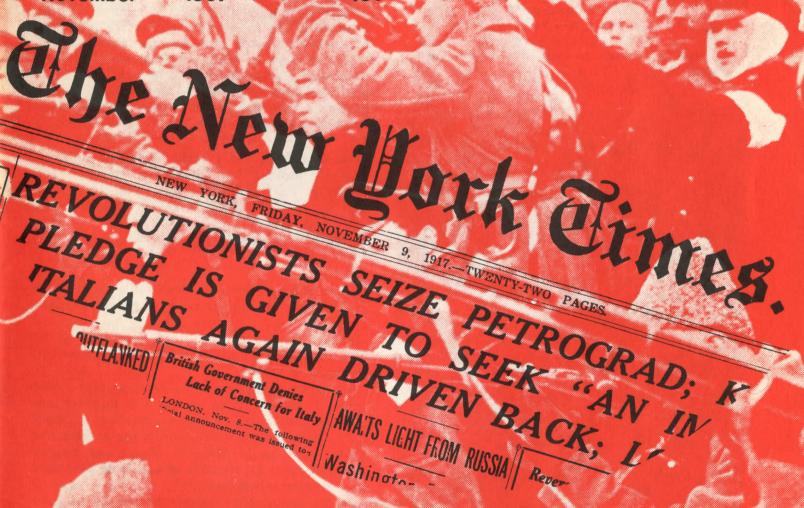
# young socialist

November

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RUSSIAN

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

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**NOVEMBER 1967** 

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JAMES P. CANNON

## In This Issue

LARRY SEIGLE, is a National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance and presently organizer of the Twin Cities YSA. He is a former student at Carleton College and the University of Minnesota.

JOEL BRITTON, is a former national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance. Presently he is the organizer of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers party. He was a former student at Northwestern University.

MANY of the photos in this issue were reprinted from an **Alblum of Revolutionary Russia** published in the Soviet Union in 1919.

# Young Socialist Notes

Carmichael on Capitalism: Stokely Carmichael, while he was in Cuba last summer attending the OLAS conference, gave an interview to the editor of a left-wing Mexican magazine, Sucesos, that was published in the August 26th issue. (The full text of the interview in English is available from World Outlook, Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N. Y. 10010.)

The interview clearly reveals the impact of the Cuban revolution on Carmichael's thinking. In answer to a question about the economic objectives of SNCC, Carmichael replied: "We don't want to establish a black capitalist system; on the contrary, we want to destroy capitalism economically because this system goes hand in hand with racism and exploitation. It is no secret that wherever capitalism has been kept up these two characteristics are certain to be seen."

Hide and Seek, Army Style: The Pentagon is reportedly looking for 66 soldiers who were stationed at Fort Ord, California, until 13 months ago when their unit was dissolved. Now the Army can't find them, but denies that it has lost anything or that it is confused. The men just can't be found, that's all.

Student Militants Demand Literature on Malcolm X: Despite never ending efforts by opponents of black power to distort, or even ignore, the ideas of

power to distort, or even ignore, the ideas of Malcolm X, the demand for information about him, and tapes or printed versions of his speeches, continued to grow

continues to grow.

An article in the September 30 issue of the *New York Times*, reporting on the rise in black nationalist consciousness at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, reported that "today at Fisk, the 'Autobiography of Malcolm X' . . . has become 'must' reading for students who want to hold their own in campus bull sessions."

At Madison, 250 students turned out to hear tapes of speeches by Malcolm at a meeting sponsored by the YSA. In recent months the YSA has sold well over 1,000 copies of its pamphlet "Malcolm X Talks to Young People."

(continued on p. 23)

Cover Photo - Attacking the Czar's police during the first days of the March Revolution

## Che Guevara

The death of Che Geuvara is a tragic loss to the revolutionary movements of the world. We mourn his death. His example, though, will live on for generations of revolutionaries to come.

The following excerpts are from an article sent by Commandante Ernesto "Che" Guevara from "somewhere in the world" to the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It was made public by that body on April 17, 1967 and has received world wide attention.

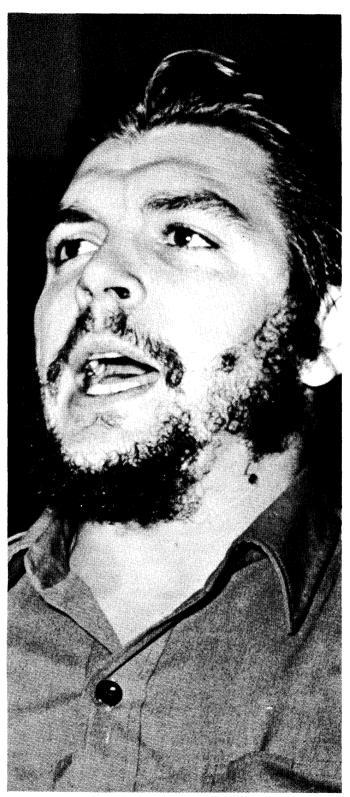
Every drop of blood spilled in a land under whose flag one was not born, is an experience that is treasured by anyone who survives and who can then apply the lessons learned in the struggle for freedom in his own place of origin. And every people that frees itself is a step won in the battle for freedom of one's own people....

How close and bright would the future appear if two, three, many Vietnams flowered on the face of the globe, with their quota of death and immense tragedies, with their daily heroism, with their repeated blows against imperialism, obliging it to disperse its forces under the lash of the growing hate of the people of the world!

And if we were capable of uniting so as to give our blows greater solidity and certainty, so that the effectiveness of aid of all kinds to the people locked in combat were increased—how great the future would be, and how near!

If we, on a small point on the map of the world fulfill our duty and place at the disposition of the struggle whatever little we are able to give: our lives, our sacrifice, it can happen that one of these days we will draw our last breath on a bit of earth not our own, yet already ours, watered with our blood. Let it be known that we have measured the scope of our acts and that we consider ourselves no more than elements in the great army of the proletariat; but we fell proud at having learned from the Cuban revolution and its great main leader the great lesson to be drawn from Cuba's attitude in this part of the world: "What difference the dangers to a man or a people, or the sacrifices they make, when what is at stake is the destiny of humanity?"

Our every action is a call for war against imperialism and a cry for the unity of the peoples



against the great enemy of the human species: the United States of North America.

Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome if our battle cry has reached even one receptive ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms, and other men come forward to join in our funeral dirge with the chattering of machine guns and new calls for battle and for victory.

# THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND AMERICAN WORKERS

Interview with Vincent R. Dunne

#### BY LARRY SEIGLE

"The majority of workers here in Minnesota looked upon the Russian Revolution as a new and welcome sight. They considered it a major victory to see the old Czar crushed and the Russian workers and farmers take over the country." This is how Ray Dunne described to me the impact of the Russian Revolution on Minnesota workers fifty years ago. Vincent Raymond Dunne and his two brothers Grant\_and Miles became legendary figures in the Minnesota labor movement in the 1930's when they played a key role in the historic truckdrivers' strikes in Minneapolis.

At the time of the October, 1917, Revolution in Russia, Ray Dunne was already a veteran of many labor battles. He had joined the IWW when he was fourteen, around the time of the 1905 revolution in Russia, and became an active speaker and organizer throughout the Northwest. He was not a syndicalist, but a "Debs man," and when the Communist party was formed after the Russian Revolution he, like hundreds of other radical young workers, joined it.

"I wanted to join Lenin's party," he said, "because it was obvious that it worked."

Ray was a leader of the Communist party in Minnesota, and was its candidate for U.S. Senator in 1924. In 1928 he was expelled and since then he has been one of the principal leaders of the American Trotskyist movement.

To young socialists today, Ray Dunne represents the continuity between themselves and the pre-Russian Revolution radical movement. He embodies the history and ideas of revolutionary socialism in the United States.

When I sat down with him to discuss his ideas about the impact of the Russian Revolution on American politics, and particularly the response of American workers, he was very willing.

He was careful to point out the unique characteristics of Minnesota's history.

"The reaction to the Revolution was somewhat different here in Minnesota, in several ways, than in other parts of the country," he said. "Minnesota was more politically advanced. This was due to three factors: the Scandinavians who came over to farm, many of whom were socialists in Europe, and of course brought their political ideas with them; the large number of Wobblies who were in Minnesota, since the Twin Cities was the last big town before Seattle, and a big railroad center; and the radical trade unionists. These are the reasons why there was a Farmer-Labor party here.

"When the workers began to speak of the new Soviet *Union*, even those who weren't socialists sympathized with the 'union' men and women in Russia who were running things.

"Inside the American Federation of Laborunions, and inside the general radical movement here, they were all for the Revolution. Their leaders were not all for it, that's true. But many of them had to come over to it, and many of them were communists—they thought of themselves as communists and supported the Russian Revolution and the left wing in the Socialist party. You remember Debs said, 'From the top of my head to the soles of my feet, I am a Bolshevik!'"

Many of the leaders of the Central Labor Union in Minneapolis called themselves socialists, at that time. "All but one or two belonged to the Socialist party," he recalled, "and the workers were, in the



V. R. Dunne



Students and soldiers firing at police in Petrograd, 1917

main, with them. I wouldn't call them Bolsheviks exactly, but they were left-wing socialists who believed in struggle—in the streets.

"On one occasion, right around the time of the Revolution, these union officials were jailed for violating an injunction. And the bail was very high.

"The railroad shop workers, who were among the most militant here because they were skilled workmen, mostly Scandinavian and German, and not at all satisfied with what they found in 'democratic' America, walked off their jobs, came downtown, and surrounded the courthouse. They even picked up the streetcars, a hundred men on each side, and moved them off the tracks. They tied up downtown the whole day. They were demanding the release of their union officials. The firemen were called out, but they left their axes where we could get hold of them (all of us radicals were there, too), and we just chopped their hoses up. So they pulled the firemen out of the thing because they couldn't risk the danger of having a big fire, with all their

fire hoses cut to hell. They didn't use the firemen after that; and the result of the whole thing was that we got those people out of jail in the next few days."

Ray related another story to give an indication of the political position of the Central Labor Union at that time. In 1921, Bill Dunne, Ray's brother, was sent as a delegate to Moscow for the first congress of the Red International of Trade Unions, the "Profintern."

"Bill got as far as Stetting, Germany, and then was locked up by the cops there. I never did know exactly the reason. Anyhow, he didn't have enough money to pay the fine, so he wired me, asking for \$250 right away.

"Well, we went right down to the Central Labor Union. I wasn't even a delegate to it then, but I explained the situation to some comrades, and they put a special point on the agenda. They considered it a very serious affair that a fellow unionist was in trouble. They all knew Bill. They voted unani-

mously to send him what he needed. And a committee was named to wire it that same night, so Bill was able to get out of jail and be on his way to the Soviet Union."

Having in mind the current struggle in defense of the Vietnamese revolution, I asked about the concrete activities undertaken in support of the Revolution.

"We did everything we could to aid the Revolution," he said. "In the days right after the Revolution, one of the first things that was done was to raise money to send material aid, mostly medical supplies, to the Soviet Union. The Foreign Language Federations especially were active in this area. Sometimes as often as once a month we would hold a Russian Fair, here in the National Guard Armory. We sold handicrafts and other things that were sent over from Russia. And the proceeds were used to ship medical supplies to the revolutionaries. Ways were found, through France, or Italy, or Holland, to get them there. For several years we did that kind of work.

"The primary political demand at that time was for recognition of the Soviet Union. We used to demonstrate for that, and make a scandal out of the U.S. government's refusal to recognize the new workers' republic. Chiefly, we were calling for a stop to the shipment of arms to the White Rus-

#### **Books on Russian Revolution** Cloth **Paper** The Russian Revolution, James P. Cannon .10 The History of the Russian Revolution. Leon Trotsky Complete 13.50 1.75 Abridged Lenin's Last Letters and Articles .50 The ABC of Communism. Nicolai Bukharin 2.95 The Revolution Betrayed, Leon Trotsky 4.50 2.45 Stalin's Frame-up System and the Moscow Trials, Leon Trotsky 1.00 Lenin, Gregory Zinoviev .65 The Unfinished Revolution in Russia 1917-1967, Isaac Deutscher 3.75 The Prophet Armed, The Prophet Unarmed The Prophet Outcast, Isaac Deutscher Trilogy on the life of Trotsky per vol. 2.45 Ten Days That Shook the World, John Reed 1.45 Set of 40 Posters from the Russian 30.00 Revolution **ORDER FROM MERIT PUBLISHERS** 873 Broadway, 3rd floor New York, N. Y. 10003

sians. That's how the Seattle strike started, you know. Many of the union leaders didn't want to do it, but the rank and file insisted on it.

## Minnesota Workers Have Confidence in Workers' Government

"On May Day, especially, we would demonstrate our support for the Revolution. Several thousand people marched down Nicollet Avenue. All local unions marched under their own banners, and other workers' groups did likewise. The first years, there were few, if any, real organized attempts to interfere. The most popular slogan was 'Solidarity! Against the Bosses and the Capitalist Masters.' This slogan was number one and was accepted by practically any one who called himself or herself 'for' the working class.

"Nightly, for months and months, I wouldn't miss a meeting on the street. We used to hold big meetings and block off the streets, when there was some big news from Russia, or some very important event. Everybody was together on it. The Russian workers were being attacked, and they were fighting back! That was the main thing.

"And then we had speakers that came over from Europe—a steady stream, and of course we held meetings for them. Later on, it became a very popular thing to go there. Even people who hated the Revolution went to see it, so we had first hand reports. Not always perfect speakers, perhaps, but in those first years most 'Liberals' were for the October Revolution.

"I was so busy that often I didn't even have time to read the daily newspapers. I used to get most of my daily information by watching the bulletins that they posted outside the newspaper buildings, in what was then the center of town. They had been doing this every day since World War I started. I managed to find time during my work (as an express wagon driver) to watch these bulletins. I stood there as long as I could, to get the news.

"And there you would see these crazy things, like 'LENIN AND TROTSKY WILL NOT LAST TWO WEEKS; THEY ARE ALREADY FIGHTING,' and you'd hear boos from the crowd that would drown out everything. They just didn't believe it, or if they did believe it, they were not for it, anyway."

REVOLUTIONARY POSTERS OF CHE, CUBA, AND RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AVAILABLE FROM THE YSA, BOX 471 COOPER STATION, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003.



REVOLUTION IN SEATTLE, A Memoir by Harvey O'Connor, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1964, \$5.00.

"Early in October, came a mysterious shipment by rail, a trainload of 50 freight cars, destination Vladivostok, and labeled 'sewing machines.' It seemed a curious export to a country in the throes of civil war. A longshore crew, suspicious of the cargo, allowed a crate to crash on the dock. Out spewed stacks of rifles, bound for the Kolchak counter-revolutionary government. Upon inquiry it became evident that this was no mere private shipment of 'hardware.' The United States government, no less, had chartered a ship, inappropriately named the 'Delight,' to take this cargo of munitions consigned by Remington Arms to Kolchak. The longshoremen's union announced that its members would not touch the hot cargo and that any dock that attempted to move it would be under permanent boycott. The news spread over the wires to New York and Europe; in Petrograd and Moscow it was hailed as evidence that the hearts of American workers were with their union brothers in Russia.

"The Central Labor Council backed up the longshoremen while the business press howled in anguish and Senators fumed in Washington."

This incident and many other examples of the influence and solidarity of Seattle workers with the Russian Revolution are chronicled in Harvey O'Connor's book, *Revolution In Seattle*, which tells it how it was in the World War I period: the organizing battles of the Industrial Workers of the World in the forests of the Pacific Northwest; the fight against the war and the post-war Red Scare; and most dramatically of all, the first general strike in American history.

Of Seattle's population of 250,000, 60,000 were in unions. The strike began with the shipyard workers, 30,000 strong, who had been granted union recognition during the war in exchange for giving up the right to strike. Wages had been controlled by a board composed of a representative from the shipbuilding corporations, the federal government, and the unions. The Metal Trades Council demanded larger increases than the board was proposing. After initial maneuvering, the Council met on January 16, 1919, and voted to strike on January 21.

Since the bosses and government showed no willingness to bargain in good faith, the organized labor movement turned to the tool of the general strike. According to O'Connor, most of Seattle's militant unionists, of the American Federation of Labor or IWW (several thousand "two card men" were in both), considered the general strike "labor's ultimate weapon."

"Possibly there had never been a more dramatic meeting of the Central Labor Council than that which convened January 22, the floor jammed with delegates from some 110 local unions, and the gallery filled with unionists. Every reference to the general strike was cheered to the echo; the cautions of the conservatives that such a strike was in violation of many international union rules and of contracts with employers were hooted down. . . . "

"The Council's vote that night to hold a referendum among all local unions on the issue of a general strike won the approval of all delegates but one." Most unions were near unanimous in their agreement.

#### First Daily Labor Newspaper Initiated

A speech Lenin made in April, 1918, to the Congress of Soviets on the problems of "management" in a workers' state had been printed in the *Union Record*, the first daily labor newspaper in the United States, and reprinted as a pamphlet in an edition of 20,000. The influence of Lenin's ideas was reflected in a *Union Record* editorial which was approved by the Metal Trades Council.

"LABOR WILL FEED THE PEOPLE . . . LABOR WILL CARE FOR THE BABIES AND THE SICK . . . LABOR WILL PRESERVE ORDER . . . NOT THE WITHDRAWAL OF LABOR POWER, BUT THE POWER OF THE STRIKERS TO MANAGE WILL WIN THIS STRIKE . . . The closing down of Seattle's industries, as a MERE SHUTDOWN, will not affect these eastern gentlemen much. . . .

"BUT, the closing down of the capitalistically controlled industries of Seattle, while the WORKERS ORGANIZE to feed the people, to care for the babies and the sick, to preserve order—THIS will move them, for this looks too much like the taking over of POWER by the workers.

"Labor will not only SHUT DOWN the industries, but Labor will REOPEN, under the management of the appropriate trades, such activities as are needed to preserve public health and public peace. If the strike continues, Labor may feel led to avoid public suffering by reopening more and more activities, UNDER ITS OWN MANAGEMENT.

"And that is why we say that we are starting on a road that leads—NO ONE KNOWS WHERE."

The general strike lasted from February 6-11—five working days. It didn't force the shipyard bosses to come to terms, but as O'Connor puts it "there was no sense of defeat as the strike ended. They had demonstrated their solidarity with their brothers in the yards. . . ."

Of interest to the anti-Vietnam war movement is how the labor movement in the Northwest dealt with the problem of the returning veterans of World War I.

"Those more radical had read of the Workers,

Soldiers and Sailors councils in Russia and believed that here was a perfect form of organization to weld unionists and veterans together. This appealed to all wings of the [Central Labor] Council, and approval was voted for the organization of such a council in Seattle. Similar councils were being set up in Portland, Butte, and elsewhere, so the Seattle venture was by no means isolated. The purposes of the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Council were spelled out: to help veterans readjust to civilian life, to see that they were integrated into the labor force as union men, and most of all to see that they did not become a reserve army of unemployed to be used against organized labor."

The present-day antiwar movement has a similar interest in seeing that Vietnam veterans are not used against the antiwar movement. The recent establishment on a national scale of Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Vietnam may deal with some of the same issues the Soldiers Councils were set up to do.

- JOEL BRITTON

## Socialist Workers Candidate Tours Southern Campuses

#### BY DERRICK MORRISON

New Orleans—One of the signs that illustrates the deepening and widening nationalist awakening among Southern black students, and the general radicalization shaking the whole Southern way of life, is the reception that Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers candidate for Vice-President, and I have received at a number of colleges south of the Mason-Dixon line.

The meetings where Paul has spoken have averaged over 150 students, and sales of revolutionary literature have been brisk. A large section of the students agreed with some of the criticisms that Boutelle leveled at the Great Society, and there was always a few who could see that socialism was a reasonable alternative. Short of this, many of the militants understood the need for an independent black political party.

#### Che Guevara Popular Among Black Students

At Delaware State College in Dover, 300 students turned out not only to hear Boutelle's socialist

views, but to hear his explanation of the idea of black power. The students had never heard a radical speaker on campus before. Because of this, many students didn't know what to expect of Boutelle in the way of speech delivery. Some thought he would only rant and rave. However, as it turned out, many students were surprised at the calm, educational, and instructive approach in which the speech came across. Several students expressed this to me after the meeting was over.

At the Morehouse-Spelman meeting in Atlanta, most of the students in the audience of 300 were familiar with the ideas of black power. That's not to say that everyone supported the idea. Many of the militants expressed an interest in the ideas of socialism. Che Guevara is popular among the militants. Many of them bought the pamphlet containing Guevara's declaration on Vietnam and the World Revolution. Another popular book was the Last Year of Malcolm X by George Breitman.

While at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, we set up a literature table and met the militants on the campus. We talked with one student about other black campuses in Alabama, and about the speNOVEMBER 1967

cial problems of Southern black radicals. We discussed these problems in light of the fact that many radicals put too much focus on the ghetto explosions in the North and forget about the black struggle in the South.

In Jackson, Mississippi, four hours after Boutelle spoke at Tougaloo College, a bomb was exploded on the campus by the local crackers. For a full report on this incident, see the October 16th edition of the *Militant*.

#### **Tougaloo Students Want Black Party**

What was interesting about Tougaloo College was that we met black militants who were formally better organized than on other campuses we visited. The organization at Tougaloo is called the Political Action Committee and not only exercises hegemony over the students at Tougaloo, but is active in the black community in Jackson. PAC sponsored a community project for students who stayed at Tougaloo during the summer. Issues that it organized around in the Jackson community were the Vietnam war, the draft, and independent electoral activity.

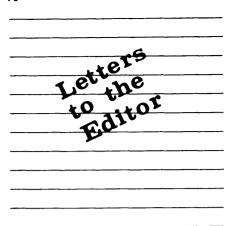
One of the questions in the black struggle that the PAC leadership is most clear about, is the necessity of black people breaking from the Democratic party and setting up an independent party in the interests of the black masses. Although it may seem like this should be axiomatic in Mississippi, it is not. Various civil rights organizations such as the NAACP and Mississippi Freedom Democratic party are very ambiguous about the question, if not already trying to create a niche within the Democratic party.

Southern black students are just beginning the revolutionary awakening process. The problems that they face in this radicalization are different from those of the Northern struggle. For one, the college administrations are more archaic, and very much 'plantation' minded. Because Southern students come from poorer backgrounds and are therefore more dependent upon scholarships, the administration is in a better position to dictate the actions of most students on campus. But despite these and other problems, the radicalization process will continue, and will be dependent to some extent on the resistance put up by Southern black communities to the racist state governments.



Photo by Iom Hathcock

Paul Boutelle, center standing, and Derrick Morrison, lower left, at Georgia State College in Atlanta



This page of the Young Socialist is reserved for our readers. We urge you to express your views on subjects of interest to radical youth. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers initials will be used unless authorization to use name is given.

Marseille, France September 19, 1967

The Marseille chapter of the JCR (Revolutionary Communist Youth) would like to have some first hand information about "Black Power," as well as the struggle against the war in Vietnam. Would you please send us your pamphlet on black power, in addition to all the latest issues of your magazine in which you deal with these two subjects.

For the JCR chapter of Marseille. R. M.

Jeunes Gardes Socialistes Gent, Belgium September 27, 1967

As political secretary of our movement (Socialist Youth) I would like to ask you for a free copy of the Young Socialist. We learned to appreciate it from some copies we got from the National Federation of Socialist Students. We would like to have it in our documentation center. I will afterwards try to get some subscriptions for your publication. (It must be possible to get some 10 subscriptions in my district).

By this way, we would like to express our solidarity with the activities of the Young Socialist Alliance, which we think is of the highest importance for the final victory of socialism all over the world. We also want to let you know that we plan in the district of Gent a meeting in solidarity with the October 21 mobilization in Washington.

Please accept our fraternal regards,

For the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes of Gent.

A.C.

P. S. Please send me information (leaflets, publications, etc.) about October 21. Thanks.

San Jose, Calif. October 3, 1967

Just yesterday, I ran across the Young Socialist magazine. I dig what it has to say, and I want to learn about YSA.

I've been a Vista Volunteer for the past 16 months, and I've become hip to much of the junk that our country is trying to put over on us. I want to do something now—something to make a dramatic change—and Ithink YSA might be the answer.

So send me information on the YSA.

Thanks.

B. S.

Newport Beach, Calif. October 1, 1967

I am interested in joining and learning about the YSA. I do support the anti-Vietnam war movement, black power, socialist candidates and the socialist transformation of America, so don't let me down. I would also like to meet other young socialists in my area.

D.M.

P. S. We shall overcome.

Long Beach, Calif. September 15, 1967

As an interested citizen and as a teacher, I am most interested in obtaining information regarding your participation in the March on Washington (October 21—ed.). I, along with so many throughout the country, and the world, am anxious to lend meaningful support to the many fine efforts to bring the war in Vietnam to an end, now! Any information on

your activities which you can send me will be greatly appreciated.

Enclosed is a subscription blank and the subscription fee of \$1.25 for your magazine, the *Young Socialist*.

B. H.

Belmont, Calif. August 15, 1967

I am terribly interested in your organization and would eagerly receive any information you may relay to me concerning my membership in your club.

However, I am not a placardwaving fanatic, but could be if I came to believe that what you offer the world can help in any way.

Thank you for your indulgence.

D. C.

Osaka, Japan October 10, 1967

Dear Friends,

I believe it is my duty to tell you what happened at Haneda, near Tokyo, for I am afraid the news from the Japanese agency gave you a wrong notion.

Two students were killed in the Haneda struggle. One of them, Mr. Hiroaki Yamajaki, the freshman of Kyoto University, or my university, was killed by the armed policemen. The bourgeois newspapers say decidedly that he was run over by the armed car which was being driven by students. . . .

Several students who demonstrated with him are eyewitnesses that saw he was being beaten by the policemen . . .

Yesterday two thousand students demonstrated in Kyoto University and several others demonstrated in Kyoto, mourning his death, hanging flags with his picture in front [of the demonstration]. And in Tokyo, in Osaka and all around Japan, workers and students are beginning to protest this slaughter. Tomorrow the Antiwar Youth Committee will gather and protest at Kyoto. It has been planned for the Movement of Anti-Vietnam War Day on the 13th. Of course this should be the day to protest the slaughter of Mr. Yamazaki. And students are making efforts to strike all over Japan on the 21st of October, that international day. H.Y.



OKLAHOMANS may have been surprised when they picked up their newspapers on October 3 to learn that the Socialist Workers party plans to be on the ballot in their state in 1968. This bit of free publicity was the result of a press release issued by Basil Wilson, Oklahoma Election Board Secretary. The release was in response to a letter sent by a representative of the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee asking for information about obtaining legal ballot status in Oklahoma. The state has no provisions for placing a third party on the ballot and this inquiry apparently put the state officials in a tizzy.

Oklahoma is not the only new state where the SWP plans to be on the ballot in 1968. THIRTY STATES are being considered and it is expected that the ticket will be on the ballot in about twenty. The previous high for the SWP was twelve states in 1960.

It might be a good idea if the SWP candidates FRED HALSTEAD and PAUL BOUTELLE start learning French. Articles on their campaign have already appeared in *Le Devoir* and *La Presse*, both French-Canadian dailies published in Montreal.

A few weeks after these articles appeared Boutelle spoke to a meeting in Montreal. The English language *Montreal Star* carried a prominent article with Boutelle's photograph.

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE has already received support for Halstead and Boutelle from some Catholic students. A letter from a student at the Jesuit House of Studies in Mobile, Alabama says: "Since I foresee that the national political parties will probably not offer to the American public acceptable candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency this coming election year, I am very interested in knowing more about your organization and your candidates."

A request from the Student Union at NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY was received asking for campaign posters, especially the red and orange one with the slogan: "Bring the GIs Home Now—The Enemy Is At Home." They had seen a picture of it in the *New York Times Magazine* (Sept. 24) and figured that it would make an "eye-catching" display in the University library.

HUNDREDS of requests for campaign literature have already come in and nearly 100,000 brochures have been sent out. One sample inquiry comes from a student at St. Francis College in Loretto, Pennsylvania, who writes: "I am extremely interested in the young socialist movement. Please send me the necessary materials to join."

ANOTHER STUDENT from Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania asks if he can help get signatures to put Halstead and Boutelle on the ballot in Pennsylvania.

The names of people who endorse the campaign, from over NINETY colleges, high schools, and cities, appeared in a full page ad in the *National Guardian* (Oct. 21).

Meanwhile the DEMOCRATIC PARTY is having problems. They've finally agreed to have their national convention next August in Chicago. The decision was touch-and-go for a while until they were able to get Mayor Daley's promise that no civil rights demonstrations would "embarrass" the convention and the nominees. "... Chicago has taken important steps to ease racial tensions," Daley assured the Democratic National Committee. "Should trouble develop anyway, it has a police department trained in riot control and handling demonstrations."

If their unpopularity in the BLACK COMMUNITY weren't a big enough headache, they are also going to have to contend with the possibility of "peace delegates" coming to the convention to oppose Johnson. A proposal by leaders in 13 Western states to adopt a "loyalty oath" to keep party dissidents in line was withdrawn when it was pointed out that the 1968 convention call will do the trick. The National Committee wants to prevent delegates from being seated who don't promise in advance to support the national candidates nominated by the convention.

The REPUBLICAN leaders seem to be switching back and forth from being hawks and doves so fast that I'll lay you odds that by the time of their convention there are going to be some very strange hybrids.

# **The Russian Revolution**

"Now Lenin, gripping the edges of the reading stand, let little winking eyes travel over the crowd as he stood there waiting, apparently oblivious to the long rolling ovation, which lasted several minutes. When it finished, he said simply, 'We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order.'" Thus, the American revolutionary journalist, John Reed reported Lenin's appearance at the All-Russian Congress of Soviets convened in St. Petersburg on October 25 (November 7), 1917 to ratify the first workers' government in history.

Lenin was given the floor to give a report on peace. He read from a declaration which the new government subsequently endorsed and published:

"The workers' and peasants' government . . . proposes to all belligerent peoples and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a just, democratic peace.

"By a just or democratic peace . . . the government means an immediate peace without annexations (i.e. without the seizure of foreign lands, without forcible incorporation of foreign nations) and without reparations. . . .

"The government abolishes secret diplomacy, and, for its part, announces its firm intention to conduct all negotiations quite openly in full view of the whole people. It will proceed immediately with the full publication of the secret treaties endorsed or concluded by the government of landlords and capitalists from February to October 25, 1917."

This was something unheard of in the annals of diplomacy. The leader of a country at war voluntarily repudiating secret treaties! And then publishing them for all the people to read!

#### Bolshevik Peace Program Inspires Colonial Struggles

The application of this simple statement by the Bolshevik government had an electrifying effect on oppressed people in every land, especially among the peasants and workers of the colonial world. For the first time a government existed in the world that respected the rights of other nations especially of weaker nations; and as a result close ties developed between the new workers' republic and the nationalist movements of the colonial countries.

Through this declaration by Lenin, his first act as head of the new government, we can link our



13,000 fully-armed Bolshevik sailors arrive from Kronstadt

14 YOUNG SOCIALIST

struggles today to the Russian Revolution. The major political struggles in this country are the anti-Vietnam war movement and the black liberation movement. The central demand of the anti-war movement is "Bring The Troops Home Now"—a demand which is predicated on the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. The antiwar movement is demanding that the United States government do what the Bolsheviks did—repudiate all so-called "rights" of intervention in weaker nations.

The Russian example of respect to the right of self-determination is not only appropriate to the Vietnam war but also to the struggle of Afro-Americans. Within Russia there were numerous national minorities that were exploited and discriminated against by the Greater Russians. The rulers used these national barriers and prejudices to keep the workers and peasants divided. The Bolsheviks, however, consistently held the position that all the national minorities had the right to self-determination including the right to separate. When the Bolshevik government came to power it did not go back on this position.

The attitude of the Russian revolutionaries toward national minorities is the attitude that American revolutionaries take toward the black struggle in the United States. Black people have the right to control all aspects of their lives including the right to form their own separate state. This is the only position compatible with elementary democracy.

The experience of the Russian Revolution shows



that rather than dividing the masses this position was necessary in order to weld them together in a struggle against their common enemy—the capitalists and landlords.

#### Afro-Americans Vanguard of American Revolution

There is another comparison that can be made between the Russian Revolution and American struggles. Not only was pre-revolutionary Russia an exploiter nation but it was also an exploited nation. One of the most economically and culturally backward countries in Europe, Russia was the victim of foreign capitalist penetration especially by France and Great Britain. It was never expected, even by many socialists, that this country with its relatively small working class, and its massive peasantry would become the vanguard of the world socialist revolution. It was argued that national barriers, illiteracy, and lack of the necessary economic prerequisites made a workers' revolution impossible.

History, however, turned things all around and one of the most backward countries became the most politically advanced country the world had ever seen up to that time.

In a similar vein, the most oppressed and in many respects the least organized sector of the American population is also the most militant. Afro-Americans are the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle in this country. Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the Russian Revolution commenting in 1933 on what would happen if there were a mass radicalization in America indicated that: "It is possible that the Negroes will become the most advanced section. We have already a similar example in Russia. The Russians were the European Negroes."

The relevance that we can see between the Russian Revolution and our own struggles in just these few examples, is in itself a tribute to the significance of the Russian Revolution. It is the great dividing line in the history of man and all the major social upheavals that have occurred since have been inspired by it as well as many struggles to come.

Even though the Soviet Union is ruled by an undemocratic bureaucracy; even though the Soviet Union has not defended the Vietnamese revolution with arms, materials, equipment and solidarity that is demanded of this most powerful workers' state; even though the Soviet leadership has replaced class struggle politics with the policies of peaceful coexistence, the basic conquests of the workers—the abolition of private property and the construction of a planned economy survive. The Soviet Union represents one sixth of the world that imperialism has been unable to rule for fifty years.

## TROTZSKY IN EXILE LIVED IN THE BRONX

Hurried Home to Russia When the Czar Fell, After Three Months' Residence Here.

REAL NAME IS BRAUNSTEIN

Findical Socialist and Active in 1905 Revolution-Now Suspected to be in German Pay.

Leon Trotzsky, the active if not the real head of the new Maximalist revolt, was the most prominent of the Russian radicals who returned to their native land from exite in this country after the revolution of March. Trotzsky was living in the Bronx, on Vyse Avenue, when the Czar was overthrown; but he had been in this country less than three months, having previously been expelled from Germany, France, Switzerland, and Spain.

The real name of the Maximalist

pelled from Germany, France, Switzerland, and Spain.

The real name of the Maximalist leader is Leber Braunstein, and he was born in a town in the Russian Government of Kherson, near the Black Sea. He became an extreme Socialist, and being sifted with a forceful literary style won distinction and prominence among the revolutionary leaders before the end of the nincteenth century.

In the revolution of 1905 Trotzsky published a book which practically set the sky as the limit for the Russian revolution then apparently on its way to favorable issue. He demanded the application of the properties of the demanded the application of the style of the styl

tionary activity, and was compelled to go abroad.

At the beginning of the war he was in Berlin, but the radical teachings of his writings there were too much for the writings there were too much for a state for socialist roograms except in foreign parts. He was compelled to go to Switzerland, but here, too, he found the atmosphere chilly. After a time he landed in Paris and edied a newspaper fused to allow his doctrines to be spread after Russian troops arrived in France, and he moved on to Spain.

#### Shanghaird From Spain.

ain became too hot for him last

Spain became too not for nim tast Winter. .

Everywhere he went he was not only a centre and leader of radicalism, but one of its most vigorous journalistic propagandists, and Spain was no more nospitable to his extreme social theories than other countries. According to a New Yorker who knew him well, he was practically shanghaied in Spain, and

than other countries. According to a New Yorker who knew him well, he was practically shanghaied in Spain, and awoke after being taken captive to find himself on board a steamer whose destination he did not know till he was several days out.

Cuba was too small a country for Trotzsky's energies. He sailed at once from Havana for New York, and reached here on Jan. 14 last. Trotzsky was welcomed from the stablishment of the trotter of the trotter on Jan. 15 last. Trotzsky was welcomed flusies. Socialists, but by the German Socialists, too. Leaders of radicalism on the east side and in Harlem contributed furniture for the house where he established him the brox, and them when he eventually left town in such haste that none of the countributors were notified, and the furniture was left to take care of tistelf in the While here he wrote many articles for the Vorwarts, the Jewish Socialist paper, and was for a considerable time the principal editor of Novy Mir. organ has since come under the ban of the Post Office Department and has been refused mailing privileges for its extreme parisins attitude, but at that times were not in favor of Trotzsky's propagand for immediate peace, and, according to men who knew him, he was continually asked to resident with both Germann and Russian Socialists, and American anpinion is divided as to whether or not he has been an agent of Germany since the outbreak of the fact that Lenine was accused by Kerensky of help in German pay, and that Trotzsky is apparently acting as a vising of Lenine, the presumption that by recent events. It is said that just before he left last March & German Socialist group at a hall in Hariem gave ad inner for him, not he first lord that nationality in New York for a

#### Detained by the British.

Betained by the Setting.

Troizsky sailed from New York for a Scandinavian port on March 27, but was taken off the ship at Halifax by the British authorities, who knew his record. There were loud and vikorous protests from American radicals at this action, and eventually the first Russian

Leon Trotzsky



Head of the New Revolutionary Government in Russia

Provisional Government, apparently unaware at that time of the strength and
tendencies of the Bolaheviki, was intendencies of the Bolaheviki, was
typen his arrival at Petrograd he
foined the radical faction, which was
boy demuning America and the Allier
show the Comment and bring about immediate peace. Trotzsky has denied
that if the Germans refuse to revolt
that if the Germans refuse to revolt
nize with the Russians the latter must
defend the revolution. But the fraternizing must be begun by the Russians
wherever possible, officers are to be
of any higher command must be submitted to a referendum before being
carried out.

#### LENINE THE REAL POWER.

## Believed to Have Plotted Present Rising While in Hiding.

Nikolai Lenine, denounced by mod-erate liberals the world over as the evil genius of the Russian revolution, and accused by General Brusiloff as a paid

brother was executed for complicity in a plot to kill Emperor Alexander II. shortly before that ruler was actually assassinated in 1881. Lenine became prominent in the early nineties as a who is the complex of the complex of the complex of the more nationalistic view, with greater attention paid to the peasants and their actual condition, which was entertained to the complex of Kerensky, His most noted book is The Development of Capitalism in Russia."

of Kerensky. His most noted book is The Development of Capitalism in Russia at the the revolution of 180%, but was compelled to go into exile, a thing he had often done before, when the reaction triumphed. At the beginning of the done before, when the reaction triumphed. At the beginning of was interned as an enemy times but was shortly released and gllowed to proceed to Zimmerwald. In Switzerland, where a colony of Russian revolutionists was already established. The Provisional Government of Russia entered into an agreement with Germany by which the Russian revolutionists in Switzerland were allowed to return through German civilians in Russia. Lenine heads route, and his social program, which the has been advocating ever since, was drawn up as he passed through. He has been advocating ever since, was drawn up as he passed through. He men's and Soldiers Defeates had forced and soldiers Defeates had forced not becan to preach immediate peace and general confiscation.

Nikotai Lenine, denounced over as the evil genius of the Russian revolation, and accused by General Brusioff as a protect, and his social program, which he has been advocating ever since, when has been advocating the formation of the time as he was openly the leader of the resination of Milyukoff, and the would not be managed by machine can troops following his leadersing. This revolution would about the resination of this time and general confiscation.

His Russian armies in Galicia fixes the successful offensive led by Alexandron of General Confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was confiscation. Orders for his arrest were issued to once an arrest were issued to be a successful of the provision of the promise of the provision of

## 'RUSSIA OUT,' SPURS SPARTANBURG BOYS

Tired Soldiers Speed Up Drill When They I lear That Petrograd Is Moving for Peace.

ANXIOUS FOR THE FRAY

Two More Brigades to be Made o Skeleton Guard Units and Men from Yaphank.

rial to The New York Time

Special to The New York Times.

CAMP WADSWORTH, Spartanburg, S.

C., Nov. 8.—Just before sundown a company from the forwer Second Infantry was wearily going through close order drill out on the parade ground.

The officers, dust from shoes to hats, were hearse from shouting commands all afternoon and the men, tired of toting their heavy equipment back and forth. A couple of men from the 102d United States Engineers with nothing to do un-

couple of men from the 102d United States Engineers with nothing to do until mess idly stood by edpoying the grillings of the infantrymen. Soon a newsboy selling a Spartanburg afternoon paper ambied along and one of the engineers bought a paper. With one last, satisfied grin at the toling "dough boys," the ex-Twenty-second man languidly glanced at the first page headlines telling the bad news from Petrograd. As they say in the movies, he registered keen and amazed interest, then discipline was forgotten and the engineer shouted at the laboring company: "Hey, fellows, here's news—Russia is out."

The farred and dusty company heard The fagred and dusty company heard the announcement just as they came to a halt. While the Lieutenant drilling the infantrymen indignantly sowied at the excited and offending engineers, there was talking in the ranks. Then the Lieutenant ran the company off time another evolution. He said afterward it was like leading another set of men. The fatigue was gone and until "recall" sounded the company went through the drill freshly and with vim.

#### News Gives Them Spirit.

News Gives Them Spirit.

Afterward the top Sergeant explained the reason for the change of spirit, thus:

"When that guy said that Russia had dropped out, every fellow in the company knew that it was up to the United States to take her place. And, believe me. if you had been doubling over that drill ground for weeks and fairly aching for the welcome word 'Embark,' you'd think any drill was light, too."

A similar sentiment throughout the 200 company units were canvassed to find out what the men thought about the

out what the men thought about the news. Everywhere the men were en-

out what the men thought about the news. Everywhere the men were enthusiants about their chances for quick action. Somewhere in the camp some strategies about their chances for quick action. Somewhere in the camp some erally went out, Germany could throw all the troops now on the Russian front to the Western theatre, and the Allies would have need of reinforcements at the country of the countr

RUSSIAN ENVOY HOPEFUL

#### Says Petrograd Events Do Not Represent Russia's Views

MEMPILIS. Tenn, Nov. 8.—"The intent and spirit of Russia as a whole should in no way be judged by the hews from Petrograd," declared Boris A. Bakhmeteff, Russian Ambasandor to the United States, when The Associated Press dispatches relative to the reported overthrow of the Russian Provisional Government were shown to

reported overthrow of the Russian Proresponded overthrow of the Russian Prorespond or official information on the
"Until just now I did not have any
personal or official information on the
personal or official opinion." He continued.
"But I can tell you that Petrograd is
not the whole of Russia, and has never
been, and that the spirit prevailing in
Petrograd is not representative of the
R. The extremist element has always
been strong in Petrograd, but as to
the whole of Russia, the late elections
in the provincial and county local bodies
has shown the Maximalist feeling very
extremists were not control these
The Ambassador declined to comment
from his Government. It was gathered,
though, that it is his belief that Premier
Russia.

SEFS BUSSIA STILL IN WAR.

#### SEES RUSSIA STILL IN WAR.

#### Petrograd Radicals Do Not Represent Nation, Says H. P. Davison.

sent Nation, Says H. P. Davison.

Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO. Ill., Nov. 8.—Henry P.
Davison of J. P. Morgan & Co., General, or the New York Times.

CHICAGO. Ill., Nov. 8.—Henry P.
Davison of J. P. Morgan & Co., General, or the National State of the N

We are preparing for a long war, although we hope it will be a short one. But there is no indication but that it will be a long one."

### MEYER LONDON'S VIEWS.

Congressman Says Russia Will Never Make Separate Peace.

Meyer London, the Socialist Congressman from New York City, yesterday ex-

famili Russi of a to be

man from New York City, yesterday explained the causes and results of the Russian revolution and expounded the ideals and hopes of the Russian people before an audience of over a thousand at the Social Froblems Ciub of the College of the City of New Yoution were many, he said. "For instance, on the eve of the war there was not even forty-eight hours' supply of tood or ammunition in the country. But this was not the country in the country with the said with the country. He was not seen the country with the incompetence of the cause." He asserted that Russia would never consent to a separate peace with Germany, have suffered in meany.

consent to a separate peace with Germany.

"They have suffered in misery for centuries;" he said, "but they are willing to suffer for univers more because they did not the suffered to the world's affect, They demand, however, that the objects of the war be made clear, and that they be not asked to fight for the selfish purposes of other nations."

#### SCOUT IDEA OF PEACE.

#### Yale Professors Say Russia Will Not Lay Down Her Arms.

Lay Down Her Arms.

Special to The New York Times.

NEW HAVEN. Conn. Nov. R.—"A

long civ war is ahead for Russia if the
Maxim ists compel in separate peace
with Germany." said Professor Alexander Petronkevitch of Yale tonight. He
is son of the first President of the Russian Duma, and has recently received
the stand Duma, and has recently received
the said of the said of the Russian Puma, and has recently received
the do not want peace on terms that Gers
do not want peace on terms that Gers
have gained the ascentuency, and inceare putting out feelers for peace, but
this does not mean that the Russian
prople will support any treachery to the
adiled cause. Only crit war can follow
are putting out feelers for peace, but
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the Russian Russian

#### SEES CIVIL WAR CERTAIN.

Russian Paper Here Says Can-

YIDDIIG NU WILLE



# "The real history of man began in 1917 with the triumph of the Russian Revolution."

James P. Cannon

The story of Soviet Russia for the first four years after the revolution was a story of desperate struggle against tremendous odds. The fight of the Russian workers did not end with their victory over the bourgeoisie within Russia. The capitalist class of the entire world came to the aid of Russian capitalism.

The workers' republic was blockaded and shut off from the world. Counter-revolutionary plots and

Above Photo - Russian and Austrian soldiers fraternizing at the front in 1917

uprisings inside of Russia were financed and directed from the outside. Mercenary invading armies backed by world capital, attacked Soviet Russia from all sides. On top of all this came the terrible famine which threatened to deal the final blow.

In those four years Soviet Russia indeed went "through the shadows." But now, after five years of the revolution, we can tell a brighter story. In 1922 Soviet Russia began to emerge from the shadows and started on the upward track. The long and devastating civil war was at an end and counter-revolution stamped out. The great famine was conquered. The last of the invading foreign armies—except the Japanese in the Far East—had



"The real history of man began in 1917 with the triumph of the Russian Revolution."

#### JAMES P. CANNON

James P. Cannon is probably the most qualified person in the United States to comment on the significance of the Russian Revolution for American socialists.

An active socialist and leader of the I.W. W. before World War I, he was a founder of the Communist party in 1919. In 1922, as National Chairman of the Workers Party of America (the legal form of the CP at that time), he went to the Soviet Union as an American delegate to the Communist International. He arrived in Moscow in May and remained there until the end of the year, participating in the preparations and deliberations of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. Upon returning from the United States, he delivered a lecture on the "First Five Years of the Russian Revolution" in New York. After a national tour on this subject, the speech was subsequently published as a pamphlet by the Workers party.

We are printing here, on the 50th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, major portions of this speech as an example of how the world's first workers' republic inspired American radicals.

In 1928 Cannon was expelled from the Communist party because of his political disagreements with the Stalinist line, and he became the principal founder of the American Trotskyist movement. Today he is national chairman of the Socialist Workers party.

Over the years he has been asked to give numerous anniversary speeches to celebrate the Russian Revolution. We are printing here a few short excerpts from the 25th, and 29th anniversary speeches which illustrate different sides of the Russian Revolution.

been driven from Russian soil; and the workers' government, freed from the terrible strain and necessity of war, was enabled, for the first time, to turn its efforts and energies to the great constructive task of building a new Russia on the ruins of the old.

While I was in Russia the Red Army drove the Japanese out of Vladivostok and set up the Soviets again. And before the Fourth Congress of the Communist International was ended, we had the joy of hearing comrade Lenin say that all the territory of Russia was at last living in peace under the Red Flag of the Soviets.

#### Repairing Ravages of Civil War

I reached Moscow on the first day of June. Signs of recuperation from the long travail were already noticeable. The streets and sidewalks were being repaired and the buildings were being painted; resources and all energies went for bitter necessity; everything else had to wait. Even the buildings in the Kremlin got their first coat of paint this year . . .

The famous Genoa Conference was still alive at that time: the conference which Lloyd George called to settle the problems of Europe, but which didn't succeed in settling anything but the career of Lloyd George. France and Belgium, you will remember, were demanding that the property in Russia, which had been confiscated by the revolution, should be restored to the original foreign owners. Russia had not yet given her final answer, and I asked my friend [from the Soviet Union—ed.] . . . what he thought it would be.

#### "No Chance At All"

He said, "Most of the big industrial plants in Russia, and even part of the railroad system, belonged to foreign capitalists before the revolution. Russia was practically a colony of European capitalism.

"Do you know," he asked me, "who used to own the streetcar system in Moscow—it belonged to the poor Belgium capitalists, and they are trying to get it back at Genoa."

I asked him what chance the poor Belgium capitalists had to get their streetcars back. He answered, "No chance at all."

He told me that as soon as that demand had become known the Moscow streetcar workers—as well as the workers in the other important industries—called meetings and passed resolutions to this effect: "The foreign capitalists tried for four years to take these industries from us by armed force, and they couldn't succeed. Now, we are certainly not going to let them *talk* us out of them at the diplomatic table."



James P. Cannon and William D. Haywood in Moscow, 1922

YOUNG SOCIALIST

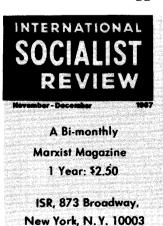
Before I went to Russia I had read much about the impending collapse of the Soviet government. A story of this kind used to appear on the average of about once a week in the New York Times and other capitalist newspapers; and no doubt you have all read them. Here lately the capitalist press has dropped that story and the Socialist party and the I.W.W. papers have taken it up. I spent seven months in Russia, and I assure you I looked diligently for the signs of this famous "collapse," but I couldn't find it. On the contrary, the more I investigated, the more I saw of the attitude of the Russian workers, the more I became convinced that the Soviet government under the control of the Communist party, is firmer and stronger now than in any period of its history . . .

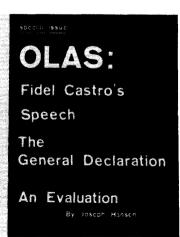
#### The Workers and the Red Army

... Between the trade unions and the Red Army there is a close and fraternal unity that does not prevail between the labor movement and the army of any other country in Europe. The trade unionists regard the Red soldiers as the protectors and defenders of the labor movement, and they treat them with the highest honor.

There is a reason for this attitude. When some of the industrial districts of Russia fell into the hands of the counter-revolutionary armies the first thing the White Armies did, after dissolving the Soviets, was to break up the trade unions, shooting or jailing the leaders; it was something like West Virginia. And when the Red Army reconquered those territories, the trade unions were immediately reorganized under the protection of its bayonets. This is the reason for the brotherly solidarity between the unions and the army . . .

The Red Army is something new under the sun, a proletarian army, made up of exclusively workers and peasants, with most of its officers drawn from the working class. It proved its mettle in the long and successful struggle against the interventionist





armies. It has a morale, spirit and discipline unknown to military history of Europe. There is not an army on the continent of Europe that, man for man, can stand up against it . . .

I visited the Red Army camps and learned something about the spirit of the soldiers at first hand. I had read something about it and wished to check up on what I had read. I asked Trotsky about it and he said, "Go to the camps and see the soldiers themselves." Then I asked him why the Red soldier has a different attitude toward the government from that of the other soldiers of Europe, and he answered, "The attitude of the Red soldier toward the Soviet government is determined by the attitude of the government toward the Red soldier."

That is the secret of it. That is the reason for the intense loyality of the Red soldier which the old school of militarists cannot understand. The Red soldier is respected and honored in peace as well as in war. He is not heroized as he marches off to battle then chased up a back alley when he comes home. He is not given a medal when he is needed and refused a job or a handout when the war is over. In the working class society of Russia the Red soldier has a place of dignity and honor. In Russia the soldiers and the workers are real "people of importance."

#### "Internationalism Is the Watchword"

the intense national patriotism of the Red Army. These stories are usually written by journalists who sit around in Moscow hotels and cook up stories about it, and, as a rule, they are very far from the truth. As a matter of fact, the main effort of the Communist propaganda in the army is to overcome tendencies toward Russian national patriotism and develop a patriotism to the international proletariat. Since the army quit singing "God Save the Czar" it has no national official hymn. The official air played in the Red Army is "The Internationale." Internationalism is the watchword.

This was impressed upon us very vividly by a speech we heard at the graduation exercises of the school of Red Cavalry commanders at Moscow. A number of international delegates attended those exercises and spent the entire day with the young students who were just finishing their studies. For several hours we watched them perform hair raising feats on horseback and late in the afternoon we had dinner with them in the mess hall. After dinner delegates from the various countries each spoke a few words of greeting to the graduates and

NOVEMBER 1967 19



Beginning of July Uprising in Petrograd

then they put up one of the graduates to respond. He was lifted from the table from which we had just eaten our dinner, a young Communist lad who only a short time before had been taken from the factory, put through an intensive course of instruction and on that day was being turned out as a Red commander.

"Comrades," he said, "we greet you as comrades and brothers in the same army with us. We do not want you to think of us as soldiers of Russia, but as soldiers of the international proletariat. Our army is the working class army and the working class of the world is our country. We will be very glad when the workers of Europe will rise in revolt and call on us for assistance; and when that day comes they will find us ready."

It is not only the Red soldiers in Russia who are internationalists. Internationalism permeates the entire working class. When the Russian workers rose in revolt five years ago and struck the blow that destroyed Russian capitalism they were confident that the workers throughout Europe would follow their example. They have been waiting for five years for the international revolution and they still believe it is coming. Nothing has been able to shake that faith . . .

On the fifth anniversary of the revolution the delegates of the Communist parties and the Red

Trade Unions were the guests of the proletariat of Petrograd. A great throng of workers met us at the station. We symbolized to them the international labor movement and they gave us a warm and generous welcome. Red Army troops were drawn up before the station, the streets in all directions were packed with workers who had come to greet us, and from every building and post flew banners, proclaiming the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution and hailing the international revolution . . .

#### The Greatest Strike In All History

Comrade Trotsky told us, just before we left Moscow, that the best way we can help Soviet Russia is to build a bigger trade union movement and a stronger party of our own. Recognition by other governments will be of some temporary value; but the real recognition Soviet Russia wants is the recognition of the working class. When she gets that she will not need the recognition of the capitalist governments. Then she can refuse to recognize them! For, after all, Soviet Russia is not a "country." Soviet Russia is a part of the world labor movement. Soviet Russia is a strike—the greatest strike in all history. When the working class of Europe and America join that strike it will be the end of capitalism.



Revolutionary poster—"Cossack, Whose Side Are You On?"

#### Russian Revolution Inspired Colonial Masses

November 7, 1917. The death sentence on the old order of capitalism and the beginning of the new order of world socialism were both proclaimed on that day. And whatever vicissitudes, whatever setbacks, betrayals or defeats may overtake the proletariat on the road to that final goal; however sharp and deep may be zigzags in the line which charts the course of the struggle through which humanity shall pass from capitalism to socialism; whatever may befall, the starting point of the line of development will always be traced to that great day which we commemorate tonight -- November 7, 1917 . . .

At one blow the revolution lifted the proletariat of Europe to its feet again. It stirred hundreds of millions of colonial slaves who had never known political aspiration before, who had never dared to hope before. The Russian Revolution awakened them to a new life.

#### The Irreconcilable Conflict

The conflict between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers is something different and more profound than the rivalry between one imperialist power and another. Here is involved the clash, the irreconcilable conflict of two contrasting social systems. One or the other must prevail in the world; one or the other must go down. And whoever preaches trust in the Anglo-American imperialists is a traitor to the Soviet Union.

## The Russians Did It, Why Can't We?

We don't doubt in India tonight, millions of the colonial insurgents are thinking on this anniversary day of the Russian Revolution. They are thinking, simply but strongly, and saying to themselves: "The Russians did it, why can't we?" Once the oppressed masses of the world begin to think that way, the realization of that aspiration will be placed on the order of the day. We believe before this bloody carnage is over, the workers, the people, will say their decisive word. And when they speak to the imperialists they will speak in Russian.

We for our part turn to the workers . . . and to the colonial people, and we say they are the only true allies of the Soviet Union.

They are the only true allies because they alone have their fundamental interest bound up with the preservation of the Soviet Union, just as the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union are indissolubly connected with the fate of the uprisings of the colonial masses and the victory of the workers in the world. And let those doubt who will. We believe in the workers. We believe in the colonial slaves awakened to new life by the Russian Revolution.

#### Theory and Practice

Marx and Engels lifted the concept of socialism from utopia to science. The Russian Revolution developed scientific socialism from theory into action, and proved several things which before had been abstract generalizations and predictions. The Russian Revolution proved in action certain things were true beyond all further doubting. The first of these things proved by the revolution was that it was possible for the workers to take power. It is possible for the workers to forge out of their ranks a party that is capable of leading the struggle to victory. And the workers



Russian Revolution, the beginning of a world social process that continues today. Photo shows freedom fighters in Santo Domingo. 1965



Bourgeoisie at work

in all countries will everlastingly remember that. Nothing can erase from history that example. Victory of the proletariat is possible—the Russian Revolution in action, in blood and fire, proved that it is so.

#### A Magnificent Beginning

The Russian Revolution was and is the greatest revolution in all history. Its conquests are the greatest ever believed by man in all the centuries of all his existence and struggle upward. The human race has traveled a long way from its origins, which are lost in time. The human race existed for centuries and for milleniums, how many no one knows, before learning to understand the dark powers of nature which had terrified and oppressed and enslaved it. With the triumph of the Russian Revolution 29 years ago, man for the first time in his existence on this planet, demonstrated the capacity to understand and conquer his own social system. On November 7, 1917 the people, the workers, first began to free themselves from the helpless subservience to the anarchy of capitalist production with all the frightful disproportions and

uncertainties, and began for the first time to subject economy to conscious organization and plan. To be sure, it was only a beginning—and in a backward country at that. But what a magnificent beginning!

#### Not Just a Russian Affair

We honor and support the Russian Revolution most effectively by actively participating in the struggle at home; not by passively recording the achievements of other people in some other country... We fight above all and first of all against the greatest enemy of humanity—American imperialism.

If you stop to think of the revolution of Russia in its true meaning, not simply as a Russian affair but as a beginning in one part of the world social process that cannot be completed until it embraces the whole world; if you think of the Russian Revolution that way, as we celebrate it tonight in connection with our revolutionary work in America, you have to realize what an attractive prospect is opened up before us.

For America is the ideal country for the social revolution and for the organization of a socialist society. It has the highest development of industrial technique in the world. It has the greatest resources, the richest country, the greatest productivity of labor—all of which is the assurance that here in America on the morning after the revolution the problems of economy, of production and abundance for all can be almost automatically solved. The resources, the technique, the skilled and trained labor force are all here for us . . .

#### The Year One of the New Age

All the previous history of man, all his experience in class society, as Engels once said, is really prehistory. The real history of man began in 1917 with the triumph of the Russian Revolution. That is the year one of a new age. This age will flower into unimaginable developments of universal culture and material well being with the extension of the Russian Revolution throughout the world, and the organization of the world-wide socialist society that will follow the triumph of the world revolution. . . .



Тов. Ленин ОЧИЩАЕТ землю от нечисти.

Revolutionary poster—"Lenin Sweeps Away the Filth of the World"



#### IF YOU SUPPORT:

- **■** The Anti-Vietnam War Movement
- Black Power
- Socialist Candidates
- The Cuban Revolution
- A Socialist America

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# ... Notes

Trotskyism in Latin America: Professor John Gerassi, a well known expert on, and supporter of, the Latin American revolution, is teaching this year at San Francisco State College. In his first class he announced that "the revolution in Latin America is Trotskyist, only without the name." In his second lecture he told the class that "Fidel is a Trotskyist." San Francisco YSAers reported that sales at the YSA literature table on campus were brisk as students streamed out of his class. The best seller was Che's recent declaration on Vietnam and the world revolution.

Morale is Excellent!: The New York Times reported on October 8 that the Marines have decided to stop giving Purple Heart medals for minor wounds. Any Marine fighting in Vietnam is eligible to leave Vietnam entirely after he receives his third Purple Heart, and this has apparently created a serious manpower drain.

As one medical corpsman explained, "They show up here at the battalion aid-station with their rifles and packs and a grin on their faces. You slap a bandage on them and they head straight for the helicopter landing zone looking for the next ship out."

Genes and Genius in the Soviet Union: One of the more amusingly mindless theories of Stalinism on the 50th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution has come from the Soviet Union itself, from author Ilya Ehrenburg. In the October 3 issue of the New York Times, "Soviet expert" Harrison Salisbury reported on a conversation with him shortly before Ehrenburg died in September of this year. Ehrenburg speculated that Stalinism was a genetic problem, a result of Stalin's heredity. In support of his theory, Mr. Ehrenburg recalled that, "Genes were not popular under Stalin. . . Stalin drove out of scientific life, into exile and even death, the leaders of Soviet genetics. Now, Mr. Ehrenburg noted dryly, genes are in fashion again."

Inflated Ego: The Benilde High School, a parochial school in a suburb of Minneapolis, recently sponsored a "Forum on Vietnam." It included Vietnam veterans speaking both for and against the war, the Lieutenant Governor of Minnesota, a State

Department Foreign Service Official from Vietnam, and David Thorstad, a member of the YSA and a former staff member of the Paris Secretariat of the International War Crimes Tribunal.

The State Department official was scheduled to speak on the same panel as Thorstad, but refused. He explained that it was official policy not to appear on the same platform with anyone connected with the War Crimes Tribunal because the State Department did not wish to increase the prestige of the Tribunal.

Thorstad began his speech by commenting to the audience that "the State Department has a rather inflated idea of its ability to add to the prestige of other organizations."

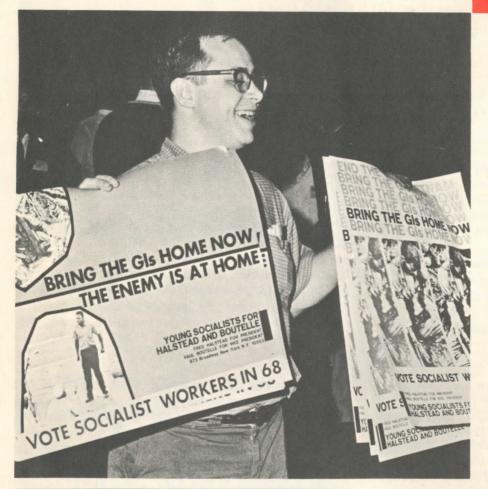
International Solidarity: International response to the Student Mobilization Committee's call for world wide demonstrations on October 21 were phenomenal. Organizations and individuals from cities and countries all over the world wrote in, asking for more information and announcing activities scheduled for October 21, or in solidarity with October 21.

In addition to the activities in Japan, there were actions in England, France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, Ireland, Denmark, and Australia. In addition, the World Federation of Democratic Youth encouraged its members and supporters, particularly in the Soviet-bloc countries, to schedule activities during a "Vietnam Week" from October 15-21.

YSA Celebrates Russian Revolution: The Cleveland Young Socialist Alliance is organizing a weekend educational conference and celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, on November 18-19. Speakers will include Fred Halstead, SWP presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP, Tom Kerry, Editor of the International Socialist Review, and Judy Watts, a national committee member of the YSA. The conference will deal with many different aspects of the Russian Revolution and their importance to the world revolutionary struggle today. For more information, write YSA, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44104, tel. 791-1669.

Blessed Are the Red Sox: Richard Cardinal Cushing, the Archbishop of Boston, went to Fenway Park in person to bless the Red Sox and watch them play. It was rumored that Boston fans had pleaded with the Cardinal to bless the Cardinals instead.

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