unfurled, and must be crushed with the capitalist traditions of yester-
day. They are fakers again making history, struggling in a feeble
effort to ward off the dialectic movement of reality. Meanwhile, the
class struggle deepens – real revolutionists must carry on!

It has come to our notice that the Weisbord group, another
"wing" of the Bolsheviks, who have "adhered" to the Trotsky
movement internationally while opposing the Left Opposition
in America, have repudiated Trotsky and his whole movement
on the basis of this new orientation.

REA D:

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UNITED WORKERS PARTY
1604 North California Avenue
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International Council Correspondence  

Theses on Bolshevism

(Prepared jointly by the Group of International Communists of Holland. Translated from "Ratekorrrespondenz" #3, the Council Correspondence published by the G. of I. C. of H. at Amsterdam, Holland, the International Correspondence Bureau of the Left Communist Groups and the Council Movement of Europe.)

I. - The Significance of Bolshevism.

1. In Soviet Economy and the Soviet State, bolshevism has created for itself a closed field of social practice. In the Third International, it has organized an instrument for controlling and influencing the labor movement on international paths. Its directives in matters of principle and tactics are elaborated in "Leninism". The question arises: Is the Bolshevik theory, as Stalin says, Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and the social revolution? Is it, accordingly, the axis of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat on an international scale?

2. Bolshevism obtained its international reputation in the proletarian class movement; first, by its consistent revolutionary struggle against the World War of 1914-18 and, secondly, by the Russian Revolution of 1917. Its world-historic importance lies in the fact that, under the consistent leadership of Lenin, it recognized the problems of the Russian Revolution and at the same time created, in the Bolshevik Party, the instrument by which these problems could be practically solved. The adaptation of Bolshevism to the problems raised by the Russian Revolution was brought about by 20 years of painstaking and consistent development with the aid of insight into the fundamental class questions involved.

3. The question of whether this successful mastery of its tasks entitles Bolshevism to leadership, in theory, tactics and organization of the international proletarian revolution involves, on the one hand, an examination of the social bases and preconditions of the Russian Revolution, and, on the other, of the problems of the proletarian revolution in the great capitalist countries.
Russian society was decisively conditioned by its position between Europe and Asia. While the more progressive economic force and the stronger international position of Western Europe destroyed in Russia, before the end of the Middle Ages, the first form of a commercial capitalist development, the political superiority of oriental despotism created the foundations for the absolutist state apparatus of the Russian Empire. Culture thus occupied, not only geographically but also economically and politically, an intermediate position between the two continents, combining their different social and political systems in its own peculiar way.

This internationally ambiguous position of Russia has decisively influenced not only its remote past, but also the problems of its revolution in the first two decades of the 20th century. The capitalist system in the era of imperialist uprising created two mutually opposed but intimately interlocked centers: the highly developed capitalist center of active imperialist advances in the strongly industrialized area of Western Europe and North America, and the colonial center of passive imperialist plunder in the agricultural regions of Eastern Asia. The class menace to the imperialist system thus arises from both these centers: the international proletarian revolution finds its pivot in the highly developed capitalist countries of Europe and America, the national agrarian revolution in the peasant country of Eastern Asia. In Russia, which stood at the dividing point between the spheres of influence of the two imperialist centers, the two revolutionary tendencies were mingled.

The Russian economy was a combination of antiquated agrarian production characteristic of Asia, and of modern industrial economy characteristic of Europe. Serfdom in various forms survived in practice for an enormous majority of Russian peasants. The small beginnings of capitalist agriculture were thus hindered by the development of the Russian village, its inscrutable peasant agriculture, while leaving the peasant chained to a soil which no longer was able to nourish him. Russian agriculture, embracing four-fifths of the Russian population, had until the total production, was until 1917 a feudal economy sprinkled with capitalist elements. Russian industry was engrafted upon the country by the tsarist regime, which wanted to be independent of foreign countries especially in the production of arm supplies. Since, however, Russia lacked the basis of a well developed system of handicrafts and the rudiments for the building of a class of "free laborers"; this state capitalism, though born of mass production, created no wage-working class. It was a system of capitalist serfdom, and preserved strong traces of this peculiarity down to 1917 in such features as the code of wage payments, barracking of the workers, social legislation, etc. The Russian workers were therefore not only technically backward, but also to a great extent illiterate and in large part directly or indirectly bound to the village. In many branches of industry, the labor force was made up mainly of seasonal peasant workers who had no permanent connection with the city.

Russian industry until 1917 was a system of capitalist production interpersed with feudal elements. Feudal agriculture and capitalist industry were thus mutually penetrated with each other's basic elements and had been combined into a system which could neither be governed by feudal principles of economy nor furnish the foundations for an organic development of its capitalist elements.

The economic task of the Russian Revolution was, first, the setting aside of the concealed agrarian feudalism and its continued exploitation of the peasants as serfs, together with the industrialization of agriculture, placing it on the plane of modern commodity production; secondly, to make possible the unrestricted creation of a class of really "free laborers", liberating the industrial development from all its feudal fetters. Essentially, the tasks of the bourgeois revolution.

It was on this foundation that the State of serf absolutism arose. The existence of this State depended on an equilibrium between the two possessing classes, neither of which was able to dominate the other. If capitalism furnished the economic backbone of that State, its political prop was provided by the feudal nobility. "Constitution" "right to vote", and system of self-governments could not conceal the political impotence of all classes in the serf absolutism, under the conditions of the country's economic backwardness, produced a method of government which was a mixture of European absolutism and Oriental despotism.

Politically, the tasks confronting the Russian Revolution were: the destruction of absolutism, the abolition of the feudal nobility as the first estate, and the creation of a political constitution and an administrative apparatus which would secure politically the fulfillment of the economic task of the Revolution. The political tasks of the Russian Revolution were, therefore, quite in accord with its economic presuppositions, the tasks of the bourgeois revolution.

The economic task of the Russian Revolution was, first, the setting aside of the concealed agrarian feudalism and its continued exploitation of the peasants as serfs, together with the industrialization of agriculture, placing it on the plane of modern commodity production; secondly, to make possible the unrestricted creation of a class of really "free laborers", liberating the industrial development from all its feudal fetters. Essentially, the tasks of the bourgeois revolution.

The feudal nobility fought fundamentally only for the extension of its influence over the absolutist State, wishing to keep it intact for the safeguarding of its privileges.

The bourgeoisie, numerically weak, politically dependent and directly bound to the absolutist State through state subsidies, made numerous shifts in its political orientation. The Decemberist movement of 1825 was only an abortive revolutionary attack on the absolutist State.
At the time of the terrorist movement of the Narodniki in the 70's and 80's, they supported the revolutionary movement passively for the purpose of strengthening the pressure on Czarism. They also attempted to utilize, as a means of pressure, the revolutionary strike movements down to the October struggles of 1905. Their aim was no longer the overthrow but the reform of Czarism. Assemblies of parliamentarians formed in 1905 and 1906 to the spring of 1917, they entered upon a phase of cooperation with Czarism. Finally, the Russian bourgeoisie, in flight from the consequences of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and peasant masses, arrived at unconditional surrender to Czarist reaction in the period of the Kornilov Putsch which was designed to re-establish the former power of the Czar. It became counter-revolutionary even before the tasks of its own revolution had been accomplished. The first class characteristic of the Russian Revolution is the phase period from 1906 to the spring of 1917, they entered upon a phase of cooperation with Czarism. It became counter-revolutionary even before the tasks of its own revolution had been accomplished. The first class characteristic of the Russian Revolution is the fact that as a bourgeoisie revolution it had to be carried through not only without but directly against the bourgeoisie. Thus arose a fundamental alteration of its whole political character.

14. In conformity with their overwhelming majority, the peasants became the social group which at least passively determined the Russian Revolution. While the numerically less important capitalistic-middle and upper—peasantry represented a liberal, petty-bourgeois policy, the preponderant number of famishing and enslaved small peasants were forced by elemental necessities into the course of violent expropriation of the large estates. Unable to pursue a class policy of their own, the Russian peasant elements found themselves compelled to follow the leadership of the other classes. Until February 1917 they had, on the whole, despite sporadic revolts, been the firm base of Czarism. As a result of their massive immobility and backwardness, the 1905 revolution collapsed. In 1917 the great interests thought of making the peasants—had to subordinate themselves to the leadership of the Czars and Czarism, which had organized them in great social units in the army, in that they passively crippled the conduct of the war. By their primitive but irresistible revolts in the villages during the further course of the Revolution, thus doing away with the necessary conditions for the victory of the Bolshevik revolution which, during the years of civil war, was able to maintain itself only by reason of their further active assistance.

15. In spite of its backwardness, the Russian proletariat possessed great fighting strength, due to the merciless schooling of the combined Czariat and capitalist oppression. It threw itself with enormous tenacity into the actions of the Russian bourgeoisie revolution and became its sharpest and most reliable instrument. As each of its actions, through the clash with Czarism, became a revolutionary one, it developed a primitive class-consciousness which in the struggles of 1917, especially in the spontaneous taking over of dominant enterprises, raised itself to the height of subjective communist will.

16. The petty-bourgeois intelligentsia played a distinct role in the Russian Revolution. Intolerably restricted in material and cultural matters, hindered in professional progress, schooled in the most advanced ideas of Western Europe, the best forces of the Russian intelligentsia, carried for a time for revolutionary movement, acted by their leadership impotted upon it a petty-bourgeois, Jacobinical stamp. The Russian social—democratic movement, in its professional revolutionary leader—element, constituted primary a party of the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie.

17. For the class solution of the problems presented by the Russian Revolution, there arose a peculiar combination of forces. The enormous peasant masses formed its passive reserve; the mechanically weaker but revolutionary peasantry and proletarian masses represented in their fighting instrument; the small element of revolutionary intelligentsia arose as the master mind of the Revolution.

18. This class triangle was a necessary development of capitalist society which was ruled politically by the absolutist, independent State, based on the disfranchised possessing classes; the feudal nobility and the bourgeoisie. The peculiar problem of abolishing the bourgeoisie revolution without and against the bourgeoisie, grew out of the necessity for the overthrow of Czarism, of mobilizing the proletariat and peasantry in the struggle for their own interests and thereby destroying not only Czarism but the existing forms of feudal and capitalist exploitation. Numerically, the peasants would have been able to handle the matter alone, but were politically not in a position to do so as they were unable to actualize their class interests except by subordinating themselves to the leadership of some other class element which in a certain measure determined to what degree the class interests of the peasantry were carried through. The Russian workers developed, in 1917, the beginnings of an independent communist class policy, but lacked the social presuppositions for their victory, which as a victory of the proletarian revolution would have had to be a victory also over the peasantry. This was impossible for the Russian proletariat which, in its various strata, numbered but ten millions. As—just like the peasants—the workers had to subordinate themselves to the leadership of a group of intellectuals not organically bound up with their interests.

19. The creation of the organized leadership of the Russian Revolution and the development of an appropriate tactic is the merit of the Bolsheviks. They accomplished the seemingly hopeless task of creating the contradictory alliance between the proletariat fighting for private property and the peasantry fighting for communism, thus making the revolution under its difficult conditions possible and ensuring its success by binding together this contradictory peasant—worker combination with the iron links of the composite dictatorship. The Bolsheviks constitute the leadership party of Russia's revolutionary petty-bourgeois intelligentsia; they accomplished the historical task of the Russian Revolution, namely, the fitting of history to the back of the bourgeoisie—revolutionary peasantry combined with the proletarian—revolutionary working class.

IV. The Essence of Bolshevism.

20. Bolshevism has all the fundamental characteristics of bourgeois—revolutionary policy intensified by the insight (taken over from Marxism) into the laws of movement of social classes. Lenin's phrase, "the revolutionary social democrat is the Jacobin, linked with the masses", is more than an external comparison. It is rather an expression of the inner technico-political affinity with the movement of the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie of the French revolution.
21. The basic principle of Bolshevik policy—the conquest and exercise of power by the organization—is Jacobinical. The guiding line of the great political perspective and of its realization through the tactic of the Bolshevik organization fighting for power is Jacobinical; the mobilization of all suitable means and forces towards the overthrow of the absolute power is combined with the application of all methods that promise success; signagging and compromising with any social force which may be used, if even for the shortest time and in the least important sector of the struggle. The fundamental idea of Bolshevik organization, finally, is Jacobinical; the creation of a strict organization of professional revolutionists which will remain a pliant tool of an omnipotent leadership.

22. Theoretically, Bolshevism has by no means developed a thought structure of its own which could be considered a closed system. It has, rather, taken over the Marxist method of looking at classes and adapted it to the Russian revolutionary situation, i.e., basically changed its content while maintaining its concepts.

23. The one ideological achievement of Bolshevism is the connecting of its own political theory as a whole with philosophical materialism. As a radical protagonist of the bourgeois revolution, it falls upon the radical, philosophical ideology of the bourgeois revolution and makes it the dogma of its own view of human society. This fixation upon philosophical materialism is accompanied by a continual backsliding into philosophical idealism which considers political practice as in the last instance the emanation of the action of leaders. (Treason of reformism; idolatry of Lenin and Stalin.)

24. The organization of Bolshevism arose out of the social-democratic circles of intellectual revolutionists and developed through factional struggles, splits and defeats into an organization of leaders with the dominant positions in the minds of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Its further growth, favored by the continuously illegal situation, established it as a political organization of military character, based on professional revolutionists. Only through such a straight-lined instrument of leadership could the Bolshevik tactic be carried through and the historical task of Russia's revolutionary intelligentsia be fulfilled.

25. The Bolshevik tactic, in the service of pursuing the conquest of power by the organization, revealed—especially up to October 1917—a powerful inner consistency. Its continual outer fluctuations were essentially only temporary adaptations to altered situations and to altered relations of forces between the classes. In accordance with the principle of absolute subordination of the means to the end, without any consideration of the ideological effect on the classes which it led, the tactic was overhauled even in apparently fundamental questions. It was the task of the functionaries to make each of these maneuvers understandable to the masses. On the other hand, every ideological stirring among the masses, even when fundamentally in contradiction to the party program, was utilized. That could be done because the unconditional interests of the Bolsheviks were ruthlessly subordinated to the one purpose of using the forces of these classes. In order to mobilize the peasantry, the Bolsheviks as early as 1905 or thereafter, adapted the slogan of "radical expropriation of the landed proprietors by the peasants." This slogan could be regarded from the peasant's standpoint as an invitation to divide the big estates among

26. The goal which furnished the starting point of Bolshevism is the overthrow of the czarist system. As an attack on absolutism, it is also Jacobinical and bourgeois in character. To this end is subordinated the struggle about the tactical line within the Russian social democracy. In this struggle, Bolshevism develops its methods and slogans.

27. It was the historical task of Bolshevism to weld together, by its leadership tactic, the rebellion of the proletariat and peasantry, who stood on quite different social planes, to the end of common action against the feudal state. Through the policy of the Bolshevik revolution at the beginning of the development of bourgeois society with the proletarian revolt (action of the proletarian revolution at the end of the development of bourgeois society) into a unified action. It was able to do this only by reason of the fact that it unfolded a grand strategy in which use was made of the most diverse social stirrings and tendencies.

28. This utilization strategy begins with the willingness to capitalize the smallest splits and cracks in the opponent's camp. Thus Lenin once spoke of the liberal proprietors as "our allies of tomorrow," while at another time he came out for support of the priests who turned against the government because of their material neglect. He was also ready to support the religious sects persecuted by Czarism.

29. The clarity of Lenin's tactic, however, reveals itself in the fact that, especially as a result of the experiences of 1905, he posed the question of the "allies of the revolution" on the right line, in that he turned more sharply against all compromises with the dominant capitalist groups and restricted it to political alliance and of compromise with the petty-bourgeois and small-peasant elements, i.e., those elements which alone historically could be mobilized for the bourgeois revolution in Russia.

30. The two-class basis of Bolshevik policy is expressed broadly in the tactical slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants," which in 1905 was made the general guiding line of Bolshevik policy and which still carried with it the illusionary idea of some sort of parliamentarism without the bourgeoisie. It was later replaced by the slogan of "class alliance between the workers and peasants." Behind this formula was concealed nothing but the necessity of setting both these classes in motion for the Bolshevik policy of seizing power.

31. The temporary slogans under which these two classes determining for the Russian Revolution were to be mobilized on the basis of their contradictory interests were ruthlessly subordinated to the one purpose of using the forces of these classes. In order to mobilize the peasantry, the Bolsheviks as early as 1905 or thereafter, adapted the slogan of "radical expropriation of the landed proprietors by the peasants." This slogan could be regarded from the peasantry's standpoint as an invitation to divide the big estates among...
the small peasants. When the Mensheviks pointed out the reactionary content of the Bolshevik agrarian slogan, Lenin informed them that the Bolsheviks had in the least decided what was to be done with the expropriated estates. To regulate this matter would be the function of social-democratic policy when the situation arose. The demand for expropriation of the large estates by the peasants was thus of a democratic cut and struck the peasants on the dominant point of their interests. In like manner, the Bolsheviks have also dropped slogans among the workers, e.g. that of the Soviets. Determining for their tactic was merely the momentary success of a slogan which was by no means regarded as an obligation of principle on the part of the party with respect to the masses, but as a propagandistic means of a policy having for its final content the conquest of power by the organization.

32. In the period 1906-14, Bolshevism developed, in the combination of legal with illegal activity, the tactic of "revolutionary parliamentarism". This tactic was adopted by the Bolsheviks in 1910, with the aid of this tactic, it succeeded in linking the day-to-day guerilla warfare between the workers and Czariam, and between the peasants and Czariam, into the great line of preparation for the bourgeois revolution under Russian conditions. In particular, each step in parliamentary activity on the part of the Russian social democracy bore, in consequence of czarist dictatorial policy, a bourgeois-revolutionary character. In its tactic of mobilizing the two decisive classes of the Russian Revolution in the altered situation between the revolution of 1906 down to the World War, this aim was further pursued and the Duma was used as a tribune for its propaganda among the workers and peasants.

VI. - Bolshevism and the Working Class.

33. Bolshevism has solved the historical problem of the bourgeois revolution in feudal-capitalist in accord with the situation of the bourgeois revolution in Russia. With the aid of this tactic, it succeeded in linking the day-to-day guerilla warfare between the workers and Czarism, and between the peasants and Czarism, into the great line of preparation for the bourgeois revolution under Russian conditions. This theory becomes, in the hands of the Bolsheviks, and in spite of its being a means of understanding the class structure and tendencies of Russia, also the means of veiling the actual class content of the Bolshevik revolution. Behind the Marxist concepts and slogans is concealed the content of a bourgeois revolution which had to be brought about, under the leadership of a revolutionary petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, by the united assault of a socialistically oriented proletariat and a peasantry tied to private property, against czarist absolutism, land-owning nobility and the bourgeoisie.

34. The absolute claim to leadership on the part of the revolutionary, petty-bourgeois and Jacobin intelligentsia is concealed behind the Bolshevist conception of the role of the Party among the working class. The petty-bourgeois intelligentsia could expand its organization into a revolutionary instrument only on condition of attracting and making use of proletarian forces. It therefore called its Jacobinist party proletariat. The subordination of the fighting working class to the petty-bourgeois leadership was justi-
Since the Bolsheviks regarded the soviets preponderantly as organs of insurrection instead of as organs of self-government of the working class, they made it all too clear that to them the soviets were only a tool by the aid of which their party could take over the power. This has been demonstrated in general practice, not only by their organization of the soviet state after the conquest of power, but also in the special case of the bloody repression of the Kronstadt rebellion. The peasant-capitalist demands of the insurrection were granted by the NEP; its proletarian-democratic demands, however, were drowned in working-class blood.

41. The attitude of the Bolsheviks toward the trade union question is likewise determined from the point of view of control and leadership of the workers by the Bolshevik party. In Russia, the Bolsheviks have completely taken away from the trade unions their character of labor organizations, by governmentizing and militarizing them by the compulsory character imposed upon them after the conquest of power. In the other countries, the final result of the Bolshevik policy has been to protect the bureaucratic, reformist trade-union organizations, and instead of the breaking up of such organizations, the Bolsheviks have advocated the "conquest" of their apparatus. They were bitter opponents of the idea of revolutionary trade-union organization. They fought for the conquest or renovation of organizations controlled by the centralistic bureaucracy, which they thought to rule from their own command posts.

42. As a leader-movement of Jacobinist dictatorship, Bolshevism in all its phases has consistently combated the idea of self-determination of the working class and demanded that the proletariat be led by the Bolshevik Party with its military formations. The discussion which took place, prior to the war, on the question of organization within the Second International, Lenin was a violent and vindictive opponent of Karl Liebknecht and supported himself outspokenly on the centrism of the Party, who during and after the war carefully revealed his policy of class betrayal. Bolshevism had even then, as constantly since, proved that it not only has no understanding of the question of developing the consciousness and the class organizations of the proletariat, but that it also combats with all means all theoretical and practical attempts to develop actual class organizations and class policies.

VII. - The Bolshevik Revolution.

43. Bolshevism has called the revolution of February the bourgeois revolution, and that of October the proletarian revolution, in order to be able to pass off its later regime as proletarian class rule and its economic policies as socialism. The absurdity of this division of the revolution of 1917 becomes clear merely from consideration of the fact that in that case a development of seven months would have sufficed to create the economic and social preconditions for a proletarian revolution in a country which needed extra decades of development. Bolshevism, therefore, developed its policies of revolution, i.e., simply to lead an economic and social phase of development that would at least require decades. In reality, the revolution of 1917 is a quite military social process of transformation, beginning with the collapse of the Czarist autocracy and the victorious armed insurrection of the Bolsheviks on November 7th. This violent process of transformation is that of Russia's bourgeois revolution under the historically created, peculiar Russian conditions.

44. In this process, the party of the revolutionary, Jacobinist intelligentsia seized power on the two social waves of peasant and proletarian mass insurrection and created in the place of the shattered governing triangle, Czarism, nobility, bourgeoisie, the new governing triangle, Bolshevism, peasantry, working class. Just as the state apparatus of Czarism ruled independently over the two possessing classes, so the new Bolshevik state apparatus began to make itself independent of its double class basis. Russia stepped out of the conditions of imperial absolutism into those of Bolshevik absolutism.

45. Bolshevism policy attains, during the revolutionary period, its highest point in the way of embracing and mastering the class forces of the revolution. The aim of their revolutionary tactic is reached in the preparation and carrying out of the armed insurrection. The insurrection became a spiral and the Bolsheviks a question of an exact, thoroughly scheduled and planned military action, the head of which as well as its driving and controlling force was the Bolshevik Party with its military formations. Conception, preparation and execution of the armed insurrection by the Bolsheviks were not the obvious stamp of the Jacobinist conspiracy, (in the Russian Revolution again the only possible policy) that is, of insurrection under the peculiar conditions of carrying through the bourgeois revolution under the bourgeois.

46. The inner character of the Bolshevist revolution as a bourgeois revolution reveals itself in its economic slogans. To the peasant masses, the Bolsheviks represented the violent expropriation of the large estates by the spontaneous action of the land-hungry small peasantry. They perfectly expressed in their agrarian practice and slogans (Peace and Land) the interests of the peasants fighting for the security of small private property, hence on capitalist lines, and we were thus, on the agrarian question, ruthless champions of small-capitalist, hence not socialist-proletarian interests against feudal and capitalist landed property.

47. Nor with regard to the workers were the economic demands of the Bolshevist revolution filled with a socialist content. Lenin on several occasions repelled with distinct sharpness the Menshevik criticism that Bolshevism represented a utopian policy of socialism of production in a country not yet ripe for it. The Bolshevists declared that in the revolution it was not at all a question of socialization of production, but of control of production by the worker.
The slogan of control of production served the attempt to maintain capitalism as a force for technical and economic organization. The bourgeois character of the Bolshevik revolution and the Bolshevik self-management character, as opposed to the restriction of the workers and the workers' economic character, could not be countered by the policy of the results of the overthrow of 1917, could not be shown more clearly than in this slogan of control of production. The Bolshevik industrial policy further strengthened the industrial enterprises by the new governmental bureaucracy. The socialization of the workers' control from above by its bureaucratic character, centralistically controlled from above, could not be shown to the Bolsheviks in general, on the concepts of socialization. Lenin himself had, however, no other fundamental conception of socialization of production than that of a bureaucratically controlled state economy. To him the German war economy and the postal service were illustrations of socialization, i.e. economic organization of an outright bureaucratic character, centrally controlled from above. He saw only the technical, not the proletariat's control from above. Lenin likewise based himself, and with his Bolshevism in general, on the concepts of socialization. The actual problem in socializing production, i.e. the enterprises and the organization of the economy through the working class and its class organizations, the shop councils; Bolshevism has completely passed away. It had to be because the Marxist idea of the association of free and equal producers is directly opposed to the essence of the rule of a Jacobinical organization, and because Russia did not possess the social and economic conditions necessary for socialism. The socialistic concept of the Bolsheviks is therefore not merely an expedient of the bourgeois revolution of its own country, a revolution which wished to strike down capitalism and restore the old realms of absolutism and nationalities of the Russian Empire. It is, at the same time, the peasant internationalism of a bourgeois revolution which was accomplished in the age of world imperialism and which could only be realized in the most dialectical way, not merely by the aid of an international oriented and activated counter-policy.

54. As instruments of Bolshevik leadership for this policy of international support for the bourgeois revolution accomplished on Russian soil, Bolshevism attempted to create two international organizations: the Third International to mobilize the workers of the highly developed capitalist countries, and the Fourth International as an organization for Bolshevik mobilization of the oriental peasant peoples. As the final guiding thought of this international double-class policy there appeared the idea of the world revolution, in which the international (European-American) proletarian revolution and the national (mainly Oriental) peasant revolution only were riveted into a new international unity of bolshevik world policy under the strict leadership of Moscow. Thus the concept of "world revolution" has for the Bolshevists an altogether different class content, it no longer has anything in common with the international proletarian revolution.

55. The international policy of Bolshevism was thus directed to repeating the Russian Revolution on a world scale by simultaneous utilization of the proletarian and the peasant-bourgeois revolutions and thereby making the leadership of the Bolshevik party of Russia.
the commander of a world bolshevik system of coupling together the commu
nist-proletarian and peasant-capitalist interests. This policy was insofar
positive as it has protected the bolshevik state from imperialist
invasion by continually disquieting the capitalist states, and th
keeping bolshevik state to build itself gradually into the
democratic system again by the capitalist methods of commer
cial relations, economic agreements and non-aggression pacts. It has
given Russia the opportunity for an unhindered national build up and
exposure of its own internal position. The two-front policy of
Bolshevism was negative in that on both sides the attempt to carry
over the active bolshevik policy onto a world scale has collapsed.
The experiment of the Peasant International has been broken
down with the defeat of bolshevik policy in China. The Third Inter
national, after the pitiful collapse of the Communist Party of Ger
many, is no longer a factor in bolshevik world policy. The gigantic
attempt to transplant the bolshevik policy of Russia into world re
lations is historically a failure, and proves the national, Russian
limitations of Bolshevism. At any rate, the bolshevik experiment in
international Machiavellism has afforded time and space for the re
covery of Bolshevism onto its national (Russian) position and for the
conversion to capitalist-imperialist methods of international policy.
Theoretically, this retreat found its expression in the formula "so
cialism in one country", thereby removing the international one
from the concept of "socialism" after the Russian economic practice
had already robbed it of its proletarian class content and turned it
into a disguise of state-capitalist tendencies found as well in re
formism and in petty-bourgeois fascism.

56. Actually, it is unessential, now that we have the results of
15 years of the bolshevik state and of the bolshevik international,
whether Lenin at or before the founding of the Comintern had or had
not a different idea about the effects of this bolshevik international;
with its concept of the "right to national self-determination" has developed the tendencies to a world-bol
shevik Machiavellism. It has also, through the Comintern, decisively
contributed to the result that the European proletarian revolution has
risen to the height of revolutionary communism insight and instead re
mained stuck in the mud of reformist concepts revived by Bolshevism
and decorated with revolutionary phrases. Thus it has come about that
the concept of the "Russian Fatherland" has become a political idea of
the bolshevik party, whereas for proletarian communism the international working class stands at the center of all
international orientation.

IX. State Bolshevism and the Comintern.

57. The establishment of the bolshevik state was the establishment of
the rule of bolshevism. The sociological basis of this state power, made independent of its supporting classes,
and creating the new social element of the bolshevik bureaucratic, was
composed of the Russian proletariat and peasantry. The proletariat,
engaged in the movement of compulsory membership in the trade
unions and the terrorist of the Soviets, formed the basis of the bol
shevistic, bureaucratically conducted state economy. The peasantry
continued and still continues in its ranks the private capitalist ten
denies of that economy. The bolshevik state in its nan was contin
ually being tossed back and forth between the two tendencies.

It has attempted to master them through violent organisational meth
ods such as the five-year plan policy and compulsory collectivisation.
In practice, however, it has only increased the economic difficulties
to the danger point of an explosion of the economic contradictions by
the intolerable over-production and of the sharp decrease in the peasants' earnings. The bolshevik state economy can by
no means be denoted as a complete success. The great international
voluntaries threatening Russia are bound to increase the contradi
ctions of its economic system till they become intolerable and may
annually hasten the collapse of the hitherto gigantic economic expe
riment.

58. The inner character of Russian economy is determined by the
following circumstances: it rests on the foundation of commodity
production; it is conducted according to the viewpoints of capital
ist profitability; it reveals a decided capitalism system of wages
and speed-up; it has carried the refinements of capitalist rational
isation to the utmost limits. Bolshevism is state production with capitalist methods.

59. This state form of production also produces surplus value,
which is squeezed out of the workers in fullest measure. The Russian
State does not, to be sure, reveal any class of people who individu
ally and directly are the beneficiaries of the surplus-value produc
tion, but it pokes this surplus value through the bureaucratic
parasitic apparatus as a whole. In addition to its own quite costly
maintenance, the surplus value produced serves for the expansion of production, the support of the peasant class and a means of settle
ment for the foreign obligations of the Russian state. In addition to
this parasitic element of the ruling bureaucracy, the Russia
peasants, as a distinct part of international capital, are
the beneficiaries of the surplus value produced by the Russian work
ers. The Russian state is therefore parasitic capitalism, and
its state capitalism under the historically unique conditions of the bolshevik regime, and accordingly represents a
different and more advanced type of capitalist production than even
the greatest and most advanced countries have to show.

60. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union has been subordinated
the point of view of securing the position of the bolshevik state
and of the state apparatus which it controls. The state apparatus, in support of its industrial construc
tion which was pushed forward with the greatest exertions. The isolation
of Soviet Russia's economy led to a strenuous policy of doing away
with the compulsory autarchy while maintaining control of the foreign
trade monopoly. Commercial treaties, concessionaire agreements,
as well as extensive credit arrangements, reestablished the bond of Rus
sian state economy with capitalist world production and its markets,
during which Russia entered partly as a desired customer and partly as
a keen competitor. On the other hand, the policy of economic attach
ment to world capital compelled the Soviet government to cultivate
friendly and peaceful relations with the capitalist powers. The prin
ciples of a bolshevik world policy, where they were still propagated,
were economically subordinated to the bare commercial treaty. The
entire foreign policy of the Russian government took on the stamp of a
typically capitalist diplomacy and thus, in the international
sphere, definitely bore bolshevik theory loose from bolshevik prac
tice.
In the center of the foreign propaganda of the Comintern, Bolshevism placed the thesis of "imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union" though such a phrase did not harmonize in the least with their complicated lines of imperialist conflicts of interests and their continually changing groupings. It attempted to mobilize the inter-parliamentary partly putchist policy on the part of the imperialist parties, to create unrest in the capitalist states from within and thereby strengthen the diplomatic and economic position of the Soviet Union.

The oppositions between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers led to the ideological counter-propaganda of the Comintern under the slogans: "Monarchy of War against the U.S.S.R.", "Protector of the Worker under the flag of Revolution". In the absence of these oppositions as the only determinant in the actual realities of international politics, the adherents of the communist parties became between the workers, everywhere else, blind and opportunistic defenders of the Soviet Union and were kept in ignorance of the fact that the Soviet Union had long ago become a full-blended factor in imperialist world politics.

The continual cry of alarm about an imminent war by the combined imperialist powers against the U.S.S.R. served in domestic politics for justifying the intensified militarization of labor and industry. At the same time, the increased pressure on the Russian proletariat. The Soviet Union had and has the greatest interest in the avoidance of any military conflict with other States. The Bolshevist government depends internally in large measure on the avoidance of all convulsions in the sphere of foreign politics, both military as well as revolution. In the last resort, the policies of sabotage of all real revolutionary proletarian development and in the communist parties somewhat openly spread the conception that the uprising of the proletariat in Europe can be delayed or frustrated by foreign intervention. The policy of unconditional understanding of the U.S.S.R. with capitalist and imperialist States has not only economic grounds. Nor is it merely an expression of military inferiority. The Soviet Union's 'peace policy' is, rather, quite decisively guaranteed by the inner-situation of Bolshevism, its existence as an independent state power.

The policy of unconditional understanding of the U.S.S.R. with capitalist and imperialist States has not only economic grounds. Nor is it merely an expression of military inferiority. The Soviet Union's 'peace policy' is, rather, quite decisively guaranteed by the inner-situation of Bolshevism, its existence as an independent state power.
The New Deal is no harbinger of a "new social order", nor is its apostle, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, self-proclaimed advocate for the "forgotten man", the really unselfish and public-spirited individual he is portrayed.

Roosevelt's election was engineered, just like all other previous elections, by a group of individuals whose economic interests required urgent governmental aid.

The fall of 1932 saw the complete collapse of American industry and a rising tide of agrarian discontent. The current occupant of the White House, Herbert Hoover, placed there by the Morgan and Mellon financial interests, appeared totally oblivious to the desperate straits of these two groups. It was only natural that these groups should demand that political power in the coming election which would enable them to pass beneficial legislation for themselves.

Why was Roosevelt selected to "lead" the country out of economic chaos? No one had taken a greater interest in drain the nation's attention as a much advertised "liberal" politician, but even more so because his own economic interests were identical with those of the group pushing his candidacy.

James Roosevelt, father of Franklin D., one-time vice-president of the Delaware & Hudson R.R., accumulated such a tremendous fortune in railroad organization, both down South following the Civil War, and in the East, that he was considered one of the five richest men in New York City. Although young Franklin D., had expressed a desire to enter the Navy, the elder Roosevelt persuaded him to study law instead and thus better equip himself for the ultimate management of the extensive Roosevelt holdings. Following graduation from Harvard and Columbia Law School, Roosevelt entered the offices of the best established firm of management lawyers in New York City. While in their employ, he directed the affairs of the huge Astor estate, and thereby established a very close friendship with William Vincent Astor, one of the country's most influential industrialists and bankers. In a spirit of fun, Roosevelt then entered politics. Running for the state Senate on the Democratic ticket, he surprised everyone by capturing the office. No wonder he was seated, then Roosevelt, the comparatively unknown, drew national attention to himself by leading an opposition to the Tammany nomination for U.S. senator (in those days, 1911, they were elected by the state legislature). Thus he gained through his one act that unforeseen reputation for unselfish devotion to the people's interests that has endured to this day. Next Roosevelt boosted Woodrow Wilson for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1912, stumping for him afterwards during the successful election campaign. As a reward, Wilson appointed his Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Roosevelt spent seven years in this position. Several months ago, the Administration publicity agencies made much of the state department's official statement approving the U.S. security men stationed in San Domingo (Haiti). They discreetly neglected to mention that it was this same Franklin D. Roosevelt who sent them there in 1913 in his first official act as Assistant Secretary ostensibly to protect American lives, actually to protect American investments, Astor interests among others! During the summer and fall of 1915, our peace-loving Asst. Secretary of the Navy began preparing the Navy for eventual participation in the World War, two years before our actual entry! In addition, he developed a gift for oratory and began to advocate publicly for a much larger Navy. This missionary work was largely instrumental in causing President Wilson to sponsor the largest Navy appropriation bill up to that time. Passed in 1916, it provided an appropriation of $320,000,000 for naval expansion.

After America was propagandized into the war, thanks to paid Allied propaganda plus the help tendered by American financial interests, J.P. Morgan & Co. and young Jingoists of the Roosevelt type, our hero proved himself quite capable. Roosevelt invented the "Navy Board", the first governmental war labor board, which coordinated wages for every part of the country. The National War Labor Board developed from this. This latter Board showed its regard for Labor by forbidding all strikes for the termination of the war. Roosevelt also served as representative of the Navy on the War Labor Boards, charged with working out labor policies. In his capacity as Labor expert, Roosevelt helped "arbitrate" labor disputes pertaining to the Navy. This brought him into contact with various American Federation of Labor officials, who all displayed great patriotism and extreme reasonableness in their dealings.

The greatest of these patriots and the most reasonable in his demands was the vice-president of the International Association of Machinists. Roosevelt never forgot the favors he received from this official, and so when the C.C.C. was instituted last year, at its head was placed this sterling patriot, Robert Fehser.

After helping to win the war to "make the World Safe for Democracy", Roosevelt returned to civilian life, resuming his law practice. At Alfred E. Smith's behest, he reentered politics, gaining the governorship of New York in 1928, and again in '30. During this period, the Governor discovered he possessed a remarkable radio voice, for a politician. From such humble beginnings sprang that great American institution: Intimate Fireside Chat with the President (through the courtesy of both broadcasting systems).

His administration as governor, in spite of press-agency to the contrary, shows no benefits for labor. The legislation to which Roosevelt points with greatest pride as a boon to labor, The New York State Old Age Pension Act, doesn't benefit labor at all. Not only must applicants be 70 years or over, (surely no help to most workers who never reach 60, let alone 70) because of modern working conditions, but the procedure is so loaded with red-tape that really needy individuals without money for legal aid can hardly hope to secure its benefits.
Roosevelt is not the only member of his family with extensive railroad holdings. His first cousin on his mother's side, Lyman Delano, is today Chairman of the board of directors of the Atlantic Coast Line R.R. Co., the Louisville & Nashville, and has an interest in many others. Other relatives are J.J. Pelley, recently resigned president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford R.R., and a shareholder in other railroads. Roosevelt's three most intimate friends are likewise industrialists with huge railroad holdings. The aforementioned M. Astor, besides extensive interests in industry and ocean transportation, is a director of the Great Northern Ry., and the Illinois Central. Roosevelt's presidential campaign with substantial financial contributions, almost every other railroad mogul in the country likewise backed: Robert Coetje, Arthur C. James, Edward S. Harriman, C.S. McColl, David Bruce, Howard Bruce, Wm.T.Kemper, and F.H. Rawson. The railroad group behind Roosevelt numbered almost everyone but, significantly enough, the representatives of the roads controlled by the J.P. Morgan financial interests.

The railroads had indeed taken the worst beating of any capitalist group during the period of the crisis, and certainly needed help. For example, in 1932, 150 selected railroads showed a deficit of $150,634,000 compared to earnings of $896,807,000 in 1929. The railroad movement industry led by Mr. Woodin also marshaled behind Roosevelt.

Another section of industry that rallied behind Franklin D., was the mining. Particularly the precious metals - gold and silver - group. Most prominent here were the Guggenheims and Bernard M. Baruch interests, exerting a virtual monopoly on silver through control of the American Smelting & Refining Co., which either extracts or refines for most of the world's silver. Included with these too are W.Hearst, newspaper publisher, large Mexican silver mine owner and shareholder in the Homestake Gold Mining Co.'s group in advocating gold devaluation and greater use of silver for monetary purposes aligned the large farmers' vote who demanded that farm product prices be raised through monetary legislation.

A political party that promised to raise farmer purchasing power, (founded in 1932 to almost one-half that of 1929) was bound to gain the support of industrial interests dependent on the farmer, and so we find the McCormicks, owning the monopolistic International Harvester Co., and other farm implement and fertilizer manufacturers joining the Roosevelt bandwagon.

Minor industrial interests included the liquor concerns who wanted repeal of the Prohibition Amendment, and construction industry moguls such as C.R. Crane of Crane Co., Jesse H. Jones (R.F.C. head) and J.T. Jones of the Jones Lumber Co., etc.

Behind both political parties was a grim struggle between two factions for control of the giant Chase National Bank. Backing the Republican Hoover were his 1928 mentors, the House of Morgan. Opposing J.P. Morgan was this other group of stockholders headed by John Rockefeller, Jr., and including Vincent Astor, the Vanderbilts, and Baruch. Roosevelt's father-in-law, T.V. Averell Harriman, was no other railroad mogul in the country, and the Administration, almost all of them, who are primarily industrialists, violently disapproved of this policy blaming it in great part for the stock market crash of '29. They not only wanted to gain control of the bank and return it to its normal commercial banking practice, which is to provide funds to industry and business for meeting current expenses, on good security, but they wanted control of the federal government in order to enact federal legislation against the Morgan policy which had become widespread under the influence and example of the Chase National Bank. When Aldrich appeared before the Banking Investigation, he announced that the Chase National would divorce its Chase Securities, for a complete divorce of the securities business and commercial deposit banking. This suggestion was embodied in the Glass-Steagall Banking Act (June 16, 1933) ordering all commercial banks to be separated from their securities business within twelve months. Restrictions were also placed against loans for speculative purposes.

The devaluation of the gold dollar, followed later by the nationalization of silver, enriched immediately the gold and silver producers. This monetary policy plus crop curtailment as practiced by the A.A.A. has increased farm prices to some degree. The Administration, however, overlooked the obvious fact that higher food prices raise the cost of living for the worker, which is directly opposed to the interests of the industrialist who desires low production costs.

The N.R.A., whose first form was suggested by Bernard M. Baruch as the result of his war-time experience as Chairman of the War Industries Board, was administered by Hugh Johnson (a former employee of Baruch's) in such fashion as to allow the natural tendency toward monopoly inherent in capitalism to develop unrestrictedly. Codes were drawn by the largest industrialists in each industry and naturally were drawn in their own interests. Minimum wages and hours served to eliminate the small competitors who were only able to stay in the race by paying unalterably low wages and working long hours. Overproduction, therefore, helped to liquidate these small firms and fostered monopoly. Since these acts and codes have been set aside during the course of N.R.A., it is evident that this phase will be continued.
The government will also be forced to subsidize the railroads in operation, making them more of a monopoly than ever, and rival forms of transportation will suffer. To those who have written in asking for additional copies of the first issue of Council Correspondence, we are sorry to say that this issue is entirely sold out. We hope to get out the feature article, "What Is Communism?" in pamphlet form sometime in the near future, and when we do we will notify the workers who have sent in these requests. We still have a few copies of the November issue.