still is—the key to the national emancipation movements throughout the vast domains of imperialism. Upon the outcome of the struggle there depended in large measure the correlation of class forces not only in the colonial world but between the struggling Soviet state and its enemies in capitalist Europe.

Reaction in Russia—Revolution in China

The revolutionary wave in Europe was already declining; the Soviet state, isolated and embattled, had been compelled to retreat to the New Economic Policy, when the wave of struggle began to rise high in China. The Chinese Revolution threatened imperialism with a new, and perhaps this time mortal blow. Victory for the revolution in China could have broken down the isolation of the Soviet state. Events instead harshly decided that the disastrous defeat of the Chinese Revolution should itself become one of the most ghastly consequences of proletarian Russia's isolation within a rim of hostile, capitalist states.

The bureaucratic stratum which had begun to solidify on the outer crust of the newly-formed Soviet state took Russia's national isolation as its starting point. To justify itself it erected the theory of socialism in one country, the well-spring of Stalinism. In this culture the germs of opportunism thrived and waxed strong. The Soviet bureaucracy turned to the East not to help apply the lessons of the Bolshevik victory but to seek allies in the national bourgeoisies of the Eastern countries. Toward this end it draped the mantle of Lenin around the death's head of Menshevism and made it large enough to provide shelter for the national bourgeoisies of China. From this source flowed the policies which led to the ghastly tragedy which in 1927 plunged China into the maw of reaction.



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

It was China's tragedy to receive the lessons and experiences of the October Revolution refracted through the dirty lenses of Stalinism. For these "lessons" the Chinese masses were forced to pay a frightful price. Today an understanding of the real relationship between the October and China's revolutionary future has to be restored. A re-evaluation of the historical and theoretical lessons to be drawn from that relationship is imperative if the red day of revolution is ever again to dawn for China.

The Bond Binding both Revolutions

Between the Chinese and Russian revolutions there is an organic bond, welded by the past and linked to a common future. The fate of the two countries is joined, in the first place, by a contiguous frontier which crosses Asia for a distance of almost 6,000 miles. There is, moreover, no real dividing line, either in the geographical or in the ethnic sense. The two countries and the two groups of peoples do not clash at a barrier, but tend gradually to merge, the one into the other.

Great similarities exist in the social composition of the two countries. In both there are a large number of races and nationalities with specific characteristics and cultures. In both the agrarian population overwhelmingly predominates and the proletariat is a small but decisive minority. Like Tsarist Russia, China is a backward nation in which the beginnings of capitalism are entwined with feudal forms of exploitation which hold the peasantry as a whole in their grip. Whereas in Russia the autocracy acted as a break on the growth of productive forces and

Lenin's Bolshevism and Stalin's Menshevism-- Victory in Russia and Catastrophe in China

perpetuated the barbarism of the past, in China imperialism in a far more drastic manner paralyzed the country's social and economic growth. The backwardness in economy and social organization condemned the masses of both countries to conditions of helotry supported by the blackest of superstition, ignorance and the burden of tradition centuries old.

In Russia the comparatively small and youthful proletariat smashed the shackles of the old society and established its own class dictatorship. With state power in its hands it unleashed mighty creative energies which opened the way for the industrialization and modernization of the country. It elevated the cultural level of millions of people thus lifted from the drags of darkness to a new life illumined by science and by education. China's victory still lies ahead, but in the experience of the Russian working class there are lessons of precious and vital significance without an understanding of which the Chinese proletariat will be unable, in its turn, to fulfill its historic mission.

Permanent Revolution—1905 Lesson

Both the events and the governing ideology of the Russian revolution at its various stages exercised a direct influence upon the development of the Chinese revolution. Russia's 1905 was one of the world factors which directly contributed to the explosion in China in 1911 which toppled the Dragon Throne of the Chings. From the 1905 experience Lenin and Trotsky had already arrived at the conclusion that the task of realizing the bourgeois democratic revolutions in the backward countries—and carrying them through to their end—developed in the present epoch of world capitalism not upon the bourgeoisie but upon the proletariat allied with and leading the peasantry.

This tremendous concept, the very essence of Leninism and of the theory of the permanent revolution, possessed for China and for the whole East, as well as for Russia, a decisive significance. By 1911 the productive forces of China had not reached the point where it was possible for this idea to find expression in the actual relationship of class forces. Indeed, the state of productive forces was such that neither the bourgeoisie, stifled by imperialism, nor the proletariat, scarcely yet born, were in a position to replace the Manchu Dynasty by any new, unified class rule. Power,

therefore, fell to the militarists whose warring satrapies became masks for the interplay of imperialist antagonisms in China itself.

But the 1911 revolution had nevertheless ushered in a new, transitional epoch involving not the rise of a new dynasty but the transformation of the economy and class structure of the country and of the state superimposed upon it. The dismal failure of two attempts, in 1916 and 1918, to restore the monarchy, showed that China had rounded a decisive mile post in her history.

Proletariat Emerges in China

In the war years great changes took place. The imperialist grip, tighter after 1911, relaxed. Productive forces leaped spectacularly forward. A modern Chinese proletariat came into being, seemingly overnight. But the whole historical development of the Chinese bourgeoisie condemned it, even in the period of its relative growth, to the position of a vassal dependent upon imperialism. This meant that the task of ultimately emancipating China would fall to the proletariat 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 underlying strategic-theoretical concepts of the October Revolution was not immediately perceived. But the October itself, far more immediately and directly than in 1905, became a mighty stimulus to a new revolutionary upheaval in China. The

war, the growth of productive forces expressed in the creation of modern industry, had set all classes in motion in China and out of this movement a social, literary and cultural renaissance emerged as the herald of the second Chinese revolution. When the intellectuals and then the workers began to intervene in the march of events and to seek to mold them in their own interests as they saw them, it was under the direct impetus and influence of the October Revolution. Even the Chinese bourgeoisie, its hopes for the independent development of capitalist economy revived and fluttering, tried to give its own class aspirations a Communist coloration—as Lenin foresaw it would—and its most conscious representatives sought the prestige of Russia's support and put themselves at the head of the spontaneously growing movement of the workers and peasants.

Lenin's Teachings

Here the fundamental requirement of the Chinese proletariat was a party of its own, deeply impregnated with the experience and fundamental strategy of the October Revolution. Such were the parties for the Eastern countries envisaged by Lenin at the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920. At that Congress Lenin had given the strategic lead to the East, particularly to China where the development of class forces already provided the most fertile ground for the planting of the Bolshevik seed. Imperialist domination, he pointed out, stifled the forces of production and therefore the proletariat had to take the lead in the struggle against it—"but from this it does not follow at all that the leadership of the revolution will have to be surrendered to the bourgeois democrats." To the contrary, the Communists must prevent the bourgeoisie from securing control of the national movement. They must develop the class consciousness of the masses, lead them to the organization of soviets and with the help of the proletariat of the advanced countries, to Communism. In this process the Communists would find it "useful" and even necessary to ally themselves to the national revolutionary movements, "not however amalgamating with them, preserving the independent character of the proletarian movement, even though it is still in its embryonic form." They must put the masses on guard against the attempt to cloak a bourgeois demo-



Execution of workers outside a Hankow factory by a Kuomintang officer.

cratic movement in a Communist garb.

But Menshevism Leads in China

These were the clear and unequivocal terms in which Lenin laid down for the East the essential lessons of the October Revolution. But by the time the workers of the East, particularly of China, were ready to absorb and apply these ideas, Lenin was gone. The thoroughly reactionary concept of socialism in one country had replaced Leninist internationalism. A bureaucracy which hoped for nothing better than a Chinese Kemal Pasha had replaced the leaders who looked not for nationalist but for class allies. A mechanical, non-dialectic theory of stages replaced the historical dynamics embodied in the theory of the permanent revolution. The Menshevik ideas, which might have wrecked the Russian revolution had it not been for Lenin were dragged out of the past by the same men who had defended those ideas against Lenin in 1917, the Stalin, the Bucharins, the Martinovs. This Menshevik baggage was labelled with Lenin's discarded slogan of the democratic dictatorship, decked out with devious, tortuous interpretations which outraged Lenin's very memory. Thus fortified, and backed by the prestige of the whole Russian proletariat, the Borodins and the Voitinskys came to China to teach the Chinese workers that the "national" struggle for liberation preceded the class struggle of the working masses against their own exploiters.

This was the monstrous thing, that from the land of the October came men who taught that imperialism had the effect of welding into a common front of struggle against it all the classes of Chinese society except the old feudal militarists. From this to the "bloc of four classes," the stifling of the mass movement wherever it menaced bourgeois interests and therefore the "national united front," the recognition of and subordination to bourgeois leadership through the Kuomintang, from all this to the shattering catastrophes of Can-

ton, Shanghai, Wuhan, Changsha it was but a step—a step taken over the dead bodies of the flower of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry.

Executioners in Russia and Orient

(When against this betrayal Leon Trotsky raised the voice of the Opposition, the voice of Marx, of Lenin, of the October, he and his adherents were driven from the party by the club of the apparatus, driven into prison, into graves or into exile. How bitter it is to think that while in China workers, peasants and intellectuals, victims of the Stalinist betrayal, went down under the lash of the terror wielded by Stalin's great and good allies of yesterday, the Chiang Kai-Sheks, the Wang Ching-wei's, the Feng Yushangs; in Russia Stalin used the apparatus of the Soviet state to whip the Leninists who had tried to save the Chinese workers from the Cavaignacs and Gallifets into whose hands he, Stalin, had delivered them!)

The course of the post-revolutionary period, the inevitable lurch to insane adventurism, from August, 1927, to the end of 1930, and the subsequent attempt to cloak an insurrectionary peasant movement with a proletarian garb, only led to new disasters, to new blind alleys. It did not lead to the Chinese October. Instead it has only fed the finest fighters of the revolution into the maw of Kuomintang reaction. It only facilitated the Kuomintang's betrayals to imperialism and its destruction of the very lifeblood of the Chinese people.

For an end to this tragedy, too long, too costly! Like everywhere else Stalinism in China has left only smoking ruins and the bodies of heroic dead in its wake. Its dead hand must be torn away from the throat of the world proletariat. In China as elsewhere we must build a new revolutionary party, the party of the Fourth International, a party which will know how to face the problems of the Chinese revolution with a real understanding of the significance, for China, of Russia's October.

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"

(Continued from Page 3)

Daily. For example, there's the appeal to the patriotic traditions of the American people. At Cleveland, you quoted from the "new fascist program for the S. P., presented by Joseph Sharts, which read: 'These great traditions cluster around the Stars and Stripes and make it worthy to be fought for, regardless of the capitalist connections in recent years. Not by the pacifist but by the patriotic approach lies our path to power and freedom.' And then you said: 'It would be difficult to improve on Mr. Sharts by quoting directly from Hitler.' (p. 78.) How can we imitate the fascists by such appeals to patriotism?"

Browder: "That is the American approach to the problem of Bolshevizing the masses."

Candide: "The American approach! Why, that was the slogan of Budenz, one of those left social-fascists whom you called 'the most dangerous enemies of the workers' struggles today.' (p. 76.)"

Browder: "Not so loud, comrade. Budenz is in the next room."

Candide: "There are lots of other things in the Daily Worker I don't understand. The editorialists call upon the Roosevelt government and the League of Nations to invoke sanctions against Fascist Italy. You taught us that the Roosevelt administration is 'the beginning of the introduction of fascism.' The New Deal was in political essence and direction the same as Hitler's program." (p. 20-21.) How can we, a working class party, call upon one semi-fascist government to stop another Fascist state from conducting an imperialist war? Aren't we playing the game of the imperialists, instead of pursuing an independent working class policy?"

Browder: "We are utilizing the contradictions between the imperialist powers, just as the Soviet Union is doing in the League of Nations."

Candide: "I can understand why the Soviet state must try to utilize

these contradictions in diplomatic maneuvers with the imperialist powers, but how can the Communist parties ask the cooperation of their own ruling class to fight another? How does such class-collaboration look to the Italian workers?"

Browder: "Would you have us isolate ourselves from the organized workers by opposing sanctions, which is the only way to avert war and oppose Fascism? Why, only the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites are against sanctions. We've won over all the trade unions, almost all the Socialist parties to our policy."

Candide: "That's just the point. You said that both the A. F. of L. and the company unions were governmental agencies of the capitalist class, just as the Fascists and social-fascists were the twin political agencies of the capitalist class. (p. 28-29-30.) If the A. F. of L. is a semi-fascist agency of the Roosevelt regime, more dangerous than the company unions, then it naturally follows that its leaders would sanction the imperialist policy of the American government."

Browder: "You're living in the past, comrade. A new progressive movement has sprung up in the A. F. of L. headed by such people as John L. Lewis, Francis Gorman and Sidney Hillman, and that's why we're advising all our members to join it."

Candide: "Lewis heading a progressive movement? Why you coupled him with Green in 1934. And you're liquidating all the T.U.U.L. unions? Why I remember how my heart beat with pride as I listened to you describe the amazing progress made by the revolutionary trade unions of the T.U.U.L., 'by developing the whole mass movement of resistance to the NRA and the whole capitalist offensive, in the development of the strike movements,' (p. 36) while the Trotskyites and Mustekes sold out the workers in Minneapolis and Toledo. I remember that slogan you gave

us: 'to unite the independent unions with the revolutionary unions into a single Independent Federation of Labor.'" (p. 38)

At this point Candide broke into hysteria and fell to the floor in a dead faint. We are informed that he has remained unconscious and delirious ever since. In that unfortunate condition, we must regretfully leave him.

Chapter III

PLAUSIBLE as it seems, we cannot, of course, vouch for complete authenticity of the above story. We can, however, guarantee the authenticity of the quotations from Browder. They will be found in the "Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to the 8th Convention, delivered by Earl Browder," published by the Workers' Library of New York, 1934. We recommend it for entertainment and meditation these sombre days.

Candide, the honest Stalinist worker, was completely bewildered by the contradictory lines of the Communist Party, and could find no explanation for them. Bewildered and confused by his leaders, who tell him one thing today and its opposite tomorrow, he relapsed into unconsciousness. Politically conscious workers, however, will want to know why the Communist Party has followed such completely contradictory policies in the past period.

To us, the reasons for the somersaults of the Stalinists are clear. It would be pointless to look for them in Browder's psychology or American conditions. These have nothing to do with the case. Browder, the leader of the C.P.U.S.A., is a political master-mind in only one sense: he reflects what goes on in the mind of his master, Stalin, who in turn translates into political terms the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy. We must, therefore, look abroad to the Soviet Union and the international scene to understand what has allied the Com-

intern in the past thirteen years, years of great opportunities and tremendous defeats for the revolutionary working class.

As we view the history of the Third International, it has passed through four phases.

1. The heroic period from the Bolshevik revolution in October, 1917 to the death of Lenin in 1924. In these years the Third International was built; its revolutionary program formulated in the first four Congresses; the task of winning over the working class of the world to revolutionary struggle under the banner of Marx and Lenin begun. However, the destruction of the flower of the Russian proletariat in the civil wars, then the economic collapse which necessitated the introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921 produced a widespread passivity in the exhausted Russian working class. Reflecting this passivity, the Soviet bureaucracy, whose control was centralized in Stalin's hands, developed and strengthened its grip upon the Communist party and the state apparatus during this period—and turned its face away from the international revolution. The post-war tidal wave of revolution led by the Third International was broken by the retreat of the Communist leaders in Germany in the face of a revolutionary situation in October 1923 (this was under Stalin's orders), which was preceded by the defeat of the Bulgarian insurrection in 1923 and followed by the crushing of the Revál uprising in Estonia. The breaking of the revolutionary wave in Germany and elsewhere paved the way for the reorganization and strengthening of European capitalism with the aid of American capital.

2. The second period. The revolutionary ebb and the temporary stabilization of European capitalism gave further impetus to pessimism and passivity regarding the prospects of world revolution in the Soviet bureaucracy, which had usurped control of the Russian

Communist Party and the Comintern. Turning their backs upon the international scene, the leaders of the bureaucracy, Stalin, developed the theory of "socialism in one country" as a justification for their conservative and narrowly nationalistic viewpoint. According to this theory, a classless socialist society can be built up in one single country alone, the Soviet Union, even if the proletariat in the more advanced countries fail to conquer power. From this theory dates the beginning of the degeneration of the parties of revolution in their respective countries to auxiliary arms of the conservative foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. From this fatal theory flows all the blunders, defeats, and catastrophes which the working class has suffered since 1923.

During this second period right opportunistic policies were substituted all along the line for revolutionary policies. Within the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy leaned upon the Nepman and the Kulak for support in its struggle against the Bolshevik-Leninists; and opposed planned economy, industrialization, and collectivization demanded by the Left Opposition in favor of a course of concessions to Nepmen and Kulaks. In the sphere of foreign policy the Stalinists relied upon the reformist trade union bureaucracy of England through the Anglo-Russian Committee to lead the struggle against imperialism war and for the defense of the Soviet Union; upon Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuo-Min-Tang in the Chinese revolution; and upon various unreliable peasant leaders throughout the world. The Communist parties were subordinated to these alliances with alien class elements. The balance-sheet included the betrayal of the English General Strike and the impotence of the British Communist Party; the tragic betrayal of the Chinese revolution; the weakening of the Communist parties and the revolutionary movement throughout the

world. The essence of this course was to preserve the status-quo, while socialism was being built in the Soviet Union.

3. The Third Period.

When this policy culminated in "the bloodless Kulak uprising of 1928," the Stalinists suddenly veered around and transformed all their policies into their opposites. Instead of opposition to planned economy came the first and second Five Year plans with their mad gallop toward industrialization, regardless of costs and consequences, together with the campaign for complete collectivization and liquidation of the kulak. These domestic policies were complemented by the social-fascist, dual red trade union, united front from below policies. It was in this so-called "third period" that Candide received his political education, or rather, miseducation. So different in its form from the second period, the third period continued the same objective: preservation of the status quo—even if the cost involved was to sacrifice the German revolution to maintain the status quo.

4. The Fourth Period.

The adventurous, ultra-leftist line of the third period was abruptly terminated by Hitler's conquest of power as a direct consequence of the fatal policies pursued by the Communist Party of Germany. Panic-stricken at the spectacle of the Fascist monster they had helped create, the Stalinists have thrown away all the theoretical baggage of the third period in the wild flight to the right, which is still under way. This is a return to the fundamental course of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the right opportunist course of 1923-1928, on a wider scale and with more profound consequences. Again, its objective is: the status quo.

Today the Stalinists are again seeking protection in the arms of the social democratic leaders and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, as well as imperialist nations such as France. The sole task of

the Stalinists outside the Soviet Union is to preserve the status quo by means of the Soviet diplomacy of Litvinov or the subsidiary means of the Communist parties. The last remnants of revolutionary working class policy has been abandoned in favor of popular fronts. The united fronts between the Socialist and Communist parties are united fronts of inaction, instead of struggle. The recent Seventh Congress of the Comintern set its seal of approval upon this course. The task of the Third International, which was organized by Lenin and Trotsky to conquer the world for socialism, has been reduced to the pitiful task of "defending the remnants of bourgeois democracy." Since the Stalin-Laval pact, the French Communist Party calls upon the French working class to support its own capitalist government in case of war against Fascist Germany, thus pitting one section of the working class against another, and betraying them both. This is a repetition on a grander scale of the social-patriotic betrayal of the Second International in 1914-1918.

Since 1923 the opportunist leadership of the Comintern had brought nothing but defeat after defeat upon the working class. Although the leaders of the various parties of the Third International still drape themselves in the banner of Lenin, they have violated every revolutionary principle he stood for. The Third International is no longer a revolutionary organization, no longer a progressive force in the labor movement.

The proletarian revolutionists of the world are gathering today under the new banner of the Fourth International. The struggle for the Fourth International is the struggle for the ideas of Marx and Lenin; for the overthrow of capitalism; for a workers' world. Rally to the support of the Workers' Party, which has unfurled the banner of the Fourth International in the United States!

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 a par with the social patriotic support of French militarism and imperialism, under the guise of "defense of the Soviet Union," by the support of the Franco-Soviet military alliance, is the sowing of the illusion by the "Popular Front" that the capitalist government can be made to disarm the fascist bands hired by finance capital. As a *quid pro quo* for their support of a "democratic" government, the Stalinists have been demanding that the government agree to disarm the fascists. Laval now "yields" to this so-called pressure from the "left" (as the capitalist press puts it) and announces that the Mobile Guards or special police are to be reinforced and given the immediate task of disarming the Croix de Feu and other private armies. No doubt the cretins who trust in the imperialist government which is ceaselessly preparing for war, to preserve peace, will hail this "decision" of Laval as a victory. In reality the workers should be aroused to the fraud that will be perpetrated by Laval to assist the fascists and strike a blow at the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. For under his fake promise, Laval will proceed to take strong measures against the armed workers, against the incipient workers' militia organized to defend the proletariat from fascist attack. The Laval government corresponds in its functions with that of Gollitio-Bonomi in Italy and Brüning-Schleicher-Papen in Germany. It is the transition form between democracy and fascism. In this transition the fascist bands are created by finance capital and aided and strengthened by the support of the police and the army. With the direct connivance of leaders in the "democratic" government, of course.

THE POLICY OF LAVAL

Laval was placed in power by the financial oligarchy in complete control of the Bank of France. This capstone of French imperialism ousted Flandin when he refused to obey the dictates of the bankers—the Rothschild interests, the Wendels, etc.—in the matter of deflation. Laval was placed in power because he was the willing tool of the big bankers in the carrying out

of an economic policy which—by decree—unloads the entire crisis on the backs of the workers, the small functionaries and the exploited peasants. The same de Wendel who heads the armaments trust and heavy industry (Comité des Forges), who directly finances de la Rocque, the would-be Hitler of France, entrusted the reins of the bourgeois government to Laval. Will any worker take seriously the word of Laval that he will act to disarm the bands created and supported by the same master whose orders are law to Laval—and are in actuality translated into laws by decree?

But perhaps it is not Laval who will really disarm the fascists, but a better friend of the workers, Herriot for example. Or better still one who advocates the People's Front like Daladier. The Stalinists, for the sake of Soviet diplomacy, perverted the united front with the French Socialists into a crass form of class collaboration for the preservation of bourgeois democracy. The united front became the social-patriotic People's Front with the inclusion of the directly bourgeois Radical Socialist Party of Herriot and Daladier. We are witnessing the ripening of the fruit of this People's Front. The Stalinists and Socialists make all possible concessions to the petty bourgeois Radicals, including a complete reliance on parliamentarism. The Radical Socialists, in turn, give support to the direct representatives of big business, to Laval. Herriot prevented a split in the Radical Socialist congress that has just been concluded over the question of supporting the government by decree of Laval. Daladier conducted an apparent fight for the People's Front against such support but was "persuaded" to yield to the patriotic Herriot. Daladier does not want to split his party. Thus the entire course of the Stalinists is clearly revealed as playing into the hands of the imperialists. The further end of the chain of class collaboration in which the working class links are forged by the Socialist and Stalinist betrayers, rests firmly in the grip of the de Wendels.

The workers must learn that this is the inevitable result of a course of class collaboration, that they remain completely at the mercy of the big bankers. Only by pursuing a clear-cut revolutionary policy of the working class can the workers attain their own ends. Not the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie, but the armed forces of the workers can disarm the fascists. The answer to Laval's fraud must be the more rapid arming of the workers and the building of the workers' militia.

Increasing Oppression the Path of Bureaucracy

Leon Trotsky Analyses the Relations of the Bolshevik Tarov

By L. TROTSKY

We have a remarkable document in the letter of comrade Tarov, one of the Soviet Bolshevik-Leninists, a mechanic who of necessity finds himself today outside the Soviet Union. Early in 1928, Tarov was arrested as a "left Oppositionist"; he spent three years in exile, and sat four years in prison, in harsh solitary confinement, and then, once again, he spent several months in exile. What crimes did Tarov commit against the Revolution?

It appears that as early as 1923, he was of the opinion that the October revolution had created the possibilities for industrialization, immeasurably more rapid than was the case with capitalist countries. Together with other Tarovs he raised the alarm against the policy of staking everything upon the kulak which would lead to a crisis for the entire Soviet system. He demanded that efforts be focussed upon the peasant poor and the systematic switching of rural economy on to the rails of collectivization. Such were his chief crimes for the period of 1923-1926. He was more penetrating and far-sighted than the ruling upper crust. In any case, such were the crimes of the tendency for which Tarov bore the responsibility. In 1926, all the Tarovs demanded that the Soviet trade unions bring to an end, the political friendship with the General Council of British Trade Unions that was betraying the miners' strike, together with the General Strike; it was precisely for this service that Citrine, the head of the General Council, the former ally of Stalin and Tomsky, was knighted by His Royal Majesty during the Jubilee celebrations. Together with other Leninists, Tarov protested in 1926 against the Stalinist theory of a "democratic workers' and peasants' state"—a theory which impelled the Polish Communist party to support Pilsudski's coup. But even this does not exhaust the list of Tarov's crimes. As an internationalist, he was vitally interested in the fate of the Chinese revolution. He considered those Kremlin decisions criminal which compelled the young and heroic Communist party of China to enter into the Koumintang and to submit to its discipline; in addition to which, the Koumintang itself, a purely bourgeois party, was accepted into the Communist International, as a "sympathetic" organization. The time came when Stalin, Molotov and Bukharin, sent a telegram from Moscow, calling upon Chinese Communists to put down the agrarian movement of the peasants, so as not to "scare away" Chiang Kai Shek and his officers. Tarov, together with other disciples of Lenin, considered such a policy to be a betrayal of the revolution.

The Tarovs had several other similar crimes to their credit. From 1923 on, they demanded that work proceed on the drafting of the Five Year Plan; and when, in 1927, the draft of the first Five Year Plan was finally outlined, all the Tarovs argued that the annual increase in industry should be set not at 5-9 percent, as was done by the Political Bureau, but two or three times greater. True, this was all soon confirmed. But since the Tarovs by virtue of their foresight had exposed the backwardness of the ruling upper crust, they were therefore guilty of undermining the revolution (i.e. the prestige of the bureaucracy). The Tarovs paid a great deal of attention to the working class youth. In their opinion the youth had to be given an opportunity to do some independent thinking, to study, make mistakes, and learn to stand on its own feet. They protested against the fact that revolutionary leadership had been replaced by a regime of bulldozing corporals. They forecasted that this barracks-room strangulation of the youth must lead to demoralization and to the growth of outright hooligan and reactionary moods in its midst. These warnings were branded as an attempt to set the young generation against the old, as mutiny against the "Old Guard"—the very same "Old Guard" which has been calumniated, smashed and committed to jails, or demoralized by Stalin with the aid of his Praetorians.

Such are Tarov's crimes. To this we must add that the Bolshevik-Leninists, including Tarov, never attempted to impose their ideas by force. They did not call for an uprising against the bureaucracy. For a period of almost ten years they sought and hoped to convince the party. They fought primarily for their right to bring their criticism and their proposals before the party. But the bureaucracy which had raised itself to autocratic rule upon the defeats of the world proletariat, counterposed to the Leninist Opposition not the force of argument, but the armed detachments of the G.P.U. Tarov happened to be among several thousands who were arrested during the Thermidorian annihilation of the Opposition in 1928. Thereafter he spent more than three years in exile, and about four years in jail. From his present brief story the reader is able to acquaint himself with the conditions that prevail in these jails: abuse, corporal punishment, the 14-day torture of a hunger strike, and in answer to it, forced feeding and new abuse. All this because the Bolshevik-Leninists

posed the problem of collectivization before Stalin did, because they issued a timely warning against the consequences of the perfidious alliance with Chiang Kai Shek and the future Sir Walter Citrine. . . .

Tarov's Mistake

But then came a new thunderclap from the blue: Hitler came to power in Germany. The policy of the Communist International had cleared the road for him. When Hitler was hoisting himself into the saddle, his stirrup was held by none other than Stalin. All the floods of eloquence poured forth by the Seventh Congress will not wash away from the ennobled Leaders the blots of this historic crime. All the more rabid became the hatred of the Stalinist clique for all those who had foreseen and forewarned in time. The captive Leninists had to pay with their ribs for the deadly policy which combined ignorance with perfidy: it is precisely this

need of swindlers ready for anything.

Thus, Tarov's attempt to return to the ranks of the official "party" met with complete failure. Tarov was left with no recourse other than to flee from the Soviet Union. His experience, for which he paid so dearly, is an invaluable lesson both for the Soviet and the world proletariat. The Open Letter issued by the organizations standing under the banner of the Fourth International finds a new and a clear-cut confirmation in the Tarov case. The Open Letter states, "By means of persecutions, frauds, amalgams and bloody repressions the ruling clique seeks to nip in the bud every movement of Marxist thought. Nowhere in the world is genuine Leninism so bestially hounded as in the U.S.S.R." These lines, superficially considered, appear exaggerated: Isn't Leninism being ruthlessly hounded in Italy and Germany? As a matter of fact there is no exaggeration in the Open Letter. In Fascist countries the Leninists are subjected to persecution along with

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 vaillant 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 pretext 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'Humanité, 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'Humanité jumps into the breach:

"It seems that this has reference to the Socialist and Communist majorities and the red flag. This is hardly right."

"First of all because none of these majorities have placed the red flag on their roofs other than morally. . . . Further, because the Communists 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 majorities 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'Humanité, Oct. 2)

combination that provides the essence of Stalinism.

Yet, Tarov, alarmed by the triumph of National Socialism, turned to the authorities in Moscow with the following proposal: he pledges to give up Oppositionist activity, in return for which, he, Tarov, is to be given the right to return to the ranks of the party, as a disciplined soldier, and there carry on the struggle against the Fascist danger. It is not difficult to explain the psychological causes for Tarov's step. There is no position more tortuous for a revolutionist than to be bound hand and foot while the imperialist reaction is capturing one proletarian trench after another. But Tarov's political proposal was doubly unrealistic. In the first place, to support Stalin's struggle against Fascism unconditionally, is in the last analysis, to help Fascism—this has been irrefutably proved by the entire history of the last 12 years; in the second place, Tarov's proposal was not acceptable, and could not have been accepted by the proletariat. Even a single Leninist unselfishly and courageously fulfilling the tasks assigned him, in full view, without recanting publicly and without spitting upon the best traditions of Bolshevism would be a silent refutation of the legend entitled "Trotskyism as the vanguard of the bourgeois counter-revolution."

This assinine legend wobbles on its mythical underpinnings, and has to be propped up daily. Concurrently, Tarov's example, if he were successful, would inevitably arouse emulation. This could not be allowed. It is impermissible to allow bold men to return to the party who surrender only the public expression of their views—no, they must renounce their ideas, their right to think altogether. They must spit upon views which have been confirmed by the entire course of events.

Sinopsis of Stalinist Corruption

Nothing so characterizes the Stalinist regime, its internal corruption and fraud, as its utter inability to assimilate a sincere revolutionist ready to serve obediently, but who refuses to lie. No! Stalin needs apostates, bellowing renegades, people who are shamelessly ready to call black white, who beat their hollow breasts pathetically, while their minds are actually occupied with ple-cards, automobiles and summer resorts. The party and the state apparatus is overrun with such swindlers, double-dealers, and corrupt cynics. They are unreliable but indispensable: bureaucratic absolutism which has come into an irreconcilable contradiction with economic and cultural requirements of the workers' state is in acute

other opponents of the regime. Hitler, as is well known, vented his greatest malice upon his oppositionist brothers-in-arms in the party, the "left wing," which reminded him of his own yesterday. The Stalinist bureaucracy vents the same bestial cruelty upon the Bolshevik-Leninists, the genuine revolutionists, who embody the traditions of the party and of the October revolution.

The political conclusions to be drawn from the case of comrade Tarov are quite evident. It would be sheer insanity to think of "reforming" and "regenerating" the C.P.S.U. today. A bureaucratic machine which serves primarily the purpose of keeping the proletariat in a vise cannot possibly be made to serve the interests of the proletariat. Revolutionary terror, which during the heroic period of the revolution served as a weapon in the hands of the awakened masses against the oppressors, and as a direct safeguard of the rule of the proletariat, has been completely supplanted by the cold blooded and venomous terror of the bureaucracy which fights like a mad beast for its posts and sinecures, for its uncontrolled and autocratic rule—against the proletarian vanguard. This is precisely why Stalinism is doomed!

Engels on Stalin

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 following: "as regards terror, so long as it had any meaning, it was in its essence a war measure. The class, or a certain section of it, which was alone able to guarantee victory to the revolution, not only remained in power thanks to the terror . . . but also assured itself elbow-room, the freedom of movement, the possibility to concentrate forces at the decisive points, i.e. at the frontiers." But once the frontiers had been safeguarded thanks to military victories, and after the destruction of the frenzied Commune which had sought to carry liberty to other peoples on bayonets, terror outlived itself as a weapon of the revolution. Robespierre, it is true, was at the height of his power; but says Engels, "henceforth terror became a means of self-preservation for him, and thus it was reduced to an absurdity" (Engels' emphasis). These lines are remarkable for their simplicity and profundity. There is no need here to expatiate upon the distinction between the present and the past epoch: it is quite well known. No

(Continued on Page 8)

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

Question: Why is it not correct for the Communist Party of Great Britain to support sanctions against Italy since a defeat of Italy will hasten the overthrow of Fascism?

Answer: To advocate that sanctions, applied by His Majesty's government in imperialist interests, be given the support of the British workers means to advocate support by the latter of an imperialist policy, and correspondingly, the renunciation of any attempt to struggle for the overthrow of English capitalism. If this policy is proposed for the purpose, pretended at least, of hastening the overthrow of Italian imperialism, then the advocates of such a policy are maintaining that between the two imperialisms, Italian fascism and British "democracy," the latter is the lesser evil.

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 colonialism, 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 misery for the toilers. This is borne out by the whole history of post-war Europe. Czarist Russia had 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 regime but this is not necessarily synonymous with a workers' victory. Those who draw an equation sign between the two, in the absence of a revolutionary party in Italy, are assuming that Italian capitalism cannot find new forms and methods to enslave the toilers; that 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 eradicating the revolutionary activity of the workers outside of Italy, i.e., in the nations applying sanctions. It is precisely because the conditions of fascism have virtually stamped out revolutionary ideology from the minds of the Italian workers that it is only a revolutionary shock from outside that country which can, in the immediate future at least, again point out the way to them. Just as Marxism does not evolve out of the class struggle itself but is brought to the working class, so must it be brought to the Italian workers. Today the main stream of such knowledge lies outside of Italy.

Supporting the imperialists who are applying sanctions, therefore, is one of the surest methods of making it next to impossible for the Italian workers to arrive at Marxism, and in the final analysis of setting the world revolution back for decades. The surest way of aiding the Italian revolution is the Leninist way: The enemy is at home; turn the imperialist war into civil war.

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

(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 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 out in these columns the strategic importance of Abyssinia for British imperialism. The importance of Abyssinia from the point of view of the immediate interests of British capitalism is not so well known.

British Empire in Africa
Since the World War the British Empire in East and Central Africa has become a co-ordinated and connected whole. The inclusion of the German colonies made an "all-red" route from North to South of Africa. The British Empire now stretches from Cairo to the Cape.

This British Empire in Africa is pierced only by the independent state of Abyssinia, which is like an island in British territory. British imperialists are obviously not going to allow another capitalist power to take possession of that island!

How Capitalism Has Grown

But it is not merely a matter of the unity of the British Empire in Africa. It is also a matter of its value for British capitalists. It is doubtful whether any part of the British Empire has yielded to British capitalism such an increase of profits as British Africa since the World War.

We give some striking figures in proof of this. Take, first, the increase in the total trade of Africa (of which, of course, British capitalists control the major part). The following table indicates the enormous expansion of Africa as a source of profit-making:

Total Trade of Africa	
1913	£320 millions
1924	£450 millions
1928	£580 millions

It is often not realized how important Africa is in the production of many of the most precious articles. Our next table shows African production compared with world production of four most valuable articles:

Article	Production—World—African
Gold (million ozs.)	19.5 11.0
Diamonds (mill. kar.)	7.2 7.2
Nitrates (1,000 tons)	10.0 5.2
Chrom ore (1,000 tons)	570.0 335.0

Increase of Gold from Africa

There has been a tremendous increase in gold production, as the following table shows:

Gold Export	1929	1933
Tanganyika	10,536 ozs.	32,516 ozs.
S.W. Africa	570 ozs.	919 ozs.
1931	1933	
Uganda	71 ozs.	1,216 ozs.
Sierra Leone	6,650 ozs.	15,604 ozs.

The total exports of Kenya and Uganda have expanded from the annual average value of £1.17 million between 1910-14 to £4.32 million in 1931.

Threat to British Owners of Cotton Fields

The importance of Abyssinia to British capitalists because it contains the headwaters of the Blue Nile, which irrigates the British-owned cotton fields of the Sudan, has often been pointed out. But the significance of this is not always realized. Seventy-six percent of the value of the exports from the Sudan is due to cotton, and 58 percent of the total crop is grown in the Gezira, which is fertilized by the Blue Nile.

Before 1926, when the dam of the Blue Nile was constructed, the Gezira depended on a scanty and seasonal rainfall, and was little better than a desert. Now every year more of it is being put under cultivation. British Capitalists are not going to permit another capitalist power to control a water supply which, if cut off, would re-transform the Gezira into a desert and, in effect, expropriate the British shareholders!

Two British companies are mainly interested in the Sudan—the Sudan Construction and Equipment Company, Ltd. (capital, 1934, £0.4 million) and the Sudan Plant Sys-

tem (capital, 1925, £0.6 million; 1934, £2.3 million).

Big Increase of British Investments

British Africa has also increased greatly in value as an area for British investments. Here are examples of how the opportunities for British shareholders have increased. The following capital, according to the London Stock Exchange "Ten Years' Record," 1935, has been invested since 1925:

Investments Since 1925

	In millions
Gold Coast Govt. Securities	£5.7
South African Govt. Securities	£42.0
N. Rhodesia Govt. Securities	£2.4
S. Rhodesia Govt. Securities	£4.2
Nyasaland Govt. Securities	£2.0
Tanganyika Govt. Securities	£5.5
Rhodesia Railway	£13.8
Nyasaland Railway	£0.8
African Trade Corporation	£3.5
Diamond Mines of S.W. Africa	£6.4
West Rand Consols	£2.3
Rand Selection	£3.4

These are twelve examples out of hundreds of shares dealt with on the London Stock Exchange. They total £92.0 millions! One other example: in four years £25 millions of British capital were invested in North Rhodesian mines.

Africans Become Wage-Slaves for British Capitalists

Since the World War tens of thousands of Africans have become the wage-slaves of British capitalist concerns. Here are the figures showing the increase in Kenya only:

1912	12,000
1920	90,000
1923	129,000
1927	185,000

Has Slavery in British Empire Been Abolished?

Why this expansion in Africa? One of the reasons is that the wages are extremely low—if one dare speak of them as wages. The price of labor in Kenya is ten shillings a week. This is why British capitalists invest money there. They can make greater profits. The low wages in the British Empire in Africa help to cause unemployment in Britain and to under-cut British working class standards.

The question is sometimes asked: Why have not the Abyssinian people

revolted against the system of slavery? It is because they see little difference between slavery in Abyssinia and wage-slavery and forced labor in the neighboring British colonies where Africans are supposed to be free.

The land is taken from the Africans, who are only allowed to possess it in reserved territories. The result is that they are forced to go and labor for British capitalists.

The British Government also forces the Africans to labor for particular periods in the year on government schemes of work. The governor of Uganda stated in 1922 that "at present but a small portion of the unskilled labor employed by governmental departments is voluntary."

The position of the Africans has been described as follows by an authoritative writer:

"White colonization and white industry mean that the black man loses the freedom to move in his own country, is made to work for the white man either by undisguised forced labor or by the corvée or by taxation, which he can only pay by hiring himself out year after year. It means sweating in the field for the profit of the white, sweating in the mines where he is paid a tithe of what a white man earns for the same work. Above all, it means losing his lands; a peasant people torn from the land in which his spiritual life is rooted must perish." (White, "The Abyssinian Dispute," page 65.)

But Why Should British Workers Be Killed?

The facts given in this article show the importance of British capitalist interests in Africa and indicate why our British capitalist government is prepared to go to the extent even of war to defend those interests against the threat of Italian capitalist and imperialist interests.

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

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The Significance of the Russian Revolution For the American Working Class

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" in the Soviet Union always had its limitations. Of course, the Stalinist propaganda in this connection was always based on a fallacious theory, namely, that socialism could be built within the borders of the Soviet Union alone, if only war could be put off a few years by whatever means. Today "the final, irrevocable victory of socialism in the land of the Soviets" has been achieved according to the Seventh Comintern Congress. Any ideas or hopes based on such a theory, on an illusion, were bound to lead to confusion or disillusionment.

Achievements in the S. U.

Apart from this, it is true that there have been important technical 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 visualize the low plane of the pre-war economy in Russia. They could see too plainly that the standard of living, technical development and labor productivity were still exceedingly low, compared to what they saw under their own eyes in the post-war U. S. under the most favorably situated capitalism in the world. They lacked the political development to analyze and understand what they saw.

There was a brief interval at the very close of the Hoover reign when very large numbers of American workers were impressed by the picture of no unemployment, etc. under the Five Year Plan in contrast with the misery, demoralization and vague alarm which pervaded the U. S. in those days, and said: "Pretty soon we'll have to do as they did in Russia." But even then the concept of Russia as the promised land was far more generally accepted among the intellectuals and even some of the agricultural population than among the workers; and the talk about doing as they had done in Russia often expressed a fight 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 much the same in the Soviet Union as in the U. S.

Tell the Story of the Revolution

Yet the Russian revolution was and is of immense significance for American workers. The idea that it is a "Russian affair," "foreign," something that does not concern us, unless it be as an evil example, is of course false and dangerous. It is furthermore possible, I believe, to get large numbers of American 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 psychology 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 parties to stop the break-up of all economic life, to meet the needs of the masses, the gradual upsurge of the masses and their rise to power,—all this merely as a dramatic spectacle is tremendously impressive. Workers who have been in strikes can live it from the inside. A popular version of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* would be a powerful means for mass propaganda.

Show the Connection with War

The development should be shown in connection with the war. War is the only "way out" that capitalism knows. Permitted to remain in power it will lead the masses every-

Explanation of Basic Elements of Revolution Will Spur Desire to Emulate It

where, in the U. S. too, to the abyss into which the Russian masses were thrust. Capitalism will stop short of nothing in order to retain its hold. The American workers are not immune, do not live in a universe apart, as they thought in the Coolidge-Hoover era. The depression has dispelled that illusion. There are only two ways to "stop war"—complete exhaustion, the collapse of civilization, or the way the Russian workers chose, the road of revolution which puts an end to capitalism itself.

The idea that finally the workers have to take things into their own hands, that they can trust no one but themselves; the great idea of masses in motion, no longer inert, no longer meekly obeying orders, but standing up in their own right, marching, sweeping everything before them—all this makes a genuine 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 they will understand.

Revolution No Tea Party

Show them, too, that the revolution is not a tea party. The masses have to arm themselves in order to escape slaughter at the hands of capitalist henchmen. It is not a question of electing one set of politicians to replace another. A clean break has to be made. The government has to be overthrown. The whole capitalist state and its machinery, police, courts, army must be destroyed. The workers must put their own state, their own revolutionary government, in its place. That is the lesson of the Russian revolution. American workers will come to see this too. There is that in their own tradition which will help them to see it.

The story of the Russian revolution, especially in connection with the contrasting policy pursued and results obtained in Germany and Austria, e.g. is the very best medium for teaching the workers what working class unity is and how it can be obtained. Impatience with

divisions and "wrangling," desire for unity, are deep-seated. But history shows us that all forms of "unity" between workers and other classes on another than working class basis, all forms of "unity" in the working class itself, on anything save a revolutionary program are undependable, a death-trap indeed for the workers. Precisely at the critical moment they break down. They produce not unity, but confusion and division. Genuine unity is achieved on the basis of a revolutionary program and under the leadership of the revolutionary party. There can be and there is no other way—the way of Lenin and Trotsky.

Only the First Battle

The impression conveyed by much of the Stalinist propaganda is that the war of the working class for emancipation basically came to an end with the Russian revolution. It "established" socialism. Henceforth virtually the sole duty of the working class of the world is to "defend the Soviet Union," protect it from external attack, and then pretty much as a matter of course socialism will gain universal sway. This is bad, un-Marxist theory; it is also bad psychology. The Russian revolution resulting in the establishment of the first workers' state in all history, is indeed of incalculable significance. But it was not the war of the workers against their oppressors which came to an end in 1917 on Russian soil. The first major battle of a direct revolutionary character was fought there and the first great victory recorded. But the war is on. Subsequently, the workers have suffered heavy defeats. No matter. The shining example of 1917 stands. The war is still on. Here on American soil also the battle must be fought. Preparing for that battle against American imperialism is the primary duty of the American working class which has also its fighting traditions, a fresh, vigorous class which has never yet suffered a major defeat, but which has also tests to face such as the past never presented. Put the matter thus and Amer-

ican workers will see and feel the Russian revolution as their own heritage, because it was not "Russian" but of the working class, not a war which is over, but a battle in a war in which they are themselves inextricably involved, which for them also means either defeat with all the misery and degradation of a Fascist dictatorship or glorious triumph and emancipation. Put it this way, and set-backs and delays in "building socialism" in the Soviet Union do not have to be explained by a false theory which does not explain anything but simply confuses the workers, emasculates the revolutionary movement, and enables a bureaucracy to entrench itself. These set-backs and delays then appear as well-nigh inevitable incidents in a war in which the fortunes of battle swing back and forth until the final victory is won.

The Importance of Leaders

Finally, the masses see ideas as embodied in outstanding personalities. The revolutionist of course adheres to no "great man" theory of history. Washington and Jefferson did not "make" the American revolution of 1776 and Lenin and Trotsky did not "make" the very different proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917. But the revolutionist also knows that the masses are not theoreticians and that, as I have suggested, under the lash of objective conditions they will act to revolutionary effect in an historical crisis, if there exists the leadership of a Marxist revolutionary party whose theories and aims will embody themselves for the masses in its organization and its leadership. Now even the average worker in the U. S. senses that he is part of the world, does not live behind mountainous walls. He has begun to fear and hate Hitler and Mussolini. Despite all the propaganda of Hearst and the other red-baiters over a pace of nearly two decades, millions of American workers regard Lenin and Trotsky as their own.

Green Trains Guns on Fighting Mpls. Labor

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of the United Textile Workers. This strike is of national significance. The struck Strutwear plant was endangering the national existence of the union. Running at top speed, in three shifts, the open-shop Strutwear plant was flooding the East with sweatshop-priced goods. Previous attempts to unionize the plant had met with no success, the weak forces of the Central Labor Union being impotent to aid the hosiery federation. The rise to power of Local 574 gave the hosiery federation its long-sought opportunity.

Despite the fact that only a handful at first answered the strike call, the hosiery union's appeal to Local 574 resulted in the shut-down of the plant in August and it has remained closed since, despite numerous attacks by the police on the picket lines. Vincent Dunne, leader of Local 574, received three broken ribs at the hands of police and a sentence of fifteen days in the workhouse for his picketing activities in behalf of the Strutwear strikers. The local press announces the formation of vigilante gangs to war on strike leaders and the employers are hysterically demanding that the police reopen the plant. But the hardy pickets of 574 intend to keep the plant shut until it signs up with the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

Other Services of 574

In addition to these strikes, Local 574 has aided numerous others, including the Arrowhead steel strike, the Minneapolis-St. Paul mechanics' strike of last January, the Fargo drivers' strike and the building-trades strike. In the last two weeks hitherto unorganized workers in the candy industry and chicken pickers came to the headquarters of 574 for aid in organizing unions, and won immediate success.

The example of what the militant leadership of Local 574 has been able to do for the workers of Minneapolis has driven the local bureaucrats into a frenzy of hatred. All attempts of local talent to destroy Local 574 having failed, the national union-busters, Green, Woll and Co. have now been called in.

The capitalist press and radio, which commented approvingly on former New York police commissioner Richard Enright's recent declaration here calling for violence against the "reds and other lawless elements," will undoubtedly support Bill Green's assault on the unions, as will the employers' open-shop organization, the Citizens Alliance. Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer, who recently went to Washington to appeal to Green to help him against the unions, declaring that "Progress

The Figure of Trotsky
And it is through the medium of the life, the activities, the sayings 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 needs for the broadest mass work. A popular book on the same subject is needed for those who have time 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 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 sound. He belongs to the Russian Revolution, to the Soviet State though not to the Soviet bureaucracy under Stalinist domination. He belongs to China also, to Germany, to France to Latin America. He belongs to the working class and to the revolutionary party, the Workers Party, in the United States. Even Stalinist defamation will in the long run make clear rather than obscure that fact.

The American workers were deeply stirred by the Russian events of 1917, as those of us who were old enough at that time can well remember. The American workers are much nearer not only in point of time but with respect to the development of economy under which they live, and in point of their own political development—much nearer now to facing such a crisis as the Russia masses encountered eighteen years ago. As the capitalist crisis, including the war crisis, swiftly develops, so will the American workers rapidly develop a greater interest in the Russian revolution; come to know it as "their" revolution also, the first mighty victory in the world-revolution which will not be stopped until the working class has everywhere established its rule and humanity can advance to a new stage of civilization in comparison with which the highest that has so far been achieved will appear cheap and barbaric.

Long Live the Russian Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

The Russian workers inherited from Czarism a poorly developed industry. And even that was ruined and disorganized, first by the ravages of the disastrous war of the capitalist powers and then by the civil war and the intervention. The success of the Soviet workers, deprived of all aid from the capitalist world, in reconstructing the shattered basis of pre-war Russian industry and then in expanding it on a scale and at a pace unprecedented in history, has proven for all time the immense superiority of the Soviet system over the capitalist system of private ownership. That which the Marxists always maintained has been irrefutably confirmed in practice under the most unfavorable 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 doubts on this score are removed by the achievements of the Russian revolution in the field of industry regardless of eventual fate of the present Soviet state.

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 classes at home and abroad, is the greatest menace to the Soviet Union and the most formidable obstacle to the extension of the revolution to other lands. Stalinism, the bearer of this nationalist degeneration, is the mortal enemy of the Soviet Union and the international revolution. He who does not see this and say it frankly is no revolutionist. Our attitude has nothing in common with those dubious "Friends of the Soviet Union" who expose their friendship in servile and uncritical support of every act and every crime of the bureaucracy. Such people, who are at best sentimental philistines serving reactionary ends and at worst wretched careerists and hired flunkies of the opulent bureaucracy, are outside the revolution and, at the critical moment, will turn up on the sidelines or on the other side of the barricades. As for us, the Russian revolution is our own. We owe the Soviet Union our criticism which is inseparable from the real and unconditional support which genuine revolutionists have always given it. Our fight against Stalinism is a fight for the real defense of the Soviet Union and its extension throughout the world.

The October revolution and the Third International of Lenin are forever united in his-

tory as one and the same enterprise. The ideas of the Third International, forged by Lenin and his collaborators in the darkest days of the world war, came to fruition in the October revolution and made it possible. And by the same token the consolidation of the victory in Russia gave the impulse to the world movement which called the Third International into existence as a world organization. Revolutionary internationalism was the guiding idea which gave meaning to the struggle and determined its course throughout. The abandonment of this line by the nationalistic usurpers has worked exclusively to weaken and undermine the Soviet Union, to destroy the Third International and to demoralize the proletarian vanguard throughout the world. But for the revolutionary Marxists who remain true to themselves the betrayal 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 International, 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 must return to Lenin. We must raise again the banner of revolutionary internationalism. We must revive the concept of the Russian revolution as the beginning of the international revolution and dependent on it. That is the way, and the only way, to defend the Soviet Union, to fight the impending war of the imperialists and to prepare the way for the world October. All these tasks and problems which dominate and determine the fate of the working class and of all humanity are bound together today in a single slogan: **THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!**

Toledo and Minneapolis

(Continued from Page 1)

News-Bee editors would have their Minneapolis conferees believe,—or it is necessary to refer them to their own back-files on the General Milk Drivers, FEBA, Chevrolet and a dozen of other militant battles.

The first wave of labor struggle in Toledo is ended, the flood that started two years ago with the "Battle of Chestnut Hill." Labor here is utilizing the present lull in strike activity, similar to that throughout the country, to entrench itself in its new won positions and to lay the groundwork for more and greater battles to come. The organization of the Labor Political Congress, while in itself an ineffective agency for genuine working class political action, is an indication of the breaking away of Toledo workers from old-line capitalist party loyalties and a desire for class action.

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