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January 1945

# Fourth International

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**LENIN MEMORIAL NUMBER**



**V. I. Lenin**

**April 22, 1870 - January 21, 1924**

**V. I. Lenin**

**His Life and Work**

*By G. ZINOVIEV*

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**The United States And  
The Second World War**  
*Resolution of Eleventh Convention  
Of the American Trotskyist  
Movement*

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**Discussion Article On Europe by Daniel Logan**

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**Twenty Cents**

## Manager's Column

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Editor: FELIX MORROW

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We quote from several of the interesting letters sent us by our subscribers:

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# FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

VOLUME 6

JANUARY 1945

NUMBER 1

## THE HERITAGE OF LENIN

By THE EDITORS

Victor Serge relates in his pamphlet "From Lenin to Stalin" how he described Lenin to Segui, one of the leaders of the C.N.T. (Spanish Anarchist Trade Unions): "Bolshevism," I said, "is the unity of word and deed. Lenin's entire merit consists in his will to carry out his program. . . Land to the peasants, factories to the working class, power to those who toil. These words have often been spoken, but no one has ever thought seriously of passing from theory to practice. Lenin seems to be on the way. . ."

"You mean," said Segui, bantering and incredulous, "that socialists are going to apply their program? Such a thing has never been seen. . ."

"I explained that just this was going to happen in Russia."

Victor Serge was right. Lenin meant business. Others only talked; but Lenin was in dead earnest all his political life about building a combat revolutionary organization that *could* and *would* lead the revolution. Lenin was the supreme architect of the proletarian revolution, the pioneer of Bolshevism, the founder and builder of the Bolshevik Party — that indispensable instrumentality without which the October 1917 revolution could never have triumphed.

At a time when the whole Socialist movement consisted of loose, sprawling, easy-going parties, with an accommodating attitude toward every perversion of the Marxist program; in the period when the whole of Social Democracy was beginning to fall victim to opportunism; when party work was designed primarily for the winning of electoral successes and conducting loyal oppositions in the various bourgeois parliaments and legislative assemblies, Lenin came forward and pioneered an entirely new type of revolutionary Marxist party, never before seen in history. Lenin's party was tight-knit, compact, bound by an iron discipline, based upon unyielding adherence to Marxism — the science of the proletarian revolution. Lenin's party was built for revolutionary combat. It was designed specifically to launch the revolutionary offensive against the citadel of capitalism. How eloquent are Zinoviev's words in his speech on Lenin and how much they tell us of the real Lenin when he says: Lenin never permitted anybody to insult Marx. No! How could he? Lenin was no dabbler, no dilettante. Lenin was deadly serious about the proletarian revolution. How could he therefore tolerate any lightmindedness or playfulness toward the theory of scientific socialism?

Lenin was not the only left-winger in the Second International. The Socialist movement had many other great revolutionary leaders. Some like Rosa Luxemburg had a masterful understanding of Marxism and possessed superb talents. But they did not comprehend the indispensability of a Leninist-type party. Only Lenin fully understood, fully grasped

*what kind of party* the proletariat needed in order to triumph. And he had the iron will to drive through despite all opposition and calumny and create *that kind* of a revolutionary party. Just as the Paris Commune revealed to the working class the form of its rule, the form under which the Dictatorship of the Proletariat would be exercised, so Lenin's Bolshevik Party showed in practice the type of organization the proletariat must have in order to make the revolution and secure its victory.

The German proletariat paid dearly for this lack, for the absence of a Leninist party. In 1918, the revolution rose in Germany and the whole country was covered with a network of Soviets. But the revolutionary vanguard, the Spartacists, were unprepared. They had not yet forged a genuine revolutionary party, closely tied to the working class and capable of leading it in action. The revolution inevitably rolled over their heads and the Social Democratic traitors were able to deflect and abort the revolution. It was different in Russia. A year before in 1917, when revolutionary conditions ripened, Lenin was ready. The Bolsheviks under Lenin seized the favorable opportunity and led the greatest revolution in the history of mankind. Marxism found its highest historical expression and vindication in Bolshevism.

### Lenin and Marx

Lenin stands on an equal plane of eminence with Marx, but his main contribution to the cause of Socialism is of a different character. Marx, that awe-inspiring genius, was the father, the creator of Scientific Socialism. No one, since his time, has been his equal in the field of social thought, in originality, in the breadth-taking sweep of his ideas, in his powers of analysis. Lenin always prided himself on being an orthodox Marxist. Lenin defended Marxism on all fronts against all comers, against all its traducers. Lenin, with the insight of genius, took the Marxist theory and enriched it immeasurably in practice. He vindicated it in action. Trotsky once gave voice to this thought: "All of Marx," he wrote, "is contained in the 'Communist Manifesto', in the foreword of his 'Critique' and in 'Capital'. Even if he had not been the founder of the First International, he would have always remained what he is. Lenin, on the contrary, lives entirely in revolutionary action. Had he not published a single book in the past, he would none the less appear in history that which he is now, as the leader of the proletarian revolution, as the founder of the Third International."

Above all else, above all his other contributions — and they are immense — Lenin looms as the supreme working class leader of action, who showed by example what kind of a party the working class needs to make the revolution, who showed in action how to build that kind of a revolutionary

party and how to win the masses to its banner. Lenin is the master builder of socialism, the master strategist, the master tactician of the proletarian revolution, of the application of Marxism in this epoch of wars and revolutions.

And today, on the 21st anniversary of his death, the thoughts of all revolutionary militants turn again to the teachings and heritage of our great revolutionary master. For today, as the war grinds towards its sixth year, as humanity is crushed beneath the burdens of famine and cruel death, it is once more becoming clear that there is no answer to the endless horrors of decaying capitalism, but Lenin's program of 1917. All signs point moreover, that as in 1917, a new gigantic revolutionary explosion is approaching. We already see in Europe the vindication once again of Lenin's slogan of the first world war: *Turn the imperialist war into civil war*. After twenty years of unexampled defeats and reaction on a world-wide scale, the working class is lifting its head and girding its loins for struggle. The class struggle is reasserting itself above the din and roar of the cannon.

Trotsky wrote in *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* that "the historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership," that the working class again and again has moved onto the road of revolution but each time finds itself blocked and thwarted by its own opportunist leaders. The crisis of the proletarian leadership has led to the numerous tragic defeats prior to the outbreak of the present war and it opened the road to the capitalists' plunging mankind into the bloodbath of this new world war. The crisis of the proletarian leadership has become the crisis of western civilization itself. Mankind will find no other road of salvation, no other way to put an end to the bestialities and horrors of war than the road of Lenin in October 1917. For the revolutionary vanguard there is also no other program and method than that of Lenin. The revolutionary vanguard therefore is duty-bound to prepare itself more thoroughly for the tasks that lie ahead by absorbing more fully the *method* employed by Lenin to forge the Bolshevik party. The revolutionary vanguard must attempt to recapture his firmness, his unyielding struggle for principle, his iron determination to build the party, his indestructible conviction of the triumph of the workers' revolution and the Socialist future of mankind. Thus and only thus will the gap be bridged and the revolutionary vanguard become the acknowledged leader, the acknowledged spokesman of the millioned masses.

Returning to Lenin does not mean to divorce oneself from the present struggle and retiring to read his Collected Works. Such an approach to Lenin would be utterly pedantic, utterly undialectical, utterly un-Lenin like. To really study Lenin, one must study his literary works in connection with his activities, and this must be linked up with the present-day struggles. Bolshevism as a tendency of the working class movement was founded and pioneered by Lenin, but it has by no means died with Lenin. Bolshevism, a quarter of a century ago, crossed the borders of Russia and extended itself on an international scale, with the foundation of the Third International. After the victory of the Thermidorian reaction in the Soviet Union in 1923, Bolshevism, in the form of Trotsky's Left Opposition, broke with the Kremlin bureaucracy and its degenerating Comintern. In every respect, the Trotskyist movement represents the continuation of Lenin's work and struggle, the movement of living Bolshevism.

Throughout twenty years of bitter reaction and cruel working class defeats, it has held the banner, the proud banner of the October revolution, aloft. In this period of sweeping world reaction, the small band of Bolshevik-Leninists, the Trotskyists, could not prevent, because of their weakness, the loss of positions previously won by the working class, could not prevent because of the unfavorable relationship of forces, the defeats of revolutions. But it could and did prevent the loss of the *ideological* positions. It swam against the current. Hounded, jeered at from all sides, persecuted, it continued its work with calmness, with assurance and with faith in the coming upsurge, in the spirit of Lenin during *his* days of emigration. Under the leadership and guidance of its genius-leader, Leon Trotsky, it studied closely all the working class defeats, analyzed the causes and mistakes, exposed the crimes and betrayals, and prepared the ground for the new revolutionary offensive once the historical tide rose again.

And after twenty years of hard work, of study, of struggle, the Fourth International, the movement of living Bolshevism, has hammered out a finished program, has welded together a tested cadre, has created a firm organizational structure. It stands today, just as Lenin's small band of Bolshevik-internationalists during the last war, unyielding, intransigent, confident of its destiny to lead the working class in the next great revolutionary offensive, confident of its future successes and its final triumph.

But the Fourth International stands on higher grounds than did the Bolshevik cadre of the last war. First, the cadre of the Fourth International exists on a truly international scale. It is also stronger, more firm. Because the Fourth International has the advantage not only of its own experiences of twenty years of struggle, but stands also on the shoulders of Lenin, the Bolsheviks, and the great October 1917 revolution. It is impossible to be a Leninist today and circumvent or skip over this movement of living Leninism, the Fourth International, just as it is impossible to "return" to Marxism, in the manner of the Social Democrats and philistines, by skipping over Lenin and Bolshevism, by skipping over the October revolution.

Lenin, the individual, the working class leader of genius, is dead. And dead also is his co-worker Leon Trotsky, the founder and builder of the Fourth International, whose name the October revolution linked indissolubly and for all time with that of Lenin. But the Bolshevik movement they built lived on and will in due course triumph throughout the world.

#### RESOLUTION ON LENIN'S REPORT

On the basis of these theses and the reports of the delegates from the different countries the Congress of the Communist International declares that the chief task of the Communist Parties in all countries where Soviet power does not yet exist, consists in the following:

1. The explanation to the wide masses of the working class of the historical significance and of the political and historical inevitability of the new proletarian democracy, which must be put in the place of bourgeois democracy and of parliamentarianism.
2. The spreading and organization of Soviets among the workers in all sections of industry and among the soldiers of army and fleet, and also among the agricultural laborers and poor peasants.
3. The formation inside the Soviets of a firm communist majority. (Founding Conference, March 1919.)

# V. I. LENIN

By G. ZINOVIEV

Gregory Zinoviev was one of the important leaders of the Russian revolution. For many years he was one of Lenin's closest students and collaborators. He worked together with Lenin in Switzerland and returned with him to Russia in April 1917. He was a member of the Political Bureau of the Bolshevik party. In 1918 he was elected Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. The following year he was elected Chairman of the Third International.

The following document is a stenographic record of the remarkable speech he delivered September 6, 1918 at a session of the Petrograd Soviet.

The young Soviet Republic faced some of its greatest dangers in this period. In July and August 1918, the famine became more acute. The Czecho-Slovak troops in Siberia aided by the Allies launched military action against the Soviet government. Other counter-revolutionary rebellions broke out in various parts of the country. Trotsky departed for the Kazan front. At this time the left Social Revolutionists began a policy of terrorism against the Soviet government. In July, they organized a conspiracy and killed Count Mirbach, the German Ambassador, in order to force the Soviet Union into war with Germany. On August 30, Lenin while leaving a workers' meeting at the Michaelson factory, was severely wounded from a shot fired by the terrorist Fanny Kaplan, a member of the Social Revolutionists. Lenin's life was in danger but thanks to his powerful constitution he recovered from his wounds. On September 17 he resumed active work.

The present translation was checked against the Russian and revised by John G. Wright.—Ed.

Comrades! Last week may be called the Lenin week. I think I shall not in any way exaggerate if I say that every honest worker in Petrograd, in the whole of Europe, indeed, in the whole world, so far as he may have heard the news of the attempt on Comrade Lenin, had in the course of these anxious days no other thought than the one question, will the wounded leader of the International Commune recover? And I, comrades, am happy to share with you the good news: today we may — at last — count the recovery of Comrade Lenin as entirely assured. (Thunderous applause).

Comrades, I have in my hands a telegram, written already by Comrade Lenin himself. (Thunderous applause). This telegram was handed in today at 1:10 P.M., from the Kremlin. This is, apparently, the first telegram of Comrade Lenin since he began to recover. Comrade Lenin gives us certain official instructions and finishes the telegram with the following words: "Affairs at the front are going well; I have no doubt that they will go still better." (Applause.) Thus, comrades, one thing is clear, that Comrade Lenin will live (applause, ovation) to the terror of the enemies of Communism and to the joy of the proletarian Communists.

Comrades! It goes without saying, that in this hall there is not one single man who does not know, in general or in particular, who Lenin is. Every worker has heard of Lenin, knows that this is a titanic figure in the history of the world labor movement. Everyone is so much accustomed to the word "Lenin," that he does not stop to think what, after all, he has done for the international and Russian labor movement. Every proletarian knows that Lenin is the leader, Lenin is the apostle of world Communism. (Applause.) But

I think, comrades, that we cannot pay a greater honor to our teacher and leader today than if I, who am acquainted with the biography of Comrade Lenin somewhat intimately — I have had the good fortune to work side by side with Comrade Lenin in the closest collaboration for more than ten years — if I take advantage of the present occasion in order to share, though it be only in brief, with younger friends and older comrades, who have never had the opportunity of observing so closely the work of Comrade Lenin, my authentic knowledge of the life of Comrade Lenin. (Numerous voices: Please do!)

\* \* \*

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin-Ulianov is now 48 years old. He was born in 1870, on the 10th of April, at Simbirsk. And out of the 48 years of his life, Comrade Lenin has devoted nearly 30 years work to the cause of proletarian emancipation.

The father of Comrade Lenin, by birth a peasant, was director of the elementary schools in the Volga provinces, and enjoyed great popularity among the teachers of the town and village schools in his district.

The mother of Comrade Lenin I knew personally. She died in the year 1913. Czar Alexander III had executed her eldest son, Alexander Ulianov. From that time she concentrated her maternal tenderness on Vladimir Ilyich. And Comrade Lenin, in his turn, tenderly loved his broken-hearted little mother.

Living in emigration, hunted by the Czar's Government, Comrade Lenin would tear himself away from the most urgent work in order to make a special trip to Sweden to visit his mother and to brighten for her the last days of her life.

## Lenin's Legal Career

After graduating from the "gymnasium," Lenin entered the faculty of Laws at Kazan University. The universities of the capitals were closed to him as the brother of an executed terrorist. A student, however, Vladimir Ilyich remained but a very short while. Within a month he was expelled from the University for taking part in the students' revolutionary movement. Only after the lapse of four years was it possible for him to take his final examinations.

The legal career, however, had no attractions for Comrade Lenin. Vladimir Ilyich always spoke in very humorous terms of his few days of "practice" at the bar. Comrade Lenin's predilections lay in an entirely different direction. He yearned after revolutionary activities.

\* \* \*

Comrade Lenin stands, as it were, on the borderland between the old generation of Narodnik [Populist] revolutionists and the new school of Marxist revolutionists. Comrade Lenin himself took part in the student Narodnik circles, but already, even at that time, he stood with one foot in the camp of the Marxists.

Vladimir Ilyich, however, is bound by ties of blood with the early generation of revolutionary terrorists, those glorious

fighters, whose names to this day shine like dazzling stars — because they laid low not the friends of the people, like the wretched cretins, the Right Socialist Revolutionists, but the tyrants and hangmen. Vladimir Ilyich is related by blood to this generation of fighters. He is connected with them through his brother Alexander Ilyich Ulianov, who was a prominent figure in the *Narodnaya Volya*, (People's Will), and who was on that account hanged by the Czar's Government in the year 1887.

Comrade Lenin himself was never a member of that party. But he has always inculcated into us the most ardent respect for this cluster of brilliant revolutionary fighters, the first generation of Populist revolutionists. Lenin, since the time when he awakened to a conscious political life, has never shared the Populist theories. He first became prominent when he began to fight against revolutionary Populism. He was the very antithesis of Mikhailovsky. He gained his first laurels as a Socialist precisely through the struggle against Populism. But nobody had so great a respect, no one ever taught the workers to respect these first fighters against Czarism, as Vladimir Ilyich.

In the eyes of Comrade Lenin, such workers as Zhelyabov and Sophie Perovskaya stood transcendently high — people who raised the flag of revolt and went forward with bomb and revolver against the Czar at the end of the 'seventies and in the beginning of the 'eighties, when Russia was a prison-house of nations, when every friend of freedom drew breath in pain, when the workers of Russia were still only beginning to form themselves into a class. Vladimir Ilyich well understood how truly great and immeasurable were the services of the first heralds of the Russian revolution.

And Comrade Lenin did not renounce this heritage. He said: This heritage belongs to us, and to us only. Our task is to carry further that work which was begun by Zhelyabov. [The most prominent leader of *Narodnaya Volya*: executed for the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881.]

Zhelyabov, who established ties with the working class and who put the question of the Socialist revolution on the order of the day was, in fact, a Bolshevik, a Communist. In order to continue the work of Zhelyabov under new social conditions we must become revolutionary Marxists, our hearts must beat as one with the working class, the only revolutionary class of our time, that class which cannot emancipate itself without emancipating the whole world.

### First Great Working Class Leader

Vladimir Ilyich specially loved and was proud of the figure of the first great working-class leader, the carpenter Stepan Khalturin. Lenin did not know him personally, he knew him by hearsay and books, as we all do. You know the biography of this proletarian of genius, who not only blew up the Winter Palace, but achieved something greater — he was the first to unfurl the banner of political struggle against Czarism in the name of the working class. Comrade Lenin used to say: When we have hundreds of such proletarians as Khalturin, when they are no longer solitary figures, going with bomb or revolver against this or that individual Minister, when they take their place at the head of the many-millioned working class — then we shall be invincible; then will come an end to Czarism, and subsequently an end also to the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Lenin's affection for proletarians who in any

way show capacity is especially striking. A fighter whom Lenin most valued and loved was the worker Ivan Vassilyevich Babushkin, with whom Comrade Lenin here, in Petrograd began his work in the nineties, together starting the first worker circles, together leading the first workers' strikes, together taking their part in the organization of the *Iskra*. This comrade played a prominent part in the revolution of 1905, and it was only by accident that in 1907 Vladimir Ilyich learned from friends among the Siberian exiles that Babushkin had been shot by General Rennenkampf in Siberia.

I. V. Babushkin and Shelgunov, who is still living, and who is known to the Petrograd proletarians (he has now grown blind) — these renowned fighters, coming out of the working class, Comrade Lenin loved like brothers, placed before us as models, saw in them the real forerunners, the true leaders of the dawning workers' revolution.

\* \* \*

The first period of activity of Comrade Lenin, as of many other revolutionists who came from the ranks of the intelligentsia, was passed in student circles. When Comrade Lenin was expelled from Kazan University he went to Petrograd. And he used to tell us how, having already been slightly infected with Marxist ideas in Samara, he walked about Petrograd searching for a Marxist. *Vivo voce!* But the "breed" of Marxists was at that time extremely rare. There was no Marxist in Petrograd; one had to go looking for him lamp in hand in day time. The Populists monopolized the minds of the intellectuals, and the working class was just awakening to political life.

And now there comes this young Comrade Lenin, builds up, after a year or two, in Petrograd the first working-class circle and rallies around himself the first Marxist intellectuals. Very soon Lenin is already crossing swords in the literary arena with the old leader of the Populists, N. K. Mikhailovsky.

Lenin (under the pseudonym of Ilyin) comes forward with a series of brilliant economic articles which at once win for him a name. And immediately in the ranks of the Populist intelligentsia there could be observed a certain alarm. Somebody powerful and strong has disturbed the petty bourgeois swamp. The movement of the water begins. On the horizon a new figure has appeared. Someone is stirring up the stagnant air, and there is a breath of newness, freshness.

In Petrograd, Comrade Lenin together with other Marxist activists and together with the first workers of whom I have spoken, founds the "Union of the Struggle for the Emancipation of Labor." He was entrusted by this organization with the conduct of the first strikes, and wrote the first simple, unassuming, hectographed leaflets, in which were formulated the economic demands of the Petrograd workers. It was at this time that Lenin published his first illegal pamphlet "On Fines" — a pamphlet today forgotten, but which for lucid and popular exposition is a classic example of the popularization of Marxism.

*At that time this was precisely the nub of the whole situation: to agitate against the system of fines, to excite economic conflicts, TO RAISE EVERY ECONOMIC STRIKE TO THE LEVEL OF A POLITICAL EVENT.* And Vladimir Ilyich, with all his passionate nature, gave himself up to this work. He spends his days and nights in the working-class quarters. He is hunted by the police. He

has only a tiny circle of friends. Nearly all so-called revolutionary intellectuals of that time meet him with hostility. Not so many years had elapsed since the Populists burned the first Marxist writings of Plekhanov, on which Lenin himself was brought up.

### Lenin Opened a New Path

Comrade Lenin opened up here a new path. Throughout the whole activity of Comrade Lenin one can notice that he is always an innovator, that he goes *against the stream*, that he ploughs a new furrow in the political and social life. In the 'nineties, too, at Petrograd, it fell to his share to trace out a new path, to form, to rally the first detachments of workers, the first detachments of a genuine working-class intelligentsia, from which more than one leader of the present workers' revolution has come.

It happens very often at the present time that from somewhere out of far Siberia or the Urals there come to the Council of People's Commissars, to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, workers who are today presidents of local Soviets, the leaders of the local movements. They go up to Comrade Lenin and begin to call up old memories: "Do you remember in the early 'nineties, at such and such a place, how we stirred up an agitation for the supply of hot water for tea with a certain illegal leaflet, or organized such and such a strike?" Comrade Lenin does not always remember them; too many people have crossed his path. But they all remember him. They know that he was their teacher, that he first let fall within them the spark of Communism. They know that he was their real friend and leader.

Towards the end of the 'nineties Comrade Lenin, after a long confinement in prison, was sent into Siberian exile. There he developed an immense scientific and literary activity. There he wrote several works, out of which I will dwell upon two only. The first work was a little pamphlet, "Problems of the Russian Social Democrats." This pamphlet is now hardly read. But it remains a masterpiece of Marxist treatment of the question as to the destinies of the Socialist movement in an economically backward country. At that time no one had finally settled the question: what should be the connection between the political struggle of the workers against Czarism and the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for economic demands and Socialism?

At the present time, comrades, all this seems as simple as ABC. But in those days this question was far from being so clear. The celebrated "Economists," the predecessors of our Mensheviks, contended that the political struggle must be left to the Liberal bourgeoisie, and the only concern of the working class must be the struggle for an extra kopek in the rouble. Comrade Lenin, following the late Plekhanov (here it is necessary to say that he took a great deal from Plekhanov) gave a magnificent analysis of the contending social forces in Russia. We must not defer, Lenin argued, the formation of the working-class party in Russia until we have won political freedom. No, we have not lagged behind Europe a hundred years in order to hang back with the organization of the workers party until our bourgeoisie has risen to power. No, now is the time, under the leaden lid and yoke of Czarism, to build up in spite of these desperately difficult conditions, an independent Socialist class party of the workers, fighting from the outset both against Czarism and against the bourgeoisie.

The manuscript of this pamphlet was transmitted abroad to the "Emancipation of Labor Group." In Switzerland there worked at this time a little circle consisting of Plekhanov, Axelrod, and Zassulich, the first founders of Social Democracy in Russia. They had lived abroad already 15 years. When this manuscript of Lenin's came to them it was the first tidings of the coming spring. And it was none other than Paul Axelrod, who was at that time a Socialist, and was able to discern the true leaders of the working class, who, on the receipt of this manuscript, went into raptures. He said then to his circle of friends that a prodigious force had appeared in the ranks of our Social Democracy, that there had arisen a new star of the first magnitude. Axelrod wrote a preface to Lenin's pamphlet, in which he could not find enough laudatory words with which to overwhelm Comrade Lenin. He said that for the first time since Plekhanov there had appeared a leader, a practical expert of the working-class movement, that Lenin was a force to which a great future was assured.

And Axelrod, in the present case — one must give him his due — was not mistaken.

### A Truly Scientific Work

Still in exile, Comrade Lenin wrote a truly scientific work, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia" — a book which is bound to become, and in a great measure has become, a handbook for every worker. In this book Comrade Lenin settled accounts with the Populists, who then reigned supreme in the minds of the whole generation of our intelligentsia. He brilliantly proved in this work that Plekhanov was right in asserting that Russia also would not escape the stage of capitalism. By means of statistics he showed that our country has since the 'nineties entered upon the capitalist stage. He gave a profound and subtle analysis of the development of agriculture in Russia and the invasion of it by capitalism. With the aid of a mighty array of facts, Comrade Lenin analysed the whole economic structure of the country, both urban and rural; and out of this dispassionate, objective analysis he brought out the revolutionary conclusions regarding the problems and tasks of the working class.

This book of Lenin's was acknowledged by bourgeois professors as a great scientific achievement. In 1902, when I was still a student in Paris, in the School of Social Sciences, founded by Professor Kovalevsky and others, I heard from Professor Maxim Kovalevsky the greatest eulogy of Vladimir Ilyich from his point of view. He said: "What a fine professor might have been made out of Lenin!" This in the mouth of Professor Kovalevsky was the very highest praise. Yes! out of Comrade Lenin there might have been made a fine professor, but out of him came the leader of the workers' Commune, and this, I think is something greater than the most gifted professors. (Applause.)

During the same period of exile, and on the eve of his departure into exile, Comrade Lenin launched a struggle on the other front as well. Fighting with one hand against the Populists in the person of Mikhailovsky and others, he at the same time began a theoretical struggle against the so-called "legal" Marxism. At its head stood P. Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky and others who at present are leaders of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. This movement had a profound social foundation. The Liberals of the day were seeking a stratum of society on which they could lean in their struggle

against Czarism for bourgeois freedom. And they saw that outside the working class there was none at all. They saw that the Populists, with their old fashioned "theory," asserting that we should never have capitalism, were clearly in the wrong. And they began to set their cap at Marxism, emasculating it of its revolutionary spirit and turning it into a "legal," tame "Marxism."

In the struggle against the Populists the legal Marxists were for a time our allies. They also, like ourselves, fought against Mikhailovsky. And at one time we were united with them in a definite bloc. But the sharp ear of Comrade Lenin had already discovered false notes in the very first writings of P. Struve and Co. Lenin immediately said that this was an ally only for an hour, that they would in the end betray us.

## The Fight Against Struve

Noteworthy is the criticism by which Comrade Lenin exposed the well-known book of P. Struve, "Critical Remarks." Struve had for a long time been regarded as a Social Democrat. He published a very sensational book, "Critical Remarks" directed against Mikhailovsky. This book was criticised by both Plekhanov and Lenin. Plekhanov criticized it with the brilliance, peculiar to him, of a literary academician; Lenin criticized it differently. I feel and know, said Lenin, that in a year or two Struve will leave the working class and betray us to the bourgeoisie. Struve's book ended with the words: "Let us acknowledge our want of culture and place ourselves as apprentices under capitalism." These words need thinking over, said Comrade Lenin. See if this Struve does not end in becoming an apprentice, not of capitalism, but of capitalists. And though Struve was the comrade of Lenin, and rendered priceless services both to him and to the then existing Social Democracy, yet Vladimir Ilyich, with his characteristic firmness and consistency, no sooner heard a false note in Struve's words than he sounded the alarm. He began to fight against Struve, and under the pseudonym of Tulin came out with an article in a magazine which was burnt by the censor, in which he elucidated Mr. Struve in detail, taking to pieces every one of his phrases and every one of his propositions, and showing that Mr. Peter Struve perhaps did not even realize it himself, and regarded himself as a genuine partisan of the labor movement, but that in his innovations one could detect the very old tunes of the bourgeoisie. You are a bourgeois ideologist; Lenin argued, you will inevitably go over to the camp of the bourgeoisie and break with the working class. You yourself bear the guilt of this, because you look upon the working class as a means and not as an end. It is only important to you as a force against the Czar, and you wish to make use of it, without giving it anything in return. Allow us not to allow you to do this. We have up till now fought against the Czar and the bourgeoisie, but we proclaim yet another front: we will fight against "legal" Marxism. We stand for genuine revolutionary Marxism, and reject your emasculated "legal" Marxism.

Thus said Comrade Lenin.

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Thus was completed the work of Comrade Lenin before his exile to Siberia and during that exile. In the beginning of the 'nineties Comrade Lenin for the first time left the country.

Lenin was twice in emigration. He lived abroad several

years. His second period of emigration I and other comrades shared with him. And when we were heavy-hearted and homesick, especially in the last period, during the war, when we became discouraged (those comrades who were in emigration know what it means when for years you do not hear the Russian speech, when you are homesick for a native Russian word), Comrade Lenin used to say: why do you complain, what kind of foreign exile is this? Now, Plekhanov and Axelrod were really in foreign exile when for the space of twenty-five years they strained in vain their eyesight to catch a glimpse of the first working-class revolutionist.

In point of fact, Vladimir Ilyich himself pined in emigration literally like a lion in a cage. He had nothing on which to expend his immense, inexhaustible energy, and he found salvation only through leading the life of a scholar. He did that which had been done by Marx during his emigration. He spent about fifteen hours a day in the library and at books, and it is not for nothing that he stands out today as one of the most educated Marxists, and generally, one of the most educated persons of our time.

But let us return to his first emigration.

In 1901 Lenin, together with a group of then kindred persons (Martov, Potresov), entered upon the publication of the paper *Iskra* (The Spark). This *Iskra* is an historical paper closely interwoven with the name of Comrade Lenin. Both friends and enemies spoke of the Leninist *Iskra*. This was often the case. Everywhere, whenever and wherever Lenin worked, in organizations, as an editor, in the Central Committee, or, finally, now in the Council of People's Commissars, to all these organizations inevitably struck the appellation Leninist. Yes, "*Iskra*" was Leninist, and it did not lose by this, it only gained. (Applause.) The first important article of Lenin in the *Iskra* was called "Where to Begin." In this article Lenin outlined the immediate program for the labor movement and the Russian revolution. He outlined in it, in their entirety, the foundations of our program and revolutionary tactics.

## "What Is to Be Done"

Already in this first article of Lenin you will practically find virtually the whole quintessence of Bolshevism. But this article served merely as a synopsis to the remarkable book of Lenin which was called "What is to Be Done."

Round everything that Lenin wrote there is always seething strife. Nobody can remain indifferent to his writings. You can hate Lenin, you can love Lenin to distraction, but you cannot remain neutral. In the book "What is To Be Done," Lenin stated and solved in a revolutionary spirit all the vexatious questions of the movement of that epoch. And for many months and years this book was challenging thought, was the center of raging passions, was the subject of controversy, and ultimately led to the formation of a split into two irreconcilable camps.

The *Iskra* declared a fight to the finish against the so-called "Economism." It fought with every variety of opportunism, including Economism, i.e. future Menshevism. It conducted a most energetic fight against the adventurism of the Social-Revolutionists, and never yet has it been so plain how clear-sighted in his attitude towards the Social-Revolutionists was Comrade Lenin, who predicted as far back as 1902-3 the fate of the Social-Revolutionary Party. Only think! Fifteen years ago, when the party of the Social-Revo-



lutionists had only just been born, when it had in its ranks well-known members of the former "People's Will," when we had not yet that great political experience which was given to us by the revolution — what was the situation like at the time? There comes forward the party of the Social-Revolutionists, asserting that it is fighting for Socialism, saying that it is more to the left than the *Iskra*. And there gets up Comrade Lenin still quite young, and in the face of the whole world dares throw at them the scornful words: "revolutionary adventurers." Lenin declared: "You, Messrs. Social-Revolutionists, are representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, and nothing more." (Applause.)

When Lenin said that the party of the Social-Revolutionists was a party of the petty bourgeoisie there descended upon him thunder and lightning. It was said that Lenin had a bad character, that he was a misanthrope, and so forth. Now, indeed you can see that it was a prophetic anticipation of that which is. (Applause.) Now we know that there are no two more fatal letters in the Russian alphabet than the letters: S and R. Why was this party so doomed? Because, calling itself Socialist, in reality it is a petty bourgeois party. Comrade Lenin was right when he said that these were no Socialists, but representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, that at best they were only revolutionary romantics, fantasts, and nothing more.

## A Prophetic Gift

Now we have an immense and irreplaceable experience of a decade and a half, the experience of the 1905 revolution, the experience of the 1917-1918 revolution. But to have predicted the real truth fifteen years ago, to have determined the real value of the party of the Social-Revolutionists at that time — this required almost a prophetic gift. For this it was necessary to have an immense revolutionary Marxist intuition, for this, in a word, it was necessary to be a Lenin. (Applause.)

Lenin's *Iskra* carried on not merely a political struggle, it also carried on an immense work of organization. The *Iskra* was gathering the scattered segments of our party. Only in the beginning of the 'nineties arose a situation in which it was possible to think of the formation of a workers' party. Comrade Lenin placed himself also at the head of this practical organizing work, and formed the Organization Committee Attached to the *Iskra*. And Comrade Lenin, who bore the chief brunt of the literary labor in the *Iskra* and in the theoretical journal *Zarya* (The Dawn), at the same time became the soul of the Organization Committee.

The wife of Comrade Lenin, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya-Ulyanova, was the secretary of the *Iskra*, and secretary of the Organization Committee. How much our party is indebted to her; of this one might and ought to speak separately. Here I will only say that, in all the work of Comrade Lenin as organizer of our party, a good deal of the credit is due to Nadezhda Konstantinovna. All written intercourse fell on her. At one time she carried on a correspondence with the whole of Russia.

Who among the older underground workers did not know Nadezhda Konstantinovna? To whom did not the receipt of a letter from her mean joy? Who among us thought of her otherwise than with boundless confidence and most tender love?

Martov in one of his spiteful polemics against Lenin once

called Nadezhda Konstantinovna "The secretary of the super-center, Lenin." Well, the whole Russian proletariat is now proud both of its "super-center" and of his "secretary."

Lenin, assiduously, step by step, collected the underground organization, and in 1903 we reached already the Second Party Congress. Already in that historic congress, when the party was still united, when in its ranks stood Plekhanov, Zassulich, Axelrod, Martov, Potressov and others, already it became clear from the first minute of its labors that the true leader of our young party was Comrade Lenin.

Comrade Lenin is often represented as a man who cuts, carves, uses nothing but the surgeon's knife, who does not spare the unity of the proletarian ranks. But when the first signs of a fundamental split became apparent at the Second Congress it was Comrade Lenin who at first used his influence to prevent a rupture. Lenin as a matter of fact places the highest value on the unity of the labor movement. But on one condition — provided this unity is a unity for the struggle for Socialism. The ideas of Socialism are to him dearest above all. And so at the Second Congress, as soon as he saw that his divergence from Martov, Axelrod and the others was not a slight casual divergence; that there was a resurrection of the old opportunist tendency under a new flag; that there was rising again that same "legal" Marxism which Lenin had fought at the end of the 'nineties, that his former friend Martov, with whom he had been intimate, his bosom friend, with whom he had been together in exile, that this Martov began to sing flat; that Plekhanov, whom until that time he had highly valued, began to surrender the principles of Marxism; that this Plekhanov was already extending a finger to opportunism and opportunism would soon have his whole hand; when Lenin saw all this, then the question was decided for him irrevocably. He said: "I shall stand alone, but I raise the standard of revolutionary Marxism." And he separated from Plekhanov.

## Plekhanov and Lenin

I happened at the time to be abroad. I as a young Social-Democrat, and two of my friends, were introduced to Plekhanov. We were still young, quite fledglings, but we sympathized with all our heart with Comrade Lenin. We read his "What Is To Be Done?" and knew that it was the gospel of the adherents of the *Iskra*. In the face of this, Plekhanov attempted, in his conversations with us, to pour ridicule upon Lenin. He would say: "You are following him, but he has taken up such a line that in a few weeks he will only be fit to be put up as a scare-crow in the orchards. Lenin has raised the banner of struggle against me, Plekhanov, against Zassulich, and Deutch. Don't you see that this is an unequal struggle? Lenin is practically finished. He was done for the moment that he broke with us, the old timers, with the 'Emancipation of Labor Group.' He is coming to the end of his tether." Such were Plekhanov's words, and they did make a certain impression upon us, the youngsters. Plekhanov, while speaking, kept severely moving his eye-brows, and we felt very frightened. We would go to Comrade Lenin and innocently complain to him: "This and that is what Plekhanov says." Then he would laugh and would console us: "We'll count our chickens when they are hatched; the fight still lies ahead, we shall see whom the workers will follow."

"One step forward, two steps backward" — such was the characterization, which Lenin gave of the evolution of the

Menshevik wing of the party. One step forward — that was the advance from Economism to Iskraism; two steps back — that was the retrogression from Iskraism to the liberal ideas of “legal Marxism” which had found their resurrection in Menshevism. No wonder Comrade Lenin took up a merciless fight against this relapse into the opportunist disease. As a counter-weight to the new “Iskra,” which passed into the hands of the Mensheviks, and of which Lenin ceased to be co-editor, he established the first Bolshevik paper *Vperiod* (Forward). It was at first a very small sheet which was published on the pennies collected abroad. At that time the Mensheviks had in their hands a tremendous machinery, as well as the whole authority of Plekhanov and other “ikons,” innumerable papers and pamphlets as well as the Central Committee, the Central Organ and the Council of the party. Comrade Lenin began to blast this Menshevik fortress with his little machine-gun called *Vperiod*. He fired so far, and he aimed so well, that in a pretty short time not a trace was left of Plekhanov’s heavy artillery, and by 1905, it became quite obvious that all that was alive in the Russian proletariat would follow the Bolsheviks.

In the summer of 1905 the first congress of the Bolsheviks (its official name was the Third Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party) took place, the first historical meeting which laid the foundations of the present Communist Party. It was then that Lenin for the first time observed that in the forthcoming revolution we would not stop at and with a bourgeois republic. Already at that time Lenin spoke of the rottenness of the European Social Democratic parliamentarianism. Already at that time Comrade Lenin expressed the view that our revolution would stand on the border between the bourgeois and Socialist revolution.

It was hard in those days to be a Bolshevik. Not only the Russian, but also the international conditions, pressed heavily upon us. Bebel, for instance, who was respected by Lenin as a working class leader of genius, would use every suitable and unsuitable occasion to reproach Lenin for being against Plekhanov. How could Plekhanov ever be an opportunist? At the same time Axelrod was busy telling everybody who was inclined to listen that Lenin was a second edition of Netchayev. (Netchayev was an early Russian anarchist who organized a conspiracy at the end of the 'sixties by unscrupulous means, which included dealings with the Czar’s police and fraudulent practice upon N’s own comrades, ostensibly for the good of the movement.) And that Lenin in his fight against the “elder statesmen” was only pursuing ambitious aims. The entire atmosphere of international Social Democracy was hostile to Bolshevism.

### **Bebel and the Bolsheviks**

On the eve of the Third Congress (that is the first congress of the Bolsheviks), Bebel rendered the following service to the Mensheviks. When our congress met, he sent us a letter in the name of the Central Committee of the German Social Democracy, in which he said the following: “Children, don’t you want to make peace? I, Bebel, offer you and the Mensheviks arbitration. Why this split? Submit your dispute to our court of arbitration.” Such was the letter addressed by Bebel to Comrade Lenin, who brought it to the congress, and the congress declared: “We highly respect our Comrade Bebel, but on the question as to how to carry on the fight in our country against the Czar and the bourgeoisie,

we must ask permission to hold our own view. Permit us also to deal with the Mensheviks in a way which agents of the bourgeoisie deserve.” Bebel was much amazed by the “impertinence” of our congress, but there was nothing for him to do, except to shrug his shoulders.

I quote this incident in order to show the kind of atmosphere, Russian and international, in which Lenin was fighting at the head of the then still small army of the Socialist revolution.

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Already in the revolution of 1905 Lenin was playing a leading part. This, to the outward gaze, was not so noticeable at that time, as it has been in the present revolution. You are aware that the first Petrograd Soviet of the Workers’ Delegates in 1905 was formed by the Mensheviks, but in all its practical actions it followed, on the whole, the lead of the Bolsheviks. When the tide rose and the waters flooded the banks, the working class became aware that to form Soviets was virtually the same thing as to fight for power. Thereby the working class became Bolshevik.

After the 1905 revolution was defeated and the counter-revolution set in, when we began summing up our experiences, Martov and his friends sat down by the waters of Babylon and started bemoaning the course of the first revolution. The Mensheviks themselves then had to admit that, alas, the revolution had been proceeding according to Bolshevik precepts; that the working class had unfortunately followed the Bolsheviks.

The Moscow armed insurrection, though defeated and crushed, had nevertheless been the apotheosis of the Bolshevik tactics during the revolution. We were defeated, and Plekhanov’s only comment on the event was the philistine phrase: “These people ought not to have taken up arms.” Lenin’s attitude towards the Moscow insurrection was different. To him there was no nobler and more honorable page in the history of the revolution than the Moscow armed insurrection. The first thing he did was to collect all the material relating to it. He wanted to elucidate all its features, down to the very smallest, and all its technical details. He wanted to ascertain the biography of every participant in the insurrection. He endeavored to interrogate every military man who had taken part in it. He invited all those who took part in it to come forward and to explain to the working class and to the world at large, how the Moscow insurrection had been prepared and what had been the reasons for its defeat. For Lenin realized that the Moscow insurrection was the first outpost skirmish with the bourgeois world. He realized the world-historic significance of the Moscow insurrection, crushed and drowned in the blood of the workers, yet the first glorious working class revolt against Czarism and the bourgeoisie in a most backward country.

### **The Moscow Insurrection**

I repeat that the part played by Lenin in the revolution of 1905 was colossal. He only attended the sessions of the Petrograd Soviet once or twice, and he would often tell us how he sat high up in the balcony, looking down on the worker’s delegates assembled in the hall of the Free Economic Society, unperceived by the public. He lived at that time in Petrograd illegally; the party forbade him to come out too much in the open. Our official representative on the Soviet Central Committee was A. A. Bogdanov. When it be-

came known that the Soviet was going to be arrested, we forbade Lenin to attend the last historical session in order that he might not be arrested. He only saw the Soviet in 1905 once or twice, but I am firmly of the opinion that even then, when he was looking down from his seat in the balcony upon this first labor parliament, the idea of the Soviet State must have already been dawning upon his mind. Perhaps, in those days he already foresaw, in a dream as it were, the time when there would be a Soviet State; when the Soviets, that prototype of a Socialist proletarian state, would become the sole power in the country.

Already in those days of 1905 Lenin was teaching that the Soviets were not a fortuitous organization which had sprung up the day before yesterday and would vanish the day after tomorrow; that they were not a common everyday organization somewhat similar to a trade union, but an organization which was opening a new page in the history of the international proletariat, in the history of the entire human race. (Applause.)

No one was more interested in the history of the Petrograd Soviet than Comrade Lenin. Though he formally had taken the least direct part in its labors, he, nevertheless, appreciated better than any of us what it meant. For that reason he treated the slogan of the Soviet with the utmost circumspection. Thus, in 1916, during the war, when we in Switzerland received word that a revolutionary revival was beginning here at Petrograd, and that our comrades had begun to advance the slogan of organizing Soviets, Comrade Lenin wrote, in articles and letters, that the organization of a Soviet was a great slogan, and must not be frivolously played with. It must only be raised when the workers were determined to go to the end; to stake their heads on victory and to proclaim that the moment of a real proletarian revolution, the moment to capture power, had arrived. Then, and then only, was it permissible to speak about Soviets, since Soviets could only exist if they assumed all power into their own hands, since the Soviets were the form of a proletarian state, since the Soviets were the undivided rule of the working class.

What Lenin meant to convey was that the Soviets were not the ordinary class organization, whose purpose, according to the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists, was to fight only for the economic demands of the working class within the framework of bourgeois society. In his opinion such Soviets would be doomed in advance. In fact, no Soviets were needed for such a purpose. In his view, the Soviets were organizations for the seizure of state power, and for transforming the workers into the ruling class. That is why he again and again told the Petrograd workers in the course of 1916: "Ask yourselves a thousand times whether you are prepared, whether you are strong enough; measure your cloth nine times before you cut. To organize Soviets means to declare a war to a finish, to declare civil war upon the bourgeoisie, to begin the proletarian revolution." And Comrade Lenin has remained true to his views to the end.

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But let us go back. The year 1906 was followed by a period of stagnation, by the dark era of the counter-revolution. The working class was digesting the lessons of the first revolution. In reply to the Menshevik philosophy of the first revolution and the causes of its defeat, we gave our own philosophy of the revolution. We were obliged to give it in our underground papers, leaflets, and pamphlets. We were

not in a position to publish, with the sanction of the censorship, five big volumes, as the Mensheviks did. We would not have found any publisher; we were boycotted by the entire legal press, and, in fact, we were not allowed to say a single word by the Czar's censorship. Lenin at that time was depicted as a sort of monster who had no place in respectable society. We Bolsheviks were at that time not permitted to publish "legal" literature. We could only carry on by means of the free printing press abroad.

The Mensheviks represented the entire 1905 revolution as a wholesale error, as a wholesale chaos, and elemental madness. The workers, forsooth, were themselves responsible for the defeat, because they had gone "too far" in their demands. Lenin's reply was: "You have failed to grasp the meaning of this movement! It was a great revolution, and by no means a chaos. It was a great revolution, not because there was the Manifesto of October 30th, (The Czar's proclamation of a constitution) not because the bourgeoisie began to stir, but because there was, albeit unsuccessful, an armed insurrection of the workers in Moscow, because for the space of one month the Petrograd Soviet shone brightly before the eyes of the world proletariat. And the revolution will yet arise once more; the Soviets will be reborn and will win."

In connection with Lenin's views on what constitutes a great revolution, I recall a little incident. Last year, when we came here, we at first were overwhelmed by the colossal swing of the movement, and extolled even the February revolution sometimes as a great one. I remember how in an article in May 1917, I, out of inertia again called the February revolution "great." Comrade Lenin, who was at that time with Comrade Kamenev and myself, a joint editor of *Pravda*, began vehemently to strike out this word. When I asked jestingly why this ruthlessness against this particular word, Comrade Lenin severely took me to task. "What sort of 'great' revolution was that? It will become a great one when we shall have expelled this counter-revolutionary canaille Kerensky, and wrested all power from the hands of the bourgeoisie, and the Petrograd Soviet shall no longer be a talking-shop, but the sole power in the capital. Then, indeed, our revolution will be a 'great' one; then, indeed, you may even write the 'greatest revolution of all times.'" (Applause.)

## Years of Counter-Revolution

I have dwelt but little on the work of Lenin in the years of the counter-revolution; yet this period was one of the most brilliant in his activity. One had to live through those hard times in distant emigration in order to appreciate all the services rendered by Lenin to the cause. Think for a moment of the foul atmosphere, our emigration in the years 1908-10. Lenin went into his second emigration in 1907, while I and other comrades were summoned abroad in the autumn of 1908, after we had been released from prison. It was mainly owing to the efforts of Lenin that we established our underground papers, first at Geneva, and then in Paris: the *Proletarian* and the *Social Democrat*. All round there was a complete debacle. There was gangrene in all emigrant circles. The old leaders who had grown grey under the revolutionary banner no longer believed in anything. Pornography captured our entire literature, and a spirit of apostasy pervaded politics. The notorious liquidation movement (a movement predominant among the Mensheviks to abandon

all illegal revolutionary activity) was raising its head, and Stolypin was celebrating his orgies. It seemed as if there would be no end of that!

### The Period of Emigration

At such times true leaders are recognized for what they are worth. Lenin was at that time (as throughout his exile) suffering great personal privations and living in poverty; was ill, undernourished — particularly during his stay in Paris; but he remained as cheerful as anybody could be. He stood steadfastly and bravely at his glorious post. He alone contrived to collect a close and intimate circle of fighters, whom he would cheer up by saying: "Don't be disheartened; these dark days will pass, the muddy wave will ebb away; a few years will pass and we shall be borne on the crest of the wave, and the proletarian revolution will be born again." The emigres of that time, more particularly the Menshevik intellectuals, who formed the prevailing element, treated us with marked hostility, declaring that we were a small sect, the members of which could be counted on the five fingers of one hand. There was a special comic paper published in Paris, which jeered at Bolshevism and exercised its humor on such subjects as that "a reward would be offered of half a kingdom to the person who could name a fourth Bolshevik in addition to Lenin, Zinoviev and Kamenev." The Bolsheviks were forsooth, a set of bears sucking their own paws while life was moving past them. The cooperatives, the trade unions, the legal press, were all opposed to the Bolsheviks, while Lenin and his disciples were sitting in a contemplative mood, attaching their faith to the advent of a new Messiah and a new revolution which would never arrive.

In those difficult years Lenin rendered to the working class services perhaps even greater than ever before. At present, in our own days, a tremendous flood had risen and borne millions of individuals, ready to fight and to die. In those days everything was asleep, like in a cemetery. Stolypin's regime was weighing upon the working class like the lid of a coffin. The "elder statesmen," like Axelrod and Co., were chanting the dirges of the revolution and of the old illegal workers party. It was, indeed, a great merit to have raised the banner of the revolution in such times, to have fought all revisionism and opportunism, to have preserved his faith in triumph, and awaited its moment; to have worked and worked without rest or haste.

Lenin was fighting for the party, but at the same time he secluded himself in the library. It is needless to say that Marx is the favorite writer of Lenin, just as his favorite Russian author is Chernyshevsky. Lenin knows his Marx and Engels from the first to the last letter. He knows them in a way as only two or three persons, I think, know them in the world. And Lenin is one of the very few who have advanced the theory of Marx and have been able to fructify it by some new elements and to apply it under the conditions of a new era fraught with the greatest consequences. How proud Marx would have been of Lenin, if he lived today! Lenin never allowed Marx to be insulted by anybody. The Russian so-called "critics" of Marx invariably came up in their literary exercises against the impregnable fortress called Lenin, and would invariably suffer damage from his guns. Lenin fully sustained his reputation even when the philosophical views of Marx began to be subjected to "criticism."

In those days Comrade Lenin carried out a tremendous piece of theoretical work. Those days were marked by a sort of literary spoliation of the dead, by an unprecedented literary demoralization. Attempts were made to smuggle, under the flag of Marxism, the rotted ideas of bourgeois philosophy into working class audiences. Lenin spent two years in the Paris National Library, and carried out such a mass of work that even bourgeois professors who attempted to sneer at the philosophical studies of Lenin, themselves admitted that they could not understand how one man contrived to read such a mass of books in the course of two years. How, indeed, could Lenin succeed in this domain when "we," who had studied at our fathers' expense, who had spent thirty years in our scientific careers, who had worn out so many arm-chairs, who had perused such truck-loads of books, had understood nothing at all in them?...

### A Scientific Work on Philosophy

In those two years Comrade Lenin was able to write a serious work on philosophy, which will occupy an honorable place in the history of the struggle for revolutionary Marxism. He fought as passionately for communism in the most abstract domain of theory as he fights now in the field of practical politics. Perhaps but few amongst the Petrograd workers have read this philosophical work of Lenin, but know you all that in this book too, the foundations of Communism were laid. He fought in this book all the bourgeois influences, in their most subtle and elusive forms, and succeeded in defending the materialist conception of history against the best educated representatives of the bourgeoisie, and those writers among the Social Democrats who had succumbed to those influences.

Then came the year 1910-11. A fresh wind began to blow, and it became evident in 1911 that the labor movement was being reborn. The Lena days [The wholesale massacre of strikers at the Lena gold mines in 1910] opened a new page in the history of our movement. At that time we had already at Petrograd a legal paper called *Zvezda* (Star), at Moscow a monthly periodical, *Mysl* (Thought) and a small labor fraction in the Duma. The principal worker in these papers and behind the Duma fraction was Lenin.

Lenin managed to teach a few worker deputies of the Duma the methods of revolutionary parliamentarianism. You ought to have heard the conversations between Lenin and our young deputies when he was propounding to them the lessons of this kind of parliamentarianism. Simple Petrograd proletarians (Badayev and others) would come to us abroad and say: "We want to engage in serious legislative work; we want to consult you about the budget, about such and such Bill, about certain amendments to certain Bills introduced by the Cadets," etc. In reply Comrade Lenin laughed heartily, and when they, somewhat abashed, would ask what was the matter, Comrade Lenin would reply to Badayev: "What do you want a budget, an amendment, a Bill for? You are workers, and the Duma exists for the ruling classes. You simply step forward and tell all Russia in simple language about the life and toil of the working class. Describe the horrors of capitalist slavery, summon the workers to make a revolution, and fling into the face of this reactionary Duma that its members are scoundrels and exploiters!" (Applause.) "You had better introduce a 'Bill' stating that in three years' time we shall take you all, Black-

hundred landlords and hang you on the lamp-posts. That would be a real Bill!" (Applause.) Such were the lessons in "parliamentarianism" which Comrade Lenin would propound to the deputies. At first Comrade Badayev and others used to find them rather queer. The entire parliamentary surroundings were weighing upon our comrades. Here, in this very hall of the Tauride Palace, where we now meet, the Duma used to sit in session, all sitting in magnificent frock coats, with the Ministers, in places of honor — and these poor deputies should break out all of a sudden in such nasty talk! Later on, however, our deputies assimilated the lessons, and Lenin's enjoyment was boundless when he saw our deputy, the simple mechanic Badayev, come out on the rostrum in the Tauride Palace and tell all those Rodziankos, Volkonskies, and Purishkeviches all that he had been counseled to say by the teacher of the working class. Comrade Lenin. (Applause).

In 1912 a new life began. As soon as it became possible to publish here in Petrograd a legal paper, we migrated from Paris to Galicia in order to be nearer to Petrograd. At the January (1912) Conference, which took place at Prague, the Bolsheviks consolidated the ranks which had been broken by the counter-revolution. The party came back to life again, and, of course, Lenin played a leading part. At the insistence of the new Central Committee, Comrade Lenin and myself went to stay at Cracow. There we began to receive visits from comrades from Petrograd, Moscow, and other cities. Communication was established with Petrograd, and the arrangements were soon so perfected that it was very seldom that the *Pravda* would appear without some contribution from Lenin. You have been brought up on those articles, and you know what those papers, *Zvezda* and *Pravda* meant to the working class. Those were the first swallows of the coming Communist spring. Right and left Comrade Lenin hit our enemies in the columns of those papers, and it is owing to his articles, counsels, and private letters to Petrograd that the *Pravda* soon became a sounding board for all questions of the day. Our machinery became so perfect that we frequently managed to have a conference of the Petrograd and Cracow Bureaus of the Central Committee before every important meeting of trade unions or other labor organizations.

### The Metal Workers Meeting

I remember the first large membership meeting of the Petrograd metal workers in 1913. Two hours after the slate of our candidates to the Union committee was adopted by the meeting (which was at that time an extraordinary success) Comrade Lenin was already in possession of a congratulatory telegram from the metal workers on the matter. Comrade Lenin was living at that time thousands of miles away, but he was the very soul of proletarian Petrograd. The same thing was happening as in 1906-7, when Comrade Lenin resided in Finland, at Kuokalla, and we undertook weekly pilgrimages in order to receive his advice. He was actually guiding the labor movement at Petrograd from this little village in Finland. He was now doing the same thing from Cracow, guiding not only the Petrograd, but the whole Russian Bolshevik movement. . .

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I should like to add a few words about Lenin's attitude on the war. He had long ceased to believe in the European Social Democracy; he knew well that something was rotten

in Denmark. He had long been saying about official European Social Democrats that they were carrying on a contraband trade in rotten opportunist goods. When the war broke out we were living in a god-forsaken little mountain village in Galicia. I remember having had a bet with him. I said: "You will see, the German Social Democrats will not dare vote against the war, but will *abstain* in the vote on the war credits." Comrade Lenin replied: "No, they are not such scoundrels as all that. They will not, of course, fight the war, but they will, to ease their conscience, vote against the credits, lest the working class rise up against them." In this case Lenin was wrong, and so was I. Neither of us had taken the full measure of the flunkeyism of the social patriots. The European Social Democrats proved complete bankrupts. They all voted *for* the war credits. When the first number of the *Vorwaerts*, the organ of the German Social Democrats, arrived with the news that they had voted the war credits, Lenin at first refused to believe. "It cannot be," he said, "it must be a forged number. Those scoundrels, the German bourgeoisie, have specially published such a number of the *Vorwaerts* in order to compel us also to go against the International." Alas, it was not so. It turned out that the social patriots really had voted the war credits. When Lenin saw it, his first word was: "The Second International is dead."

At that time those words had the effect of a bursting bomb. At present we all see clearly that this is so, the Second International is dead. It is now as obvious to us as the ABC; but think only how great the prestige of this International had been before the war. On paper, at least, it had counted several million members and contained in its ranks such authorities as Kautsky, Vandervelde, Valliant, Guesde, Plekhanov. And all of a sudden a Russian Marxist gets up and announces to the whole world, "The Second International is dead, and let it rest in peace." The howling and the protests of the acknowledged "leaders" of the Second International against the impertinent Bolsheviks knew no bounds. It was monstrous, they declared, that Lenin should so insult the entire Socialist world. Herr Scheidemann says so even now. Recently at Berlin the Imperial Chancellor met with the leaders of all parties over the supplementary treaty between Russia and Germany. Herr Ebert, Scheidemann's henchman, was the only one to vote against this treaty, because forsooth. Lenin and his friends were disgracing the banner of Socialism in Russia. Scheidemann knows very well that he has a serious enemy in the person of Lenin. He knows well that if he is one day to hang on a lamp-post — it will come to this. I assure you (Applause) — he will be owing it, to a very large extent, to Comrade Lenin.

Lenin was one of the authors of the main thesis of the resolution of the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International. Jointly with Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin offered the Stuttgart Congress a resolution to the effect that should an imperialist war begin, our business would be to organize a revolution, that is, a civil war. After protracted arguments, the commission of the Congress adopted his resolution, but in different words. Lenin told us at the time how he had been arguing with Bebel about the formulation. According to Lenin, Bebel had accepted the idea, but demanded great care in formulating it in order not to prematurely "get all the geese in a dither."

Then the imperialist war actually came, but when Lenin

now repeated the Stuttgart resolution, when he now submitted to the leaders of the Second International Bebel's I.O.U., the leaders only waved it impatiently aside and passed to the order of the day, that is, to their respective capitalist governments.

I remember the first manifesto of our party on the war. Naturally, it was drawn up principally by Lenin, as were all our most important party documents. When we translated it into various European languages and when it was read by various comrades, even the Swiss internationalist Grimm and the Rumanian revolutionist Rakovsky, who is now in our ranks, were very indignant. They were almost horror-struck when they read the words that the imperialist war must be transformed into a civil war.

Today, it is ABC. We are all doing it, we are all transforming the imperialist war in action into a civil war, but at that time it seemed monstrous. We were told that only an anarchist could preach such things and war was virtually declared upon us. Even at Zimmerwald not only moderate men, but also men like Rakovsky and the Italian Serrati were bitterly opposed to us, so that very fierce conflicts ensued at various stages. I well remember how the hot-headed Rakovsky nearly took off his coat to fight Lenin and me for our opinion that Martov was an agent of the bourgeoisie. "How dare you say such things," they shouted at us; "we have known Martov for the last twenty years." But we replied: "We know Martov as well as you and we are certain that all that is honest among the Russian workers will follow us and will oppose the war, while Martov is defending bourgeois views."

### European Social Democracy Stagnant

But, of course, all these petty incidents are of no particular importance. I only mention them to show you how dead, how stagnant was the European Social Democracy at the beginning of the war. No one was prepared to fight. All had become habituated to the old grooves of legalism and parliamentarianism; all the old leaders had faith in "law," and made a fetish of it. Tremendous efforts were needed to make an impression even among the Zimmerwaldians. I remember a clash at Zimmerwald between Lenin and Ledebour. Ledebour argued: "It is all right for you here living abroad to issue appeals for a civil war, I should like to see how you do it, living in Russia." If Ledebour still remembers those words, I think he must feel very much ashamed of them now. But Comrade Lenin coolly replied to him: "When Marx was drawing up his *Communist Manifesto* he also was living abroad, and only narrow minded philistines could reproach him for that. I now live abroad, because I was sent here by the Russian workers, but when the time arrives, we shall know how to stand at our posts..." And our Comrade Lenin kept his word.

Yes, at the beginning of the war Lenin found very little sympathy even among those Socialists who were opposed to the war. But how is it now?

At present we can say without exaggeration that all that is honest in the International regards Lenin as its leader and banner-bearer. Lazzari, the leader of the Italian workers, who has grown grey under the Red banner, and who at Zimmerwald opposed Lenin, is now going to prison for three years for circulating Lenin's appeals in Italy. Mehring, Clara Zetkin, the best among the German internationalists, who

used to fight Lenin in the old days, now render him the tribute of their greatest respect. Or listen to what has been said about Lenin by men like Gorter, Hoeglund, Blagoev, Loriot and Serrati. There can be no greater satisfaction for Comrade Lenin than the knowledge that he, by his work, has captivated the minds and hearts of such prominent leaders of labor in various countries.

Comrade Lenin became the leader of the Third International, which is now being born. At first many virtuous self-styled Socialists ridiculed the idea that Lenin should put forward his candidature for the leadership of the Third International, saying that he is aspiring to the honor of being the successor of Bakunin. But who will laugh now when we say that the leader of the Third International is none other than Lenin? The Conciliationists have no inclination to laugh now. They would rather cry, because they know that the Third International is a living fact, although owing to the state of siege it has not come into existence formally. And they also know that the new International has in the person of Lenin a sufficiently strong leader, far-seeing, courageous, such as the working class International properly needs.

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The part played by Comrade Lenin from the beginning of the war has been absolutely exceptional. He was the first to begin collecting circles of Internationalists, and it was a remarkable sight how he was devoting his inexhaustible energy to this work in Switzerland. He lived first at Berne and then Zurich. The Swiss Social Democratic Party was at that time infected by opportunism and defensism, and only a small group of workers rallied round us. Comrade Lenin would spend much time and strength in order to organize some ten or twenty individuals among the Zurich working-class youth. I lived at that time in another Swiss town, but I well remember the enthusiasm which Comrade Lenin devoted to this work so small in its scope. He used to write us numberless letters, urging us all to work among the Swiss, and rejoiced like a child when he was able to announce that at Zurich he had succeeded in getting into the organization of the Left Social Democrats seven young proletarians, and, might, perhaps, succeed in getting an eighth.

### Swiss Social Democracy

Of course the official Swiss Social Democratic Party looked askance on this work of Lenin's. Gruelich and Co. would declare that Lenin was corrupting the entire working class movement by his Russian "anarchism." Indeed Comrade Lenin was "corrupting" it as much as he could. (Applause and laughter.) The philistine Swiss Government was then ready to expel Lenin as an undesirable alien, but now we hear from our Swiss Socialist Comrade Moor that the Swiss Government has placed in the museum as an historical document the paper which it exacted from us as a guarantee that we would behave "decently" in Switzerland. I shall not be surprised if the Swiss bourgeoisie, who are showing their lakes and mountains for a franc per head, should soon charge five francs for showing the autograph signature of Lenin.

At that time, in the years 1915-17, he led a rather secluded life in Switzerland. The war and the collapse of the [Second] International had deeply affected him, and many, who knew him before, were surprised at the change which had taken place in him since the war. He never was very tender towards the bourgeoisie, but since the war his hatred

of the bourgeoisie became concentrated and sharp like a dagger. He seemed to have changed even in his appearance.

He then lived at Zurich, in the poorest quarter, in the house of a shoemaker, in a sort of garret. He chased, as it were, after every proletarian in order to proclaim to him that the present war was an imperialist slaughter, that the honor of the proletariat demanded that a war against this war be fought to a finish, that the arms must not be laid down until the working class had risen and destroyed the imperialist bandits. (Prolonged applause.)

The Bureau of the Zimmerwald Left, in which Lenin played the principal part, issued in German and French several leaflets, pamphlets, and three numbers of the periodical, *Verbote*. It goes without saying that Lenin's propagandism was not to the taste of the International bourgeoisie. The German bourgeois professors would write entire books to announce that a certain lunatic had arisen, who was preaching a mad propagandistic doctrine. But we laughed and said, "Why then do you write books and articles, why concern yourselves with the ravings of a lunatic?"

Comrade Lenin quietly pursued his labors, and now things have reached such a pass that the German bourgeoisie has had to sign a treaty with Comrade Lenin as representing hundreds of millions of peasants and workers of entire Russia. We shall yet, comrades, see the moment when our proletariat through its leader Lenin will dictate its will to old Europe, when Comrade Lenin will make treaties with the government of Karl Liebknecht, and when Lenin will help the German workers to draw up the first Socialist decree in Germany. (Applause.)

In March 1917, Comrade Lenin returned to Russia. You remember, comrades, the witches' sabbath which broke out when Lenin and we, his disciples, came from abroad through Germany. What a howl there was about the celebrated "sealed train." As a matter of fact, Lenin entertained towards German imperialism a hatred as fierce as towards the other imperialisms. At the beginning of the war the Austrian government had arrested Lenin, and he spent two weeks in a Galician house of detention. When a prominent member of Scheidemann's party wanted to enter our carriage (which, as a matter of fact, was not sealed) in order to welcome us, we told him unequivocally, on Lenin's suggestion, that we never discuss with traitors, and would give him a thrashing if he came to us.

The Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists who at first proudly resisted, afterwards used the same means of getting into Russia as we did. So far as Lenin was concerned, the matter was simple; all bourgeois governments are bandits; we have no choice, we can't go to Russia in any other way.

## The July Days

I shall not dwell here in detail on the part which Lenin has played here at Petrograd from the beginning of our revolution. You have seen his work, you have watched it as closely as I. You know the part played by Lenin in the July days of 1917. For him the question of the necessity of the seizure of power by the proletariat had been settled from the first moment of our revolution, and the question was only about the choice of a suitable opportunity. In the July days our entire Central Committee was opposed to the immediate seizure of power, Lenin was of the same opinion. But when on July 16 the wave of popular revolt rose high, Lenin be-

came alert, and here, upstairs in the refreshment room of the Tauride Palace, a small conference took place at which Trotsky, Lenin, and myself were present. Lenin laughingly asked us, "Shall we not attempt now?" and he added: "No, it would not do to take power now, as nothing will come out of it, the soldiers at the front being largely on the other side and would come as the dupes of the Lieber-Dans to massacre the Petrograd workers." As a matter of fact, you will remember in those July days Kerensky did succeed in bringing over soldiers from the front against us. What was to become ripe two or three months later is still immature in July, and a premature seizure of power at that time might have been fatal. Lenin realized this before everybody else. At any rate, Lenin never hesitated for a moment on the question as to whether the proletariat, in our revolution, ought to seize the reins of power, or not. All his hesitations turned round the question as to whether it could not be done earlier.

You know how things developed subsequently. We passed through a time when it seemed that everything was lost. Comrade Lenin for a moment even doubted whether the Soviets, corrupted by the conciliationists, could play a decisive part, and he gave the warning that we might perhaps have to seize power without the Soviets. But he never for a moment doubted that sooner or later the power would be in our hands, and that it was necessary to hurl the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists into the abyss.

At first, during the July days, we could not realise what was occurring. One night, on July 16, Comrade Lenin alone came into the editorial offices of the *Pravda* to hand over a manuscript. Half an hour afterwards, the junkers were already sacking those offices. On the morning of July 18 Lieber (Menshevik leader) took me to the military staff of the district to obtain redress in the matter of the sacking of the offices of *Pravda*. General Polovtsev, the head of the Staff, received me with great respect. At that time he also did not know what to do with us. But an hour later the Bolsheviks were being arrested and killed.

Then the persecutions started. Lenin and I went into hiding. We had firmly decided to be arrested — such was still our faith in the Mensheviks and the Right Social Revolutionists. But the party did not permit us to do so. We, therefore, decided to go on hiding ourselves. A week later Comrade Lenin told me: "How could we have been so silly as to think for one moment of trusting this gang and getting ourselves arrested? There is no other way but to fight this gang ruthlessly." (Applause.)

In the same way as Comrade Lenin in July 1917, wisely declared that it was impermissible to seize power, so after the Kornilov days — especially by the end of September 1917, Lenin began urging the workers to seize power, or else it would be too late.

When, following the Kornilov days, the so-called Democratic Conference assembled at Petrograd, Lenin at first came out with an article on "Compromises." He invited for the last time the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists to break with the bourgeoisie, to renounce their policy of treason, and to make a compromise with the working class against the Kornilovists. But these two parties were rotten to the core. They had already sold their souls to the devil and could not accept Lenin's invitation. Thereupon Lenin sent a letter from his Finnish exile to the Central Committee of our party saying that the time had come to drop all procrastination, that

it was necessary to surround the Alexandra Theatre (where the Democratic Conference was holding its sessions), to disperse all this scum, and to seize power.

Our Central Committee at that time did not agree with Comrade Lenin. Almost everybody thought that it was still too early, and that the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists still had a large following. Lenin then, without hesitating long, left his hide-out, and without consulting anybody, without considering the fears of his friends, came to Petrograd in order to preach an immediate rising. Kerensky and Avxentyev were at that time issuing writs for the arrest of Lenin, while Lenin, from his underground hiding place, was preparing the insurrection, arguing with those who hesitated, castigating those who vacillated and writing and agitating for an early rising. And he got it.

At present everybody sees that Lenin was right. It was all a matter of touch and go. If we had not taken power into our hands in October, Savinkov and Palchinsky would have crushed us in November. The question was posed by history in no ambiguous manner. Either we or they. Either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, mad with fear and hatred towards the workers, or the dictatorship of the proletariat pitilessly sweeping away the bourgeoisie.

Now, of course, it is all clear, but at that time, amidst the whirlpool of events it required the exact eye of a Lenin, his genius and intuition, in order to declare: "Not a week later, now or never." And it also required the unbending, strength of will of a Lenin to surmount all the obstacles and to start at the appointed time the greatest revolution ever known in history. It is not that Comrade Lenin did not realise the tremendous difficulties with which the working class would be confronted after the conquest of power. Lenin knew all this to perfection. From the very first days of his arrival at Petrograd he had been carefully watching the progressive economic ruin. He valued the acquaintance of every bank clerk, trying to penetrate into the details of the bank business. He knew well the food and other difficulties. In one of his most remarkable books, "Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" Comrade Lenin dwelt in detail on these difficulties. It is true that the latter proved more formidable than even Lenin had anticipated. But no other way was open to the working class than the one trodden in October.

### Clearness, Precision, Concreteness

Both on the question of the nationalization of the banks and on that of our food policy, as well as military policy, the decisive word was said by Lenin. He alone drew up in all its details the scheme of practical measures in all these domains long before October 25. Clearness, precision, concreteness — such are the chief features in Lenin's work, and he alone has generalized all these individual measures in his work on the State, ("State And Revolution") which, to my mind, is the most important one after Marx's "Capital." The Soviet State has found in Lenin not only its chief political leader, practical organizer, ardent propagandist, poet and singer, but also its principal theoretician, its Karl Marx. The October revolution — insofar as even in a revolution one may, and indeed, *must* speak of the role played by the individual — the October revolution and the part played in connection with it by our party are to the extent of nine-tenths the work of Lenin. If anybody could bring into line all those who doubted or hesitated, it was Lenin.

I can say this for myself, that if I shall repent in my life of anything, it will not be of the fifteen years that I have been working under the leadership of Comrade Lenin, but of those few October days when I thought that Lenin was too much in a hurry, was forcing events, was committing a mistake, and that I would have to oppose him. [Zinoviev together with Kamenev — and abetted behind the scenes by Stalin — opposed the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917. They publicly denounced, in a non-party paper, the Bolshevik policy as "adventurism." Lenin called them strike-breakers and demanded their expulsion from the party.] It is now as clear as noonday that if the working class, under Lenin's leadership, had not seized power in time, we should, a few weeks later, have had the dictatorship of the most ruthless, most unscrupulous bourgeois rascals. (Loud and continued applause.) It is known now that it had been decided to massacre all of us by the time of the convening of the Constituent Assembly, and if the generals had had more soldiers at their disposal, they would have done so. Even after October 25 the Right Social Revolutionists intended to massacre us, and one of their members, Masslov, even recruited soldiers for the purpose. He admitted very recently himself, that he had succeeded in scraping together only 5,000 champions of a very doubtful quality. There was the will, but there was not the way.

Comrade Lenin calculated the moment to perfection. He did not want to delay even for a week, and knew how to raise the question to a direct issue. He wrote article after article, publicly, over his signature, in a paper which everybody could read, openly appealing for an armed rising, and fixing a definite date. And all this, while Kerensky was still in power and seemed to many to be still very strong. Lenin challenged the entire bourgeoisie and all conciliationists, telling them that tomorrow he and his friends would overthrow them. And everybody knew that on the lips of Lenin this was not an empty threat, that it would be followed by deed. This could have been done only by Lenin.

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And what about those memorable days of Brest, the days of bitter disappointment! How difficult, how painfully difficult was it at that time to make a decision! I cannot even imagine what would have happened if we had not had Lenin with us at the time. Who else could have assumed this terrific responsibility of acting against the overwhelming majority of the Soviets, against a considerable portion of our party, and at one time against even a majority of the Central Committee of the party? Only Lenin could lift this burden on his shoulders, and only he could have been followed by those who were hesitating. It was Lenin who was fated to save Petrograd, Russia, our party, our revolution. Today there are but few clever persons who would attempt to ridicule Lenin's theory of a "breathing-spell." It is now clear to everybody that it was the only right thing to do, to yield space to the enemies in order to gain time...

That is why the man who has accomplished such work is entitled to immortality. That is why a blow directed against him is received by everybody as a blow directed against themselves. Comrade Trotsky was right when he said in Moscow: "When Comrade Lenin lay cruelly wounded and struggling with death, our own lives seemed so superfluous, so unimportant..."

Comrade Lenin has been frequently compared with



Marat, but fate was kinder to him than to Marat, who became dear to his people after his death. Our teacher Lenin came within hair's breadth of death. He was dear enough to our people even before the attempt, but now, after that treacherous attempt, he will become a thousand times dearer to the hearts of the working class. Marat lived still in the memory of his people a long time after his physical life had been cut, but Lenin will live long yet, not only in our minds and hearts, but also in our ranks, in order to fight with us and to carry to a triumphant conclusion the first Workers' Socialist Revolution. (Storm of applause.)

Yes, a Marat closely connected with the millions of the urban and rural proletariat. That is Lenin. Take the fanatical devotion to the people which distinguished Marat; take his integrity, his simplicity, his intimate knowledge of the soul of the people, take his elemental faith in the inexhaustible strength of the "lowest of the lowly," take all this and add to it the first-class education of a Marxist, an iron will, an acute analytical mind, and you will get Lenin such as we know him now. A revolutionary Social Democrat is just a Jacobin who had tied up his fate with the most advanced class of modern times, with the proletariat — such was Lenin's reply in 1904 to the Mensheviks who were accusing him of Jacobinism. The figure of the proletarian "Jacobian," Lenin, will yet throw into shade the glory of the most glorious of the Jacobins of the time of the Great French Revolution.

August Bebel was never forgiven by the German bourgeoisie for having once declared in the Reichstag: "I hate your bourgeois order; yes, I am a deadly enemy of your entire bourgeois society." And the same Bebel used to say:

"When I am praised by the bourgeoisie, I ask myself, 'You old fellow, what folly have you committed to have merited the praises of these cannibals?'" But Comrade Lenin never had to put to himself such a question. He is quite guaranteed against that. He has never been praised by the bourgeoisie who had been persecuting him with a wild hatred all during the long years of his activity, and he is proud of it. At the tensest moment of struggle, Lenin is fond of repeating, as he did on the eve of the October Revolution, the poet's words: "We get our approbation not in the sweet murmur of praise, but in our enemy's wild shouts of rage." This is characteristic of Lenin. These words are Lenin himself. Lenin quotes poetry but seldom, but in this case he used it with good reason. The wild shouts of rage of the enemies of the working class have ever been the best music to Lenin's ear. The greater the rage of the enemies, the more calm and assured Lenin is.

Again, Lenin is fond of comparing our revolution with a rushing railway engine. Indeed, our railway engine rushes with a dizzy swiftness, but then our driver manages the engine, as no one else can. His eye is sharp, and his hand is firm and will not tremble for one second even at the most dangerous culverts.

At this moment our leader is lying wounded. For several days he struggled with death, but he has vanquished it, and he still lives. This is symbolical. At one time it looked as if our revolution had been mortally wounded. It is at present coming round again, as our leader Comrade Lenin is coming round; the clouds will scatter, and we shall vanquish all our enemies. (Storm of applause.)

# The U. S. And The Second World War

*Resolution unanimously adopted by the Eleventh Convention of the American Trotskyist Movement - November 16-19, 1944*

When the United States entered the second World War, Roosevelt, chief spokesman of American capitalism proclaimed that this war was a crusade for democracy, for the "Four Freedoms," for the destruction of fascism and totalitarianism. The labor bureaucrats, recruiting sergeants for the war machine, volunteered their services to sell the war as a conflict between "free labor" and "slave labor."

After three years of America's participation in the war, the demagogic slogans under which the people were dragooned into the slaughter have been stripped bare. Democracy and freedom are among the first casualties of the war. The slogans of "national unity" and "equality of sacrifice" are a snare. The pledges to take the profits out of war to prevent a new crop of wartime millionaires, are proved a monstrous hoax.

The capitalist government logically began its reactionary campaign by striking its first blows at the class-conscious vanguard of the American working class. On the very day war was declared, December 8, 1941, sentence was passed on the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. They were convicted under the anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act for their uncompromising and outspoken opposition to the war program and because of their firm adherence to the principles of revolutionary Socialism. The conviction and imprisonment of the 18 was accompanied by a whole series of measures designed

to throttle the unions and paralyze labor's resistance to the onslaught of Big Business.

The right to strike, basic to the freedom of the labor movement, has been virtually outlawed. Workers have been frozen to their jobs at frozen wages while the cost of living continues to rise. A "modified" version of forced labor has been imposed by executive decree. An increasing weight of taxes is being saddled on those least able to pay while corporation profits soar to the highest levels in history.

The war immediately strengthened the most reactionary groups and institutions. The surge of reaction, especially the persecution of minorities and the spread of race-hatred, is a wartime continuation of tendencies inherent in capitalist decay. Brutal discrimination and humiliating segregation of the Negro people in the armed forces as well as in civilian life reduce the slogans of "democracy and freedom" to a hideous mockery for 13-million American citizens. The wave of anti-Semitism unloosed by capitalist reaction has already risen to alarming proportions. Jim Crowism and anti-Semitism march hand in hand with the assault against the organizations of the working class. This is the reality behind the demagogic facade of the "Four Freedoms."

Prior to America's entry into the war, this reactionary trend was analyzed and forecast in the Manifesto of the

Fourth International on *The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution* which stated:

*"Seeking to gain the advantages of a totalitarian regime, the imperialist democracies launch their own defense with a redoubled drive against the working class and the persecution of revolutionary organizations. The war danger and now the war itself is utilized by them first and foremost to crush internal enemies. The bourgeoisie invariably and unswervingly follows the rule: 'The main enemy is in one's own country.'"*

One of the consequences of the war is the emergence of the Military Staff as the spearhead of reaction. The ruling capitalist circles demand unquestioning subservience to the military caste. The intervention of the brass hats in various spheres of civilian life is an integral part of the growing regimentation of the American people. It is part of the enormous strengthening of reactionary tendencies in American life and politics and the unmistakable trend toward totalitarianism.

### ***The Capitalist War Program***

The American capitalist class is coining fabulous profits out of the second World War. Corporation profits in 1942 mounted to \$19-billion or twice what they were in 1929 and four times the average of the prewar period 1936-39. In his "hold-the-line" report, April 1944, Roosevelt boasted that: "Corporation profits, both before and after taxes, rose in 1943 even above the record-breaking levels of 1942." The same report emphasized that: "The level of basic factory wage rates has been raised less than 1½ cents an hour by actions of the War Labor Board. Wages have been stabilized (frozen)." Soaring profits, frozen wages, taxing the poor instead of the rich — that is the real content of Roosevelt's fraudulent "equality-of-sacrifice" slogan.

The war has brought the direct representatives of Big Business to Washington. The war agencies are staffed with corporation lawyers and executives, bankers, stockjobbers and speculators. Wall Street is represented in all key positions of the war administration. Thus the war serves to accelerate the fusion of monopoly capitalism with the state.

The American capitalist class stands united in pursuit of its imperialist program to establish its hegemony over the world. Its aim is to make Wall Street the center of world tribute. To secure its domination American capitalism plans to maintain armies of occupation in Europe and Asia. Its most authoritative spokesmen speak of establishing naval and military bases all over the world, building a five-ocean navy, policing the world for 100 years, establishing an era of "peace by force," etc. The plans of US imperialism call for maintaining a military machine before which all previous world militarisms pale into insignificance.

Let none imagine that imperialist domination will spell well-being for the American masses. On the contrary the maintenance of a gigantic military establishment will mean the imposition of back-breaking taxes on the working masses. The creation of a powerful military caste can only lead to the Prussianization of American life and the further regimentation of the American people. This program of regimentation aims to clear the road for Big Business; It strengthens the forces of reaction which seek to impose their open-shop program by crushing the unions and instituting a regime of hunger and repression for the many and wealth and privilege for the few.

War is inevitable as long as capitalism continues to exist. A society free from exploitation, oppression and profits can alone put an end to war. Only the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Socialist society will spare the American people the horror of continuing war.

As part of their military program the ruling capitalist circles have projected the plan of conscripting the youth for compulsory peacetime military training. We have nothing in common with pacifists and muddleheads who are "against" military training. In this epoch of wars and revolutions all great questions will be decided arms in hand. In order to fulfill their historic mission the workers must become skilled in the use of arms. Against the capitalist program of placing the military training of the workers under the control of a reactionary military caste, we advocate our proletarian military policy: military training of workers, financed by the government, but under the control of the trade unions; special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.

The trade unions have been in retreat since Pearl Harbor. They have been unable to maintain their positions against the unrelenting pressure of the employers. The surrender of their most effective economic weapon — the strike — in favor of compulsory arbitration through the employer-dominated War Labor Board has deprived the unions of their independence of action and has inexorably led to their subservience to the capitalist state. The capitalist government has carried through the program of the exploiting class, under the cover of the lying slogan of "national unity."

The tripartite labor board is an instrument of class collaboration whereby the interests of the working class are subordinated to those of the capitalist class. To create an illusion of impartiality the personnel of such tripartite bodies as the WLB is composed of an equal number of representatives of the unions, the employers, and the "public," that is, the government. But in a capitalist society the government functions as the executive arm of the ruling class. As an impotent minority the labor representatives on the War Labor Board, therefore, serve only to perpetuate the fraud that the WLB is an "impartial" agency.

With the connivance of the labor bureaucrats the WLB has assumed the role of super-arbiter of the labor movement. Following the promulgation of his "seven-point-stabilization" program on which the wage freezing Little Steel formula is based and the adoption by Congress of the Smith-Connally Act, Roosevelt issued his sanctions decree empowering the WLB to take punitive measures against "recalcitrant" unions. The War Labor Board has become an agency for policing the unions, enforcing the wage freeze, hog-tying and housebreaking the union movement for the benefit of the bosses. With the collaboration of union officials, WLB decisions are imposed by threats, intimidation and force; the use of troops has become part of the "arbitration" procedure of disciplining the workers and keeping the unions subservient to the war machine.

Wages are kept frozen while rising prices and soaring profits enrich the exploiters. Workers are frozen to their jobs to prevent "competition" between employers in a tight labor market. Labor conscription, as imposed by executive decree under the Roosevelt-McNutt "Labor Referral Plan," places the workers at the mercy of the dollar patriots. While the

use of troops to break strikes has become a regular procedure, the rabid labor baiters in Congress and State Legislatures vie with one another in sponsoring repressive anti-labor legislation. Such are the products of the policy of class collaboration.

It has become impossible for the unions to cope with their problems, defend their interests or preserve their existence by the outworn methods of "pure and simple" trade unionism. The capitalist state intervenes and acts as the outright agent of the employers even where the most elementary "economic" demands are involved. Therefore, the fight for the most elementary demands entails a direct conflict with the capitalist state. The traditional "non-partisan" political policy of the trade union bureaucracy dooms the working class to impotence. The trade unions can survive only by breaking with the bankrupt policy of class collaboration, by regaining and strengthening their independence of action on the economic field, by formulating labor's own political program and organizing labor's own political party with the goal of establishing a Workers and Farmers Government.

### Role of the Labor Bureaucracy

From the outset the labor bureaucrats proceeded to prove, by word and deed, how indispensable they are in harnessing the workers to the chariot of war. They declared a moratorium on labor's right to strike. They espoused the policy of compulsory arbitration. They installed labor representatives on the employer-dominated War Labor Board—thereby lending their prestige to the anti-labor actions of the WLB. They accepted and circulated Roosevelt's counterfeit "stabilization" promises as good coin; they acquiesced in the freezing of wages; and as part of the War Manpower Commission's "labor-management" committee, they shared the responsibility for the job freeze. They remained on the WLB after the passage of the infamous Smith-Connally "anti-strike" law, and even after Roosevelt's executive decree authorizing sanctions against the unions. They continued to participate in the WLB even after this body emerged as an outright strikebreaking agency in the service of the employers.

The labor bureaucracy has joined in a conspiracy with Roosevelt against their own rank and file. They strive with might and main to refurbish the tarnished "liberal" reputation of their "friend" in the White House, whitewash his crimes against the labor movement and screen his responsibility for a whole series of anti-labor measures by focusing their vapid criticism upon his hirelings. They disarmed the unions and sacrificed their independence on the altar of "national unity." Functioning as obedient agents of the capitalist administration, the CIO-AFL and other labor bureaucrats have rendered yeoman's service in propping up the structure of deceit and repression upon which Roosevelt's labor policy rests.

These outright labor lieutenants of the war administration have taken on the job of policing the trade union membership. Workers' democracy in the trade unions is incompatible with their policy of betrayal. The bureaucrats therefore utilize the no-strike pledge as a pretext for depriving the membership of their democratic rights; they install dictator-receivers over locals; victimize and purge union militants who resist employer provocation. The employers and their government use all means at their disposal to further the work of the labor lieutenants in bureaucratizing the unions.

As a reward for their services, the Roosevelt administration has granted the labor bureaucrats, not cabinet posts, as in Great Britain, but "maintenance of membership" and the "check-off" — through the War Labor Board.

The treacherous role played by the labor bureaucracy is paving the way for capitalist reaction. Roosevelt's pronounced swing to reaction has served notice that the era of "New Deal" reforms is over. The capitalist rulers not only oppose new concessions but aim to cancel out those gains made by labor in the past decade. The bureaucrats are confronted with insoluble contradictions. As reaction deepens the workers grow more restive, increasing their pressure on the leaders. Any show of resistance by the top bureaucrats provokes a stormy movement of the working masses which threatens to topple the Rooseveltian labor structure. The bureaucrats whine and complain of their increasing inability to "hold the line" against their membership; and plead with their "friend" for concessions.

The resistance to the onslaught of reaction is growing despite and against the top union leadership. The struggle against the no-strike pledge, that is, the struggle to regain the unions' independence of action, is gathering momentum. The plans of the labor bureaucrats to convert the unions into auxiliary tools of American imperialism are meeting with increasing opposition from the ranks.

Since Pearl Harbor, "unauthorized" strikes have increased each year in number. The strike curve reached a new peak in the months prior to the European invasion, June 1944. After a slight recession in June, the strike curve resumed its upward spiral. Betrayed by their top union leaders, the workers have been attempting, through direct economic action on the job, to break out of the straitjacket of the no-strike pledge.

These sporadic strikes, usually lasting only a few days, have been in the majority of cases unable to achieve the objectives for which they were called. The striking workers lacked leadership and were immediately subjected to the combined pressure and intimidation of the government, the employers, and their own union officialdom.

The most advanced workers, as in the auto union, have come to realize that labor cannot break out of the straitjacket of class collaboration simply by engaging in uncoordinated departmental or plant strikes. In increasing numbers they are realizing that this is a *national* as well as a *political* problem. These advanced workers, drawing the lessons of their struggles, have formed a progressive wing to lead the fight to rescind the no-strike pledge. This marks a significant step toward the adoption of a militant program and the development of a new union leadership.

The American working class is today strongly trade union conscious. The lessons of the 1929 economic crisis, the traditions of the heroic strike struggles of the last period and the emergence of the CIO have penetrated deeply into the consciousness of the working class. Despite the uninterrupted retreat of the trade union movement since the outbreak of the war; despite the loss of its former independence and the cynical betrayal of the labor movement by its whole official leadership, the trade union movement remains a mighty power. In the past decade the trade union membership has almost tripled. The membership rolls stand today at an all-time high of 13-million and are still growing. Once this giant of a labor movement arms itself with a correct program and

a militant leadership it will reveal its unconquerable power.

The trade union policy of the Socialist Workers Party since Pearl Harbor has been confirmed by the experience of the past three years. It retains all its validity today. We fought and continue to fight for the following program:

*For the Independence of the Trade Unions!* Free the unions from all domination or control by the capitalist government and its agencies. The first step in regaining the independence of the unions is to demand that the labor representatives resign from the employer-dominated War Labor Board.

*Rescind the No-Strike Pledge!* In the face of an intensive campaign of repression it is suicidal to surrender labor's most effective weapon of defense against the employer-government assault on the unions.

*Scrap the Little Steel Formula!* For a nation-wide conference of all trade unions regardless of affiliation to draw up a program of independent action against the wage freeze. The central slogan in the fight against the wage freeze should be the demand for:

*A Rising Scale of Wages to Meet the Rising Cost of Living!* For an escalator clause in all union contracts. Roosevelt's promises to stabilize the cost of living have proven a gigantic fraud. Only the escalator clause can afford the workers a measure of protection against the worst effects of inflation.

*For Democracy Within the Unions!* There can be no effective independent action without the fullest internal democracy. The subservience of the labor bureaucrats to the program of the exploiting class inexorably leads to the attempt to crush the democratic rights of the rank and file.

*For an Independent Labor Party Based on the Trade Unions!* Labor must break decisively with the program, parties and candidates of the capitalist ruling class. Only through its own independent class action on both the economic and political field will the trade union movement be able to save itself from destruction at the hands of Big Business and its political deputies in the government.

## CIO Political Action Committee

The formation of the CIO Political Action Committee is an attempt by Hillman-Murray to duplicate John L. Lewis's technique (Labor's Non-Partisan League) of perverting the sentiment for labor's independent political action into support for Roosevelt.

In organizing the workers in the basic mass production industries, the CIO found itself involved from the outset in bitter struggles with the most powerful monopoly interests in the country. The epoch of imperialism is characterized by a fusion of monopoly capitalism with the state. The government's role as a strikebreaking agency of monopoly capitalism and the growing recognition of the inadequacy of "pure and simple" trade unionism, impelled the CIO mass production workers along the road of independent political action. The organization by John L. Lewis of Labor's Non-Partisan League, represented a systematic attempt on a national scale to mobilize the political strength of the working class, separate and apart from the existing apparatus of the two capitalist parties.

In 1938 the Socialist Workers Party correctly characterized the LNPL as "*a stage in the development of the labor movement from complete subservience to the political parties*

*of big capital to an independent labor party.*" The CIO bureaucrats, headed by John L. Lewis, frustrated the political aspirations of the workers by supporting Roosevelt for the second-term. Their purpose? To mobilize the workers as a political force independent of the Wall-Street-controlled Democratic and Republican parties in order to wean Roosevelt away from his dependence on Big Business. A utopian dream! Shortly after his reelection in 1936 with the aid of Labor's Non-Partisan League, Roosevelt issued his infamous "plague-on-both-your-houses" statement at a time when the steel barons unleashed a murderous attack on the steel workers in the 1937 Little Steel strike.

The development toward an independent labor party was thus retarded by the false policies of the leadership and above all by the mitigation of the economic crisis attendant on Wall Street's feverish preparations for war.

The hypnosis of "national unity" is being dispelled by a sharpening of class conflicts in the course of the war itself. The 1943 strikes of the coal miners, which evoked a series of strikes in the automobile, rubber and other industries, threatened to topple Roosevelt's labor relations edifice. The workers, more and more disillusioned with Roosevelt's "equality-of-sacrifice" fraud, began pressing for wage increases. The passage of the Smith-Connally Act; the unrestrained labor baiting in Congress; the increasing intervention of the government on the side of the employers in labor disputes; the disarming of the unions by the no-strike pledge; the inadequacy of relying on trade union methods in an essentially political struggle — all this gave added impetus to the movement for an independent labor party.

It was during this period of labor struggle that the CIO Political Action Committee was organized. Its formation was announced one week after the Michigan CIO State convention went on record for the organization of an independent labor party. The CIO-PAC was formed for the express purpose of heading-off the growing sentiment for labor's independent political action. But so discredited are the capitalist politicians and parties, that Hillman-Murray had to pay lip-service to the *idea* of labor's independent political action in order to divert the movement into the channel of the two party system.

Despite a superficial resemblance to the traditional "non-partisan" policy of the labor bureaucracy, the CIO-PAC, like its predecessor Labor's Non-Partisan League, represents a departure from the Gompers school of politics. The essence of the Gompers policy consisted in keeping the working class politically atomized and wholly subordinate to the political bosses of the Democratic and Republican machines. The CIO-PAC attempts, on the other hand, to organize the workers as a political unit. Inherent in this attempted political mobilization of the workers by the CIO-PAC is a tacit threat to the political monopoly of America's Sixty Families. That is why it calls forth the venomous opposition of agents of Big Business. By singling out the CIO-PAC for special attack, reaction is in actuality waging war against labor's right to organize on the political field.

All the factors which gave rise to the movement for an independent labor party will become more and more compelling in the next period. The need for a solution to the problems of the labor movement will become more acute. The perfidious Hillman-Murray policy of converting the CIO-PAC

into an auxiliary of either of the two capitalist parties can only lead the unions further into a blind alley.

Despite the bitter opposition of the top labor bureaucrats the movement for a labor party is gathering adherents among the more advanced sections of the labor movement. The emergence of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, the adoption of resolutions by a number of local unions calling for the formation of an independent labor party, the growth of labor party sentiment among the more conscious union militants, testify to the dynamic character of this movement. The genuine left wing in the trade unions will crystallize around the struggle for a labor party, and lead the movement forward to a decisive break with the political parties of the capitalist class.

In the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact the Communist Party conducted a pseudo-radical, essentially pacifistic agitation from the "left" against the imperialist war. Large sections of the labor movement were duped by the leftist coloration which served to camouflage the reactionary character of Stalinism. After Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union and the Kremlin's shift in foreign policy, the Stalinists became the most vociferous warmongers. The imperialist war of yesterday was metamorphosed into a "war of liberation." Following Stalin's dissolution of the Comintern, the Stalinists announced the formal dissolution of the American Communist Party, disavowing all Socialist aims and objectives. Through the "Communist Political Association" they step forward as the avowed defenders of the capitalist *status quo*.

That the Communist Party is an agency of Stalin's foreign policy, that the Stalinists change their program overnight in compliance with the demands and needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy, was in the past understood only by the class conscious workers. Today this is widely recognized by large sections of the labor movement. Thus great sections of the trade union movement, from a trade union standpoint, oppose the Stalinists today from the left.

Today the Stalinists operate as a strikebreaking agency in the service of the employers. While the entire labor movement opposed Roosevelt's proposal for labor conscription, the Stalinists rushed forward to endorse this measure. In the Montgomery Ward Strike the labor movement lined up solidly behind the union with the notable exception of the Stalinists who proclaimed their readiness to scab and break the strike. Their latest campaign, ballyhooed by the *Daily Worker*, for a permanent no-strike pledge, their unremitting agitation for the speedup, their lynch incitation against union militants who resist the employer-government union busting drive, their organization of a vigilante assault on a pacifist Quaker group in Seattle, etc., etc., expose the Stalinists as the spearhead of reaction inside the labor movement.

Eager to convince the ruling circles that they are the most dependable agents of the employing class, the Stalinist flunkeys have not hesitated to come into conflict with the conservative union bureaucracy. It must be recognized that the Stalinists are on an increasing scale addressing themselves directly to the capitalist class. They are trying to demonstrate how indispensable they are in ferreting out the militants and keeping the trade unions firmly in the vise of the war machine. The capitalists remain cautious toward the Stalinists today. Tomorrow, when the crisis of capitalism becomes more intense, they may decide to utilize the services of the Stalinist strikebreakers more directly.

Despite growing opposition the Stalinists still remain a power in the American labor movement. They still remain the greatest single obstacle in the path of the revolutionary party. They have an effective, well-organized national apparatus. They control a number of International unions in the CIO, numerous CIO local unions and central labor bodies as well as many AFL locals. Corrupted to their very marrow, the cynical agents of the Kremlin bureaucracy are ready for anything.

The Socialist Workers Party will continue to mercilessly expose the traitorous program of Stalinism. The Trotskyists will work indefatigably to destroy Stalinist influence within the labor movement, both by propaganda and organization work, as well as by timely appeals to the worker elements within the Stalinist ranks.

### **Capitalist "Post-War" Program**

Deriving from the Baruch-Hancock report, the "post-war" plans of the capitalist class have taken legislative form, and are being administered by Big Business tycoons. The Baruch-Hancock report was drawn up by Wall Street bankers, endorsed by Roosevelt and supported by both the Republican and Democratic parties. This plan is based on the preservation of the "free enterprise" system; that is, on the perpetuation of monopoly control of production, distribution and exchange. It envisages a return to the era of planned sabotage of production and monopoly prices, the era of mass unemployment and mass poverty. The Baruch plan is a Bourbon plan — its authors have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

In addition to untold millions amassed from war contracts, the cost-plus patriots are planning a gigantic steal of billions-worth of government-owned land, industrial plants, equipment and "surplus" commodities. This government-owned property is valued at approximately \$100-billion. Comprising one-quarter of the country's productive capacity, the government-owned plants alone are valued at 20 to 25-billion dollars and represent 20 percent of all capital invested in American manufacture. Under the Baruch-plan, "free enterprise" disposal of government-owned property, for which legislation has already been adopted, most of these plants will go to a small group of some 25 corporate giants, to enormously strengthen the financial oligarchy's strangle hold on the economic and political life of the nation.

The monopolists view the industrial empire newly created by the government as a source of "over-production" and therefore as a potential threat to their monopoly control. Under the Baruch plan, the sabotage of production, planned and practised by the "New Deal," when premiums were paid for plowing under cotton, corn, livestock and so on, is to be repeated on a gigantic scale with the plowing under of plant and equipment.

Under a rational economic system, the resources and productive capacity of American industry would be capable of assuring an economy of abundance for all. The government-owned land, plants, and other productive facilities can become the key to the future. If utilized for the benefit of the people this government-owned industrial empire is capable of feeding, clothing and housing millions. This new productive capacity will be so utilized only if the producers themselves, i.e. the workers establish their own control over these vast means of production.

With the military collapse of Germany there will be an officially-estimated cutback in war production of 40 to 70 per cent with a corresponding decline in employment. The Federal Reserve Bulletin for May 1944 asserts that a return to prewar level of production of 1939 — a relatively "prosperous" year — will mean from 15 to 20-million unemployed. "Reconversion" to civilian production under monopoly control will yield the largest army of unemployed pariahs in history. Congress legislates generous cash payments to war contractors and insures the profits of the corporations during the "reconversion" period; but the only provision made to cushion the shock of unemployment is the "states rights" Starvation-Bill which provides "relief" for workers as low as \$2.00 a week.

## A Labor Program

To the capitalist breadline-and-soup-kitchen plan the workers must counterpose their own plan for the "post-war" period. Such a plan, if meant seriously, must be advanced in the form of a political program. To solve the problems of "post-war" security this transitional program must provide:

*For the full utilization of all productive capacity.* To the sabotage of production for the sake of monopoly profits the workers must counterpose the slogan of continued operation of all government-owned plants and equipment under the control of workers' committees. This must be the first step toward the expropriation of all industry and its operation under workers' control. No plant should remain idle while workers are unemployed.

*For full employment and job security.* Against the plague of unemployment the workers' program must advance the slogan of a sliding scale of wages and hours. The 30-hour week at no reduction in pay. For each increase in the cost of living a corresponding increase in wages. As the productivity of labor increases the hours of work must be reduced with no reduction in wages.

*For the political instrument to advance the program.* Against the Democratic and Republican parties, both representing the interests of the monopolists, the workers must organize their own Independent Labor Party. Against the self-styled "free enterprise" system — a system of planned economy. Against a government of America's Sixty Families — the Workers and Farmers Government.

The essence of capitalist "planning" is to artificially create an economy of scarcity. The parasitic capitalist class has lost all justification for its continued existence. It can no longer advance the productive forces, it can only retard and sabotage production as a whole. It is the task of the American working class to free the productive forces from the strangle hold of private ownership and institute a planned economy under the Workers and Farmers Government.

The crowning slogan of the Trotskyist transitional program is the Workers and Farmers Government. Each of our transitional demands leads to one and the same political conclusion: the workers must break with the political parties of the capitalist class and organize their own political party in order, jointly with the working farmers, to establish their own power. Through the program of transitional demands elaborated by the Socialist Workers Party the Workers and Farmers Government can assure the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The Socialist Workers Party strives to mobilize the working class around its transitional program as the only

way out of the morass of unemployment and hunger, of artificial scarcity in the midst of abundance.

The colossal war expenditures will raise the national debt of the United States above the astronomical figure of \$300-billion. This unprecedented debt is accelerating the process of inflation. The cost of living continues to rise, additional and more burdensome taxes are imposed on the masses, the workers' standard of living is depressed to ever lower levels. Despite the favored position of the United States the war will have a ruinous effect on American economic life. Unemployment, that capitalist-bred social plague, will scourge the land. The arch-reactionary measures of repression against the labor movement adopted under the pretext of war necessity will be extended to the "post-war" period. The drive toward totalitarian rule will continue under the demand for a "strong" government in Washington.

The United States, the very nerve center of the world capitalist order, is sensitive to every dislocation and shock to the social system. The contradictions and growing antagonisms breaking through the "unity" surface of the "United Nations"; the clash of imperialist interests and the fundamental antagonism between world imperialism and the Soviet Union; the intensification of class conflicts within each nation; the tremendous social convulsions shaking the European continent, all have profound repercussions within the United States. Trotsky wrote:

*"We must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that the might of American capitalism rests more and more upon a foundation of world economy with contradictions and crises, military and revolutionary. This means that a social crisis in the United States may arrive a good deal sooner than many think, and have a feverish development from the beginning. Hence the conclusion: It is necessary to prepare."*

The war, which in the beginning hindered the radicalization of the masses, is giving a tremendous impulse to this radicalization. The indignation of the working masses will rise in a tidal-wave of revulsion against those parties and leaders who deceived them. The need for a solution to their problems will impel the workers along the road of revolutionary struggle. Our transitional program will meet with an increasing response from ever broader layers of the American working class.

We already see the first signs of this awakening in the growing sentiment for labor's independent political action and the increasing opposition of union militants to the no-strike pledge. In many instances union militants have adopted parts of our transitional program and advanced our slogans in the struggle against the labor bureaucrats. These manifestations demonstrate that our transitional program conforms to the workers' needs and, when properly applied, is the indispensable medium for carrying out our political tasks in the mass movement.

Only the Socialist Workers Party has advanced such a program and can provide the necessary leadership. Many of the best, most intelligent and most politically conscious of the union militants will draw the proper conclusions from their experiences and will join the ranks of our party in the coming period. Only on the basis of our transitional program can the trade unions break out of the impasse into which they have been led by the labor bureaucrats and really become a powerful lever for advancing the interests of the working class.

It is our task to penetrate more deeply into the unions, extend our influence in the mass movement, reach those militants groping their way toward a revolutionary solution, rally the vanguard round our banner. Our program has met the test of experience, our banner is unsullied, our cadre is prepared. We can look forward with complete confidence to a rapid growth of our party in the period ahead.

The profound crisis of the social system and the sharpening of the class struggle will pose before the American people the alternative: *Either* fascism *or* socialism. There is no "third" alternative. Confronted with a threat to their privileges and profits, monopoly capitalists will call upon their fascist gangs to preserve capitalist "law and order." Functioning as the agents of Big Business, the fascists get their recruits from sections of the population rendered desperate by the economic impasse into which capitalism has driven society. The dissatisfaction, indignation and despair of the unemployed; the disillusionment of war veterans and the frenzy of the lower middle classes ruined by big capital, are diverted by the fascists away from their real source of misery and against the workers.

The Socialist Workers Party teaches that the labor movement can combat the fascist menace only by organizing the

unemployed in alliance with the trade unions and championing their struggle; that the labor movement must unite the war veterans in organizations allied with the unions and fight for their demands; that the labor movement must elaborate a bold program which provides a solution to the burning needs of the working farmers and ruined urban lower middle class. Only by putting itself at the head of all those sections of the population, exploited and oppressed by monopoly capitalism and by fighting for the fundamental solution embodied in our transition program can the working class destroy fascism and lead the people to a society of peace, security and plenty.

It has been established as an historic law that fascism cannot come to power unless and until the working class party fails to provide a correct leadership in the revolutionary struggle for power. The American working class has demonstrated its fighting capacity in numerous class battles. It is relatively free from the Social Democratic and Stalinist traditions that paralyzed the will of the European workers before the fascist onslaught. The initiative lies with the American working class. Our party, the only revolutionary party on the political arena, will have its chance. We shall not fail!

## Leninism In Practice

By GEORGE COLLINS

### THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM (Report of a Participant).

By James P. Cannon. 268. xvi pages. Cloth \$2.75, paper \$2.00.  
Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1944.

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The publication of *The History of American Trotskyism* by James P. Cannon is a proud achievement for the revolutionary Marxist movement. The story of how a tiny and hounded group, stubbornly fighting for principles, battled through isolation, persecution and a hostile environment to build the first Bolshevik party on the American continent will remain a constant source of inspiration and instruction for the veteran member and the newcomer alike. The reader who seriously undertakes to assimilate the political essence of this book will find himself equipped with a key to the understanding of the complex development of events and the confusion that characterized the labor movement in the decade from 1928 to 1938. Knowledge of the problems of that period, and of how the Trotskyists analyzed and solved them, is a prerequisite for successful leadership in the great struggles ahead. Cannon's book is more than a chronicle of the events of yesterday. It was deliberately designed as a sharp weapon for present and future combat.

*The History of American Trotskyism* is a vindication of the aims and principles of the founding group. If Trotskyism stands unchallenged today in the workers movement as the sole representative of revolutionary socialism, it enjoyed no such advantage at its inception and for many ensuing years. The Stalinist bureaucracy — in the first stages of its degeneration still covering itself with the mantle of Lenin's International — employed different methods of political warfare at that time than they do at present. Although slander, frame-

up and lies were already a part of their arsenal, they attacked the young Trotskyist movement from the "left." A "Right deviation" from Leninism, a descent to "Menshevism," a "counter-revolutionary tendency" — these were the daily epithets flung at the young Trotskyist group.

Lovestone, Stalin's American purveyor of these slanderous accusations and also executor of the first expulsions while he was in the leadership of the American Communist Party, did not cease his opposition to the Trotskyists after his own expulsion from the CP. He only changed his tune. If yesterday principled adherence to the internationalist program of the Russian Opposition was designated as "counter-revolutionary," this suddenly became politically inexpedient when Lovestone was forced into an independent existence. Trotskyism became a "sectarian" doctrine and its insistence on discussing Stalin's revisionist theory of "socialism in one country" and the world-important lessons of the debacle of the Chinese revolution was dubbed a hairsplitting preoccupation with dead issues. Others like Weisbord and Field made haughty references to the ineptness of the Trotskyists in "mass work." The centrists of the SP sneered at the "splinter" group and its small following. All the wiseacres and sideline critics found it easy to agree that the Trotskyists were lacking in "realism"; and prophesied for it a dismal and temporary sojourn on the political stage.

History has treated these transient figures with the contempt they so richly deserved. The names of Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe, Weisbord, Field, Tyler, Zam *et al* are virtually unknown today to a new recruit to revolutionary socialism. Their pompous, boastful parties and groups have disappeared without leaving a trace. It remained for Cannon, sixteen years

after Trotskyism made its debut on the American political scene, amidst a chorus of derision and calumny, to conjure these ghosts from their political purgatory in order to submit their past to critical examination. In the doubtful event that posterity accords them any recognition at all, it will be found only in the case-history treatment they are given in the pages of Cannon's book.

By and large, these gentlemen — once so articulate and prolific — have been loath to utter a syllable or write a word in evaluation of the past, when they assayed no less a role than leadership of the proletarian revolution in America. The less said the better — that seems to be the motto of these renegades. In fact their present activities as flunkys of the imperialist war machine, apologists for capitalism, scribblers in the hire of the labor bureaucracy, are a far more eloquent commentary on their evaluation of the past than any words they might set down on paper. Where any of them are prodded by uneasy conscience, as in the case of Gitlow, to review their own role in history, it is only to repudiate the past and to confess the most abject repentance for ever having been associated with the communist movement.

Unprincipled politics and a cavalier attitude to the programmatic questions of Marxism doomed all the groups and parties outside the Trotskyist movement to impotence and eventual extinction. By the same token, the rigorous concern for principles and the intransigent refusal to compromise its program has permanently established the Trotskyist party as the sole representative of revolutionary socialism in the United States. It is no accident therefore that James P. Cannon, the outstanding leader of this movement, should have written the only authentic account of American Communism. He explains where the others apologized. He defends where the others repudiated and confessed. He demonstrates how the Trotskyists inherited the best traditions from the old Communist Party and how they evolved into the vanguard of the most class conscious workers in the United States.

Cannon describes his book as the "Report of a Participant." An amendment should be added: "The Report of Its Most Conscious Participant." The main lines in the building of a Bolshevik party in the United States were clearly defined in Cannon's mind from the first, after the expulsion from the Communist Party in 1928. The primary task of the Trotskyist group was the struggle for principles, i.e. the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, against their deformation and corruption by the Stalinist leaders of the Comintern. Everything else must be subordinated to principles — in the end only the correct program will prevail. Pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp of large mass following on the basis of opportunist adaptations and the watering down of program would ultimately lead to disaster. The form of organization — although the organization itself operates at all times through the mechanism of democratic centralism — must be subordinated to the requirements of the struggle for program.

Year in, year out, Cannon hammered these fundamentals into the very fabric of the Trotskyist movement. If he appears today as the historian of a movement that has swept the field of revolutionary politics clear of all rivals, it is a tribute to the viability of his teachings and their adoption and application in life by the group itself. In the history of the building of a Bolshevik party in the United States, Cannon brings the same element of conscious Marxism that Trotsky brought

into the *History of the Russian Revolution*. The road was surveyed long in advance, the methods were clearly defined — it remains only for the historian who is also a participant to report the trends of development.

Cannon makes no pretense of giving the same comprehensive all-sided treatment to his subject matter that Trotsky gave to his exhaustive study of the Russian Revolution. He clearly informs his auditors of the limitations — and also the possibilities — of his lectures.

"Some of you", he says, "may perhaps have the ambition to become historians of the movement, or at least students of the history of the movement. If so, these informal lectures of mine can serve as guideposts for a further study of the most important questions and turning points."

## The "Guideposts"

These self-imposed limitations in no way deprive *The History of American Trotskyism* of its exceptional significance. What are the "guideposts"?

(1) The genesis of American Trotskyism — an appraisal of the Communist Party from the split in the Socialist Party in 1919 up to the expulsion of the first Trotskyist group in 1928.

(2) Internationalism.

(3) The relationship between faction and party.

(4) How a small group survives isolation and cuts a path into the mass movement.

(5) The struggle against *sectarianism*.

(6) The question of trade union tactics.

(7) The question of unity and fusion with other groups.

(8) Strategy and tactics towards *centrism*.

Cannon's "guideposts" are no less indispensable for the building of a Bolshevik party than are Trotsky's in the making of a proletarian revolution. And in his book Cannon acknowledges many times his great debt to Leon Trotsky whose advice and assistance contributed immeasurably to the accuracy of these "guideposts" in the road travelled by the American party.

Like a red thread through all Trotsky's writings runs his constant iteration that *the* problem of our epoch is the problem of leadership. There has been no lack of revolutionary situations, the proletariat has not been wanting in fighting qualities but unlike the Russian situation in 1917 there have been no Bolshevik parties armed with a correct program and capable, courageous leadership. The building of such a party, indispensable for victory, is the first task of Marxist politics. This aim distinguishes the American Trotskyists from all movements in the United States which preceded it and from all movements contemporary with it. A discussion of the progress of this aim constitutes the central thesis of Cannon's work. Trotskyism has raised the factor of consciousness to a higher plane than ever before in the past of American socialism.

The old Socialist Party had no clear conception of the transformation of capitalism into socialism. It lacked Marxist theory. Electoral activity assumed far more importance than the revolutionary struggle or the moulding of the party to serve that struggle. As a consequence, the party was converted into a parliamentary machine and its spurious internal democracy was only a screen to hide the real controls, which rested firmly in the hands of self-seeking petty-bourgeois politicians of the stripe of Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger.



The IWW, born in revolt against the reformism of the Socialist Party and the class collaboration of the AFL, bent the stick far back in the other direction, thus diverting the heroic actions and revolutionary energy of its militants into a syndicalist opposition to politics. The courageous leadership of such men as Haywood was not in itself sufficient to overcome the deep structural faults that resulted from the anti-political line of the IWW. The epoch of wars and revolutions blew the reformist Socialist Party to bits. The Russian Revolution like an X-ray machine exposed all the internal weaknesses of syndicalism and in the ensuing year the IWW developed a case of reactionary senility from which it has never recovered.

If the Communist Party saw the need for a party modeled on the Bolshevik pattern but nevertheless failed to realize the high hopes of thousands of revolutionary workers and was ultimately distorted into a reactionary caricature of its early aims, it was not at all the result of Lenin's methods or the great influence and authority of the Communist International in the American party. The author says:

"The influence of Moscow was a perfectly natural thing. The confidence and expectations which the young party of America put in the Russian leadership were completely justified, because the Russians had made a revolution. Naturally the influence and authority of the Russian party was greater in the international movement than any other. The wiser and more experienced lead the neophytes. So it will be and so it must be in any international organization."

## Genesis of Our Movement

The American Communist Party was strangled to death by Stalinism before it had a chance to grow out of its swaddling clothes. Cannon has once and for all set at rest those specious theories which saw the germs of ultimate degeneration in the interminable factional struggles which ravaged the CP from the time it was born.

It is worthwhile repeating the two basic factors Cannon cites in analyzing the causes of the internal schisms. First: *"the predominantly foreign-language membership"* with no ties to or understanding of the native labor movement was attempting to artificially transpose the methods and tactics of the Russian Bolsheviks to the American scene. Ultra-leftism and sectarianism were the issues that kindled this factional conflict. Second: *"the lack of experienced, authoritative leaders."* This poverty was the legacy of the antecedents of the CP and it could only be surmounted by a process of struggle and selection natural to any virile political organization.

"An authoritative body of leaders", Cannon writes, "able to maintain their continuity with the firm support of the party — I don't know how or where any such leadership was ever consolidated except through internal struggles."

That this process of selection was abruptly cut short by expulsions and the appointment of the leadership by fiat from Moscow does not negate Cannon's analysis but only confirms the reasons for the degeneration of the American Communist Party and its domination by cynical men without principles, integrity or backbone.

Trotskyism began its existence from higher summits than any previous movements because it stood on their historical shoulders. It did not begin with any anarchistic denial of the past — it traced its own genesis to the work and program of its predecessors. Cannon writes:

"We are rooted in the past. Our movement which we call Trotskyism, now crystallized in the Socialist Workers Party, did not spring full-blown from nowhere. It arose directly from the Communist Party of the United States. The Communist Party itself grew out of the preceding movement, the Socialist Party, and, in part, the Industrial Workers of the World."

The Trotskyists learned from the mistakes, failures and betrayals of those who came before them. And again:

"Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoraton, the revival, of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practised in the Russian Revolution and in the early days of the Communist International."

Without this great political capital the pioneer Trotskyists could never have survived the terrible test that faced them from the beginning. Isolation, slander, poverty, persecution — this was the only world the Left Oppositionists knew for almost five years. Cannon's description of this period will leave an unforgettable impression on the mind of the reader. Never before in history had revolutionary Marxists faced a more hostile environment. Official state persecution has often been more severe. General disillusionment and reaction such as in the period following the defeated 1905 revolution in Russia was more widespread. The isolation that hemmed in the European anti-war socialists after 1914 was probably far more constricting. But the political lines were clearly drawn. Marxists were persecuted because they were Marxists, isolated because reaction had cast their ideas in disfavor and in the general disillusionment fair-weather friends had deserted for more popular nostrums. It took fortitude to hold out, but there was this in their favor that no one undertook to dispute the rights of the Marxist minority to its despised position — no one else wanted any part of it.

The Trotskyists enjoyed no such advantage. They were challenged — challenged by an opponent with state power — for every inch of the political ground on which they stood. Stalinism had usurped the great banner of the October Revolution. In a daily press and in hundreds of books and pamphlets Trotskyism was described as a doctrine hostile to Leninism. From a formal official point of view the Stalinist bureaucracy spoke in the name of internationalism and the struggle for Soviet power. To the superficial observer, it appeared that the Communist Party was translating this program into action during its adventurist "Third Period." The great majority of communist-minded workers either accepted the charge that the Trotskyist opposition was a counter-revolutionary tendency or dismissed it as a tiny group with obscure theoretical differences with the official party.

Here is the incomparable record of the heroism of those who struggled against the stream. How did the Trotskyists survive? The reader will be richly rewarded to study again and again the story of this period in the words of Comrade Cannon who more than any other single individual was responsible for holding the group together. How to overcome the discouragement and pessimism that was creeping into the group? There was no magic formula. Cannon writes:

"One defeat after another descended upon the heads of the vanguard of the vanguard. Many began to question. What to do? Is it possible to do anything? Isn't it better to let things slide a little? Trotsky wrote an article, 'Tenacity! Tenacity! Tenacity!' That was his answer to the wave of discouragement that followed the capitulation of Radek and others. Hold on and fight it out — that is what the revolutionists must learn, no matter how small their numbers, no matter how isolated

they may be. Hold on and fight it out until the break comes, then take advantage of every opportunity."

Simple words. But without that advice and the iron determination behind it there would be no Trotskyist movement today.

## Breaking Through

Subsequent events proved this formula entirely correct and realistic. The opportunities did present themselves and the Trotskyists were prepared to utilize them to the full to smash the wall of isolation that so long separated them from the revolutionary militants and from the great masses of awakening workers. But here again the road was devious and the problems complicated. It was not a simple matter of going to the workers and appealing to them to join the only revolutionary party and, by virtue of persistent agitation and hard work, establishing it as a force in the working class movement. Without a correct policy — above all a correct estimation of the relationship of forces — and without correct tactics, i.e. knowing when and how to act, Trotskyism would still be an unknown sect crying in the wilderness.

The turn from exclusively propaganda activities as a faction of the Communist Party to mass work and the building of a new party coincided with the first strike movement that swept through the country after the proclamation of the National Recovery Act in 1933. And here again was illustrated that a revolutionary group needs more than a correct policy, more than the will to struggle in order to gain influence and leadership in the mass movement. There is no substitute for an organization that is rooted in the mass movement, whose members have earned the right to leadership through common experience with the workers and by correct policies vindicated in the test of events. Those who think that they can establish their influence by a dramatic appearance at the eleventh hour by showering "misguided" workers with leaflets have no knowledge of the mechanism of the struggle and usually find themselves on the outside looking in.

The Trotskyists were unable to influence the most important struggles of the NRA days — the great waterfront strikes on the west coast, the general strike in San Francisco, the nationwide textile strike, the strikes in auto, the insurgent movement in steel. The Communist League was too small, its cadres too inexperienced, and above all it still had to demonstrate that it and not the Communist Party or the numerous other dissident groups had the only rightful claim to the role of the revolutionary vanguard of the class.

The great Trotskyist victory in the Minneapolis strikes of 1934 was the first vindication of this claim in the class struggle. Here were an experienced group of revolutionists with a long record of activity in the local trade union movement. They were loyal and disciplined party members and acted in complete harmony and collaboration with the party leadership. Under these conditions what would otherwise have been an isolated strike was raised to national importance and the contributions of Trotskyism in Minneapolis became a manual of trade union policy and tactics for militant and progressive unionists all over the country. The Minneapolis strike was one of the great landmarks on the road to building the revolutionary party because as the author so correctly says:

"In Minneapolis we saw the native militancy of the workers fused with a politically conscious leadership. Minneapolis

showed how great can be the role of such leadership. It gave great promise for the party founded on correct political principles and fused and united with the mass of American workers. In that combination one can see the power that will conquer the whole world."

Trotskyism had demonstrated "in action" by its participation in the Minneapolis strike that it was not "a movement of good-for-nothing sectarian hairsplitters" but "a dynamic political force capable of participating effectively in the mass movement of the workers." But the main political task was still before it — the task of building a mass revolutionary party of the American working class. Cannon's account of the twists and turns, of the splits with unassimilable sectarians, the unification with organizations of leftward moving workers and the penetration and conquest of centrist strongholds — these constitute a demonstration in practice of the art of revolutionary politics in the life-time of our own generation.

In the process described by Cannon are expressed the laws of the dialectic as applied to politics. Unification with the American Workers Party was preceded by a bitter struggle with the Oehlerite sectarians that eventually led to a split. The struggle and split with the sectarians over the "French Turn" undermined the ideological basis of the Muste-Abern coalition and deprived them of the power to obstruct the entry of the Trotskyist forces into the Socialist Party. The years of struggle in complete isolation as a propaganda group fighting for principles, and the rejection of innumerable appeals and temptations to try easier but unprincipled methods, insured the programmatic integrity of the Trotskyists under the most unfavorable conditions forced upon them by the centrist leaders of the SP.

What were the results of this period of splits, fusion and entry into the SP? Cannon puts it succinctly:

"The problem is not merely one of building a revolutionary party but of clearing obstacles from its path. Every other party is a rival. Every other party is an obstacle."

A survey of the political field today will show how realistically the Trotskyists faced this problem and how successfully they solved it.

*The History of American Trotskyism* is in reality a pre-history of the Bolshevik Party of the United States. In the period that is described the main task was primarily internal: hammering out a fundamental program, defending that program against all other tendencies and building a cadre of revolutionists. This work was preparatory but indispensable to the great task that is assigned the revolutionary party: the struggle to influence the majority of the workers and to lead them in the battle for the conquest of political power which, in turn, will inaugurate the socialist society on the American continent.

Only the Philistine can object to the informal style of the book. It was designed for workers not for pedants. Cannon views the past not as material for sedentary contemplation by the old and the tired but as a guide for present-day participants in the struggle, preparing the worker-Bolsheviks for their tasks by an understanding of the methods that were used in answering the problems of the previous period. *The History of American Trotskyism* is a companion volume to "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party"—together they might appropriately be entitled: *Bolshevism in Practice*. Pioneer Publishers are to be congratulated for adding one more important Marxist book to its already imposing list.

# On The European Situation And Our Tasks

*Contribution to a Criticism of the Draft Resolution of the National Committee of the S.W.P.*

By DANIEL LOGAN

We are continuing in this issue the publication of documents of the Eleventh National Convention of the Trotskyist movement.

The following document is a criticism of the first draft resolution of the National Committee on "The European Revolution and Tasks of the Revolutionary Party." Logan's criticisms and position are a continuation of the criticisms and position elaborated by Felix Morrow in his criticism of the International Resolution of the Fifteenth Anniversary Plenum of the Socialist Workers Party. See "The Eleventh Convention of the American Trotskyist Movement" by the Editors and "The European Revolution" by E. R. Frank in the December 1944 Fourth International for the convention's position on this question.

The Political Committee introduced to the convention, in the light of the pre-convention discussion, a number of clarifying amendments and literary corrections to its first draft resolution. The convention adopted the resolution in its amended form by the vote of 51 to 5. The resolution was printed in the December 1944 Fourth International.

By the same vote of 51 to 5, the Eleventh convention of the American Trotskyists rejected Logan's criticism and amendments as contrary to the general line of the resolution.

We will print in the next issue a section of the International report to the convention by E. F. Frank — Ed.

When the draft resolution is analyzed, it appears to contain two ingredients. On the one hand, we have informations about the conditions in Europe, or rather in Italy, for, according to the method followed by the writers of the draft resolution, the situation in that country only is examined. These informations are quite minute and the parts of the draft resolution that contain them are often textual reprints of articles published in *The Militant* or *Fourth International* a few weeks or a few months ago. Some of these details hardly have a place in a resolution for a national convention, but would have room only in a much more expanded thesis. On the other hand, we have reiterations of our Socialist position, which could have been written one, two, five or ten years ago.

But somehow, between these two component parts of the draft resolution, it seems that—the concrete reality of the period we are now entering, with its specific problems, needs and tasks, is not grasped. Some attempts have been made in that direction, but they remain quite limited and, on the whole, unsuccessful. The draft resolution does not seem to be exactly focused. The focus is either too close and too limited, or too remote.

This defect is closely connected to a series of false political appreciations, concerning the coming regimes in Europe (and the present one in Italy), the nature of the democratic interludes, etc. These political errors throw out of balance a resolution which, of course, contains many correct points. The first thing to do is to examine these errors.

Point 73 of the draft resolution states:

Fascism bereft in its last days of all mass support, could rule only as a naked military-police dictatorship. The Allies and their native accomplices are today ruling Italy in virtually the same manner.

The writers of the draft resolution deemed it prudent to put in the last sentence the word "virtually", which can provide ground for a great deal of casuistry. However, either the manner is the same — then the word "virtually" is useless — or it is not the same, then the first obligation of the writers was to state what the difference is. Since they did not, we will consider the little word merely as an involuntary symptom of uneasiness in the mind of the writers when they put on paper their astonishing affirmation.

What does the draft resolution mean by the "native accomplices" of the Allies? Apparently, the Bonomi government and the parties that participate in it. The two most important of these parties are the Communist and Socialist parties. These two parties have, — as the draft resolution says in point 16 (and rightly so), — the "support and allegiance" of the masses. As far as I know, Fascism did not have, "in its last days", "support and allegiance" of the masses. Thus, it appears clearly enough that Italy is not at the present time ruled in the same manner, — as the draft claims it is, — as under Fascism "in its last days".

The draft resolution in point 20 explains — correctly — that, after the Allies entered Rome, the Badoglio government "simply melted away under the hostility of the masses." A new government, headed by the liberal Bonomi, had to be formed. Why such a move, if the Allies rule by "naked military dictatorship"? Moreover, according to the draft resolution:

the Stalinists, Social-Democrats and their liberal allies directly took over the task of keeping the Italian masses subservient to the Allied invaders.

If the Allies use the Stalinist and Socialist leaders to maintain their rule, it means that their dictatorship is not "naked," but covered with something, and not merely "military," for, as far as I know, the Stalinist and Socialist parties do not hold the "support and allegiance" of the masses with naked military force. The draft resolution is clearly incorrect in identifying the present rule in Italy with Fascism, be it "in its last days" or at any other time, and by doing so falls into insoluble contradictions.

These two sentences quoted from point 73 reveal how far the writers of the draft are from understanding the real present political situation in Italy, the mechanism of Allied rule and consequently how ill-prepared they must be to outline the present revolutionary tasks. Suppose that tomorrow the Bonomi government falls and that the Allies call Badoglio, so carefully kept in reserve by Churchill, to "clear the mess," or even attempt to do this themselves. According to the draft

resolution, there would be no political change, for there would be, after as before, the same "naked military dictatorship." How far is the draft from our tradition of careful and precise characterization of political regimes, or vigilant observation of every move, and how dangerously close it comes to the Stalinist method of sweeping identifications and generalizations (social-Fascism)!

### "Naked Military Dictatorship"

Point 73, already quoted, declares:

Fascism bereft in its last days of all mass support, could rule only as a naked military-police dictatorship. The Allies and their native accomplices are today ruling Italy in virtually the same manner. This is the pattern of their intended rule in all Europe.

And point 75 states:

The Anglo-American imperialists and the native capitalists do not intend voluntarily to grant the slightest democracy to the peoples of Europe.

Let us note how the problem is put by the draft resolution: the *intentions* of the imperialist masters are considered. It is, of course, indispensable, to examine the plans of the enemy. This, however, is only a part of revolutionary politics. Another necessary part of it is a careful investigation of *whether* and *how* these plans can be carried out. The imperialist overlords do not fulfill their intentions in a vacuum. Their intentions clash with those of other classes. The result of this conflict is a concrete political situation, in which we have to act.

However, the draft resolution does not go through this part of the inquiry and, therefore, *the imperialist intentions are given as the coming reality*. The discussion of political perspectives thus threatens to take a subjective character (what the imperialists want or do not want to do), which is alien to Marxist method.

Nothing reveals the error of the draft resolution more clearly than the word "voluntarily." Point 75, as we have seen, declares:

The Anglo-American imperialists and the native capitalists do not intend voluntarily to grant the slightest democracy to the peoples of Europe.

But has the bourgeoisie ever granted any democracy "voluntarily"? Even in the 19th century universal suffrage had to be conquered in many European countries on barricades. Classes never "intend voluntarily" to grant anything. They act under the impact of the action of other classes. This, at least, is the Marxist way of analyzing political moves. And the draft resolution presents this fact — that the imperialists do not intend voluntarily to grant the slightest democracy — as a profound revelation about the character of the post war epoch!

With the investigation of the European political situation so erroneously switched on the plane of intentions, we are forced, in order to proceed with the criticism, to temporarily adopt the assumption the draft resolution implicitly makes, namely, that the imperialist intentions will coincide with reality, and we must examine the question: will the rule of the Allies and their native accomplices over Europe be a "naked military-police dictatorship," similar to Fascism "in its last days"?

To that question we must answer "no" for many European countries. We must answer "no" even for Italy today,

as we have seen. Of course, there is no enthusiastic support of the Allies in that country — far from that. But until now and for some time to come the masses give "support and allegiance" to the Stalinist and Socialist parties and these, in turn, are cogs in the mechanism of Anglo-American domination — which means that this domination is not a "naked military dictatorship."

How will the situation be in other countries? We have had in the last few weeks the experience of France and Belgium. Thousands of Parisians shouted to the American troops "Thank you!" These are petty-bourgeois crowds? Probably, although there must be many young workers among them. But there is no doubt that the Parisian workers are mightily glad to be freed from German thralldom. Thus, the Allies have accumulated a capital of illusions, which they may quickly exhaust by their reactionary policy, but which nevertheless exists for a certain period; and when a rule is tolerated because of certain illusions, it is not a naked military dictatorship.

Let us even suppose for a moment that the French workers *today* see no difference at all between the Germans and the Anglo-Americans (and I do not think that is true). There is, however, the petty bourgeoisie. Aren't *there* any illusions about the Allies? Won't they find *any* support there? If so — and I do not think it can be denied — then the dictatorship will not be "naked," it will find "covers" and the existence of these "covers" raise many important tactical problems for the revolutionary party. But these questions simply do not exist for the draft resolution. It is based upon a false theory ("naked military dictatorship") and, in accordance with that theory, ignores the real problems of the real revolution.

In many European countries the situation will be similar to the present one in France. The theory of the "naked military dictatorship" may have immediate reality in one country, Germany. Strangely enough, for that country the draft resolution speaks of a Badoglio-type of government, as a definite plan of the Allies (point 70):

These measures (taken by the Allies) are deliberately designed to pin down the German people under a Badoglio-type dictatorship subservient to the conquerors.

Even such a government would be a kind of "national" cover for the Allied military dictatorship. In reality, such a government does not appear to be at the present time the most likely perspective and the Allies seem prepared to rule Germany even without a national government, through High Commissioners. This is one out of two or three historical variants. However, probably because the writers of the draft resolution do not like to outline possible variants but prefer sweeping affirmations, they failed to see the one case to which their theory of the "naked military dictatorship" would immediately apply. An editorial in the August 1944 *Fourth International*, directly contradicting the draft resolution, declares:

They (the Allies) have no intention of repeating the pattern of the precarious native Bonapartist regime tried with Darlan in North Africa and Badoglio in Italy.

A resolution adopted by a national convention does not have to be as categorical as an article on concrete questions. While giving the general perspective, it can outline various possibilities. If, however we want to choose between the variant given by the draft resolution and the one sketched

in the *Fourth International* editorial, we must say that the latter seems at the present time much closer to reality.

If the Allies' rule over Europe were to last, it would inevitably degenerate into a "naked military dictatorship." But we must consider the problem dynamically. *Today* at the start the Allies have in many countries a certain capital of democratic and patriotic illusions to cover their rule. This capital will be gradually spent? The illusions will disappear? Of course. But that will be a certain process — precisely the process of revolutionary maturation of the masses, and our tactic must be adapted to the different stages of this process. For the draft resolution there is only the end, no beginning and, consequently, no process. No troublesome questions about tactic either!

What political moves have we witnessed during the last months in countries which are in the Allied military sphere? I see three important ones: the shift from Darlan-Giraud to de Gaulle, from Badoglio to Bonomi, from Mikhailovich to Tito. All of these moves are from the right to the left. They represent, in a very limited and very distorted way, the result of the pressure of the masses. Can we expect more shifts of the same kind in the future? I think we can, and they will go much farther to the left. Of course, they will intermingle in the most motley way with "naked military dictatorship." But *it is precisely where such shifts will occur that perspectives will open up for the proletarian revolution.* The cases where we will jump from an Allied "naked military dictatorship" to the dictatorship of the proletariat will be exceptions, not the rule.

The draft resolution speaks of possible bourgeois democratic regimes in Europe as "a brief episode in the unfolding of the revolutionary struggle" (point 77). This is incontestably true, if we call "brief" interludes that may last from a few months to a few years. But from this indisputable fact the draft resolution draws a wrong conclusion, namely, that such regimes do not deserve much attention. As a matter of fact, they deserve just six lines of the draft resolution. Here, however, the time element does not exhaust the problem. From the February revolution in Russia to the October revolution barely eight months elapsed. In the passage from Czarist society to the workers' state this period is indeed a "brief episode." But these eight months were packed with more sharp political turns, more tactical moves by Lenin's party than eight years of illegality under Czarist despotism. That is why today we study these eight months so carefully. A bourgeois democratic "episode," however "brief" it may be, is a period of tremendous political responsibility, of which we have had great historical experiences. We will enter such "episodes" in many European countries. At what tempo? We do not know, but it is precisely during such episodes that the proletarian revolution has the greatest chances to prepare for success. It is precisely during such episodes that the most numerous and important problems of tactics rise. That is why a resolution of the national convention of the SWP should devote more than six lines to them. To limit our attention toward such "episodes" under the pretext that they are "brief," of a "transitional" character, mere exceptions in a general "pattern," is utter pedantism.

Finally, let us note that the theory of the "naked military dictatorship" implies a complete revision of our conception of the role played by the Stalinist and Socialist parties or by bourgeois-democratic tendencies. If the military dic-

tatorship is "naked," none of these groups has any role to play. That these groups are not heading toward a bright historical future for decades, we may well agree. However, they may and will play an important role during a period — precisely the period we are now entering — as brakes on the revolutionary locomotive. In fact, the draft resolution says so in another point. But it contradicts itself when later on it puts forward the theory of the "naked military dictatorship" and thus shows that it rests on a theoretical basis which is far from being clearly and thoroughly thought out. We shall now see another example of that.

## A New Type of Bourgeois Democracy?

One of the most perplexing parts of the resolution is point 76. Let us try to disentangle it, although it won't be any easy job. The draft resolution tries to establish a fundamental difference between the democratic regimes which existed in the period between the two World Wars (1918-1939) and those that may appear in the future.

The coming democratic regimes in Europe will be more anemic, less stable, more prompt to become dictatorships, than those of the past — there is no discussion about that. But that is not enough for the draft resolution. It intends to establish a kind of essential distinction between the past and the future based upon "economic and political conditions."

Point 74 declares:

*Bourgeois democracy, which flowered in the period of the rise and expansion of capitalism and the moderation of class conflicts which furnished a basis for collaboration between the classes in the advanced capitalist countries, is outlived in Europe today.*

The writers of the draft resolution know, I think, that the period of the rise and expansion of European capitalism came to an end not in 1939, but in 1914. And, in a sense, bourgeois democracy is outlived since 1914. But this is not what the draft resolution means. When it says that democracy is "outlived in Europe today," it does not mean "today" in a general way as being the period we entered in 1944, but specifically as the end of the second World War, in contradistinction to the period 1914-1939. Point 76 says:

*Economic and political conditions forbid the restoration of bourgeois democracy even in the crisis-torn forms which existed after the last war.*

Stated in clear terms, the theory advanced by the draft resolution is as follows: the end of the period of rising capitalism, which occurred in 1914, prohibits in 1944 the restoration of political forms which existed between 1918 and 1939. One of two things: *Either* the economic cause has an immediate political effect, then no democratic regime should have appeared or existed after 1914; this is clearly false. *Or*, although the economic basis has collapsed, political forms may survive, "outlive themselves," for quite some time because of a peculiar combination of circumstances (failure of the proletarian grave-digger to finish off bourgeois society). This side of the alternative is the correct one. But then why should this "outliving of itself" by bourgeois democracy be stopped in 1944 by an economic condition which came to existence in 1914?

The writers of the draft resolution may cite the second World War as a possible explanation for the impossibility of the restoration of bourgeois democratic regimes even "in the

crisis-torn forms" which existed between 1914 and 1939. This, however, would be a completely different theory from the one given in the draft resolution, for this draft tries to base this impossibility upon an economic condition, the end of the rise of capitalism in 1914. But let us wait and see how the writers of the draft resolution will try to get out of the sorry theoretical straits they got themselves into, and, independently of whatever the cause may be, let us look at the alleged impossibility of the return of political forms which existed between 1918 and 1939.

Let us reread point 76 of the draft resolution:

Economic and political conditions forbid the restoration of bourgeois democracy even in the crisis-torn forms which existed after the last war. Bourgeois democratic governments can appear in Europe only as interim regimes intended to stave off the conquest of power by the proletariat.

The possible future democratic governments in Europe will be interim regimes, and they will not be a repetition of forms which existed between 1918 and 1939. This distinction implies that the democratic forms between 1918 and 1939 were *not* of an interim character. Quite an innovation in our movement! The false perspective about the future suddenly turns into an embellishment of the past.

Do we really have to inform the writers of the draft resolution that most of the democratic regimes in Europe between the two World Wars *did* have an interim character? It is clear enough in Italy, Poland, Germany, Spain, etc., etc., not to speak of Kerensky's regime. In certain countries of Western Europe (France, England, Scandinavian countries) bourgeois democracy was relatively more stable, but even there was more and more taking an "interim" character in the years preceding the outbreak of the second World War. No, really, the attempt of the draft resolution to draw a distinction between the two kinds of democracy is not very fortunate.

Maybe the writers of the draft resolution meant that in the past democratic regimes quite often came into existence *after* an unsuccessful revolutionary upheaval, as a kind of by-product, while in the future they can appear only *before* a revolutionary assault. This would imply that in the future *either* (1) no revolutionary attempt will ever be defeated, *or* (2) every defeat will be followed by a dictatorial regime. In fact, that is what the draft resolution says in point 77:

Inevitably, they (the bourgeois democratic regimes) will be displaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat emerging out of the triumphant workers' revolution or the savage dictatorship of the capitalists consequent upon the victory of the counter-revolution.

Neither of the two propositions (1) and (2) is justified. Let us take our most authoritative international document, the Manifesto of the Fourth International on *The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution*. It states:

Will not the revolution be betrayed this time too, inasmuch as there are two Internationals in the service of imperialism while the genuine revolutionary elements constitute a tiny minority? In other words: shall we succeed in preparing in time a party capable of leading the proletarian revolution? In order to answer this question correctly it is necessary to pose it correctly. Naturally, this or that uprising may and surely will end in defeat owing to the immaturity of the revolutionary leadership. But it is not a question of a single uprising. It is a question of an entire revolutionary epoch.

This answers proposition (1), that defeats are not possible. As for proposition (2), the document goes on:

The capitalist world has no way out, unless a prolonged death agony is so considered. It is necessary to prepare for long years, if not decades of war, uprisings, brief interludes of truce, new wars and new uprisings.

"Brief interludes of truce", this is precisely what democracy has been in many countries of Europe between the two World Wars, interludes of truce, during which the contending classes prepared for new struggles. This is what the Weimar republic was. Tomorrow as yesterday we may expect such democratic interludes after the eventual temporary defeat of revolutionary assaults. The only difference between the past and the future is that in the future the interludes will be more brief. This is a certain quantitative difference, but there is no qualitative difference between two kinds of bourgeois democratic regimes, before 1939 and after 1944, a difference allegedly based upon "economic conditions" which are present since . . . 1914. The statement of the draft resolution that:

Economic and political conditions forbid the restoration of bourgeois democracy even in the crisis-torn forms which existed after the last war

shows that it does not clearly understand either the past or the future.

This discussion may seem rather involved and somewhat obscure to the uninitiated reader. But now I shall give the key to the mystery.

The story began almost a year ago, as far back as the Fifteenth Anniversary Plenum (October 1943). The writers of the original draft resolution for that plenum presented a draft which explicitly denied the possibility that bourgeois democratic governments would ever exist again in Europe.

Confronted with the opposition of some comrades, especially comrades Morrow and Morrison, to this conception, the plenum had to abandon such an untenable position, although it did so without full clarity and precision. Since then events have revealed the falsehood of the original theory to everybody, perhaps even to its authors. Thus, the writers of the present draft resolution had to admit the possibility of democratic regimes in Europe, but, since they felt some solidarity with the unfortunate authors of the plenum theory, and maybe even some sympathy for them, had to find some sort of an excuse: "Yes, there will be democratic regimes in the future, but, you see, they will not at all be what they have been in the past." Thus came to the world the theory of the two kinds of bourgeois democracy, the pre-1939 and the post-1944. The creation was perfected when an "economic" basis was found for it: "The difference comes, you see, from the end of the rise of capitalism" . . . which occurred in 1914.

The distinction between the two kinds of democracy is as theoretically false as the alleged impossibility of bourgeois democratic regimes in the future, and, in a way, more confusing, for it creates confusion about the past as well as about the future.

We should not be surprised if the draft resolution, with a theoretical arsenal supplied with such conceptions as the "naked military dictatorship" or the two kinds of bourgeois democracy, is unable to exactly focus the political tasks of the present period.

Europe is now seething with revolutionary movements that have sprung up under the impact of German tyranny. Throughout Europe the masses have moved far to the left; they are crying for freedom, sensitive to any kind of oppression. This is an enormous potential danger for Allied domi-

nation and, consequently, for the whole bourgeois rule in Europe. How to transform this *potential* danger into an *actual* and direct peril? This is the central problem of the hour. In this transformation programs of democratic demands have an important role to play. Their role has been great in the development of every revolutionary crisis (Russia, Germany, Spain, etc.). But with the conditions prevailing in Europe today they acquire a peculiar importance.

Thousands, tens of thousands can learn through direct propaganda. They constitute the vanguard; they come to the revolutionary party on the basis of its Socialist program. But millions, tens of millions — and revolution is impossible without the active participation of tens of millions — have to come to Socialism through their own experience. They have to discard, one after the other, regimes about which they have had illusions. They have to discard false leaders in whom they have put their confidence. The task of the revolutionary party is to speed up and facilitate that process as much as possible, but it cannot jump over it. This is precisely what programs of democratic or transitional demands are designed for. This is precisely the Bolshevik method of winning the masses, by going together with them through action, as opposed to the propagandistic enlightenment about the advantages of Socialism, in the spirit of the Second International.

Under the monarchy we call for the proclamation of the republic. Under a bourgeois democratic regime we call for the most democratic forms (one House, immediate elections, etc.). When the revolutionary tide is high enough, we call for the expulsion from the government of the representatives of bourgeois parties. We call upon the opportunist leaders to take power if they enjoy the confidence of the majority of the workers. Etc., etc. These will be vital problems of revolutionary tactics in Europe in the coming months.

Truly enough, the draft resolution speaks of democratic demands. It even devotes to the problem at least five lines — no less. But it fails to show the specific connection of such a program with the present political situation. How could it fulfill such a task, armed as it is with the false political theories we have examined? Thus the phrases about democratic demands in the draft preserve a general, abstract character and cannot fail to appear as merely *ritualistic*.

For years we had discussions with opponents about the problem of democratic demands, especially concerning countries dominated by fascism. We made certain predictions. Thus, Trotsky wrote more than eleven years ago, at a time when fascism had not yet established the most brutal tyranny upon the whole of Europe (four hundred millions have now had to suffer under it!):

The fascist regime preserves democratic prejudices, recreates them, inculcates them into the youth, and is even capable of imparting to them, for a short time, the greatest strength.

What about that prediction? Has the recent experience of France confirmed it or not? What is the present situation? The draft resolution gives no answer.

The casual and perfunctory way the whole problem of democratic demands is treated is exemplified by the slogans mentioned in the text. These democratic slogans are given: "free election of all officials, freedom of the press" (point 33). Why are these two slogans singled out? What about others? True, there is at the end of the sentence a little "etc.," into which anything can be stuffed.

The "free election of all officials" includes the election of administrators in villages, towns and cities. But does it include the election of deputies? What about the whole problem of the parliament and of democratic representations? More than thirteen years ago Trotsky found it possible to raise in a hypothetical form the slogan of the Constituent Assembly for Italy at the time of Fascism's downfall. In August 1943 *The Militant* reprinted Trotsky's article without adding any commentary about the use of the slogan. However, we are no longer in 1931, but in 1944. We now have — or should have — the reality before our eyes. How does the problem present itself today? The draft resolution maintains on this question the same silence as *The Militant* did.

Another important democratic slogan in Italy at the present time is the *republic*. Apparently, the writers of the draft did not put it down among the democratic demands because, although in the tradition of our movement, it is not as ritualistic as the freedom of the press, it does not flow as easily from the pen. Or is there any other reason? The slogan is one of those that seem most indicated by the present situation, and we shall consider it for a while.

One of the central problems of Italian political life has been, until now, the existence of the monarchy. The discussions on that point have thrown a bright light on the servility, the corruption and the ignominy of all the Italian official parties, including the Stalinists. The king was Mussolini's accomplice for twenty years. Before leaving the United States for Italy, the self-styled liberal Count Sforza wrote: "It may be that a fraction of the Italians is still for the Monarchy, but after so many shameful acts and treasons this could be so only for reasons of expediency." However, it soon appeared that the "reasons of expediency" were strong enough to be respected, even by Sforza himself. We then witnessed the most repulsive political farce, whose players were some wrecks left by liberalism like Croce or Sforza himself, the Stalinists and the various democratic and Social Democratic parties. Behind the stage, the king and his son, the reactionary upper crust of Italian society and the Allied diplomacy were re-joining at such an extraordinary spectacle.

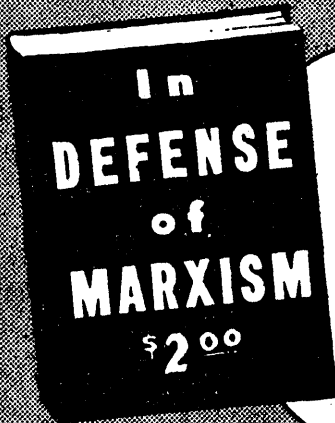
Croce, the philosopher of compromise, explained that he was "against the king as a person, and not against the monarchic institution." It has always been the dream of the craven liberals to keep the monarchy and to have only "good" kings. The Stalinist messenger boy Palmieri Togliatti (Ercoli), arriving from Moscow, declared that he was "against the king as an institution, and not as a person," having probably been impressed by the remarkable and generous personality of the king. A shameful compromise was attained when the Crown Prince was made lieutenant general of the realm.

The monarchy remains the rallying center of reaction: the reactionaries of the "Blue Party," the Church and the Allied diplomacy. Any new development of the Italian revolution will inevitably raise the question of the existence of that focus of intrigues against the people, the Court.

To all the horse-trading among the monarchists, the ambulating corpses of liberalism and the Stalino-royalists, the revolutionary party must answer with the cry: *Immediate proclamation of the republic!* Arrest of the king, the Crown Prince and all of the royal family! Immediate confiscation of all the royal properties for the benefit of the people!

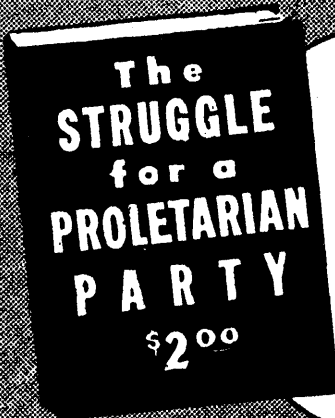
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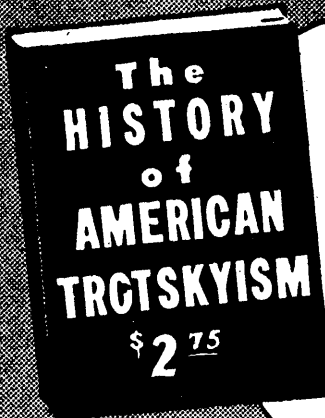
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