

100 Years Later

Some Lessons of the Great Bolshevik Revolution

by Dierdre Griswold, Editor of *Workers World* newspaper

An Open Letter to Revolutionaries Everywhere

by Larry Holmes, First Secretary of Workers World Party



\$ 2.00

Table of Contents

Article	Page
From Marx's view of social evolution to Lenin's 'Imperialism' By Deirdre Griswold, posted on October 12, 2017	3
Social gains in the early years of Soviet power By Deirdre Griswold, posted on October 18, 2017	8
'Whose state? Our state' — meaning all nationalities By Deirdre Griswold, posted on October 25, 2017	13
External and internal problems, strengths and setbacks By Deirdre Griswold, posted on October 31, 2017	17
To the 0.001 percent: You are cheering too soon By Deirdre Griswold, posted on November 6, 2017	22
An open letter to revolutionaries everywhere By Larry Holmes, posted on October 30, 2017	26



Articles copyright 2017 Workers World. Verbatim copying and distribution of entire articles is permitted in any medium without royalty provided this notice is preserved.

From Marx's view of social evolution to Lenin's 'Imperialism'

By Deirdre Griswold, posted on October 12, 2017

WWW.TINYURL.COM/WW171012DG

Life is full of contradictions. It is the development of the means of production that makes socialism possible. But the consciousness needed to actually fight for socialism has so far been greatest in those countries where the means of production have been stunted and even obliterated by the imperialists.

Enthusiasm for revolutionary change that can bring down capitalism and replace it with socialism is energizing a new generation in the United States. It's no secret why this should be happening.

A thousand fault lines are becoming not just visible but dangerously threatening in the existing economic and political system. Every day brings a new catastrophe or tragedy as the class in power — that small group of multibillionaires who have concentrated half the world's wealth in their hands — revels in its riches, even as misery and fear of what the future will bring seize more and more of the population.

Moreover, this supposedly “democratic” political system has put in the top office an erratic and self-absorbed racist billionaire whose outlandish behavior makes him a danger to the people of the world and a liability even to many in his own class.

At one time, beginning more than a century ago, many workers in Europe and even the United States understood that capitalism meant exploitation, robbing them of much of the product of their labor. They also understood that the bosses had a conscious strategy to split the working class into pieces, divided by race, national origin, language, religion, gender, and any other differences that could be inflamed by constant propaganda and pressure.

Many workers resisted all this, and political parties that put socialism on their banner and called for solidarity were strong among the working class and provided leaders of many organizing struggles.

But it's been a long time since those early reds, radicals, revolutionaries were hounded out of the labor movement, the schools, the arts and so on in the United

States. They were pilloried by the powerful capitalist media. The perception that there could be revolutionary change, especially in the U.S., was ridiculed and condemned by the whole stable of bourgeois intellectuals and politicians, who preached then — as they do now — that there would be gradual improvement in the conditions of the masses, but only if they worked within the system.

The focus of most of these attacks on socialism and communism was the Soviet Union. As soon as the Bolshevik Revolution took power in 1917, the bourgeoisie mustered all its resources to demonize and ridicule the new workers' state. And while the USSR no longer exists, that hasn't stopped them. Quite the contrary. It has given them even more ammunition to proclaim that socialism will never work and capitalism is the only system that can innovate and provide people with what they want and need.

So it's very important that anyone who wants to resist this system of wage slavery and fight for socialism should be able to explain both the amazing successes of the USSR and also the enormous difficulties that the first workers' state had to deal with in its more than 70 years of existence.

Looking back 100 years

It's now exactly 100 years since that revolution, and that is a long time for individuals. A whole new generation has grown up just since the collapse of the USSR in 1991. This new generation needs to know what was achieved despite all the obstacles, as well as what brought the USSR down.

This series of articles will focus not so much on the subjective problems of leadership. Those problems were very intense and affected the world communist movement very deeply, particularly after the death of the acknowledged leader of the Bolshevik Revolution, V.I. Lenin.

Rather, the series intends to examine the Russian Revolution within the framework of the Marxist view of social evolution. It will also look at some of the theoretical contributions made by Lenin, who analyzed the profound impact on the working-class movement that came with the transformation of capitalism into its highest and final stage, imperialism. This transformation deeply affected the consciousness of the workers in both oppressor and oppressed countries, but in opposite ways.

Lenin, it should be remembered, wrote his classic work on imperialism during World War I. It was published just one year before the Bolshevik Revolution. It was key to understanding why in underdeveloped Russia, where so many could not even read, the workers and peasants of many different nationalities would become the most revolutionary fighters against class oppression.

Marx on material basis of social evolution

Marx had formulated his revolutionary views on the transition from capitalism to socialism in an earlier period. He had shown how the development of



Lenin speaking in Moscow, October 1917.

the means of production in the long run determines social relations.

When early human societies struggled to provide food, clothing and shelter with the simple tools they had, it took cooperation and sharing to ensure that the group survived. There was no surplus to fall back on — or to fight over.

But as survival techniques and tools gradually improved, there came a time when there were surpluses, and eventually the emergence of a leisure class that did not have to work but could appropriate to itself, usually by force, the fruits of others' labors.

As surpluses grew and human societies became more stratified, slavery emerged, then feudalism and finally capitalism — all different forms of class oppression made possible by the growing productivity of labor.

Capitalism in Europe was revolutionary in relation to feudalism. It unleashed science and technology from the fetters of mysticism. As a result, productivity improved by leaps and bounds. By the time Marx developed his dialectical materialist view of social development, it was already clear that poverty and ignorance could be abolished completely if the rulers were overthrown and the social product shared equitably among the working people. The idea of such a society was no longer utopian; it could be realized given the high level of productivity.

Most assumed that the revolutionary change to make this possible would come first in the countries of Europe and North America, where scientific-technological development in the means of production was the highest.

But what we have seen since then is something very different.

Revolutionary energy shifts to oppressed countries

Beginning with the Bolshevik Revolution, and continuing with the Mongolian, Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese revolutions in Asia, the liberation movements in Africa and the Cuban Revolution in Latin America, it was the masses of people in oppressed countries who avidly responded to the ideas of socialism and communism. They rose up by the millions behind Marxist-Leninist leadership to effect revolutionary change and begin to liberate themselves from class oppression.

Life is full of contradictions. It is the development of the means of production that makes socialism possible. But the consciousness needed to actually fight for socialism has so far been greatest in those countries where the means of production have been stunted and even obliterated by the imperialists.

This is where Lenin's deep understanding of imperialism has so much to offer us. He demonstrated quite meticulously how at a certain stage of monopoly capitalism, the accumulation of surplus capital in the hands of the ruling class drove them to find new areas for investment. This was not just the old colonial expansion of the commercial and industrial capitalists looking for new sources of raw materials or, in the case of the United States, for people to enslave who then had to toil in cotton fields tied to the world capitalist market.

Imperialism was an even more compelling, expand-or-die stage of capitalist expansion, one that has led to two enormously destructive world wars and the unimaginable growth of the military-industrial-banking complex.

World War I was a horrible expression of the new imperialist era. From 1914 to 1918, some 65 million troops were mobilized. By the war's end, more than half of them — 37 million — had been killed, wounded, were missing or taken as prisoners of war. Millions more civilians died of war-imposed famine or disease.

Lenin's 'Imperialism' a breakthrough

Lenin's book "Imperialism" was not just about economics. It was also about class consciousness and the effect that imperialism had on the thinking of workers in both the oppressed and the oppressor countries.

Remember, he wrote this book when what was then the world's most destructive war had been raging for two years. Germany had a dynamic capitalist economy but relatively few colonies compared to Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and the U.S. To survive in the dog-eat-dog world of global capitalism, Germany had to become aggressive and try to grab territories that were already being exploited by the older colonial powers. It was a recipe for world war.

The Bolsheviks of Russia had opposed the war long before it even started. Other European parties in the powerful Socialist International also passed resolutions calling for solidarity of the workers of all countries against their exploiters and the coming war. But once the shooting started, the leaders of these parties



capitulated to the ruling class inside “their” countries under the intense war frenzy. Members of these parties in their parliaments, with only a few exceptions, voted for war credits — the funds to wage war. That was the end of the Socialist International, as workers from the belligerent countries followed the ruling classes’ orders to shoot each other. And millions died.

In response to this assault on working-class internationalism, Lenin and a few dozen co-thinkers from other countries met in the Swiss town of Zimmerwald in September 1915 to denounce the war. Lenin called for a class war against the rulers who were taking a whole continent into the slaughter.

When, during the first part of 1916, he wrote “Imperialism,” it was partly to show the material basis for the disastrous collapse of the social democratic parties that had occurred in western Europe. The imperialists, rolling in the super-profits they had extracted from their colonies, could afford to make concessions to the workers at home in order to buy their loyalty. A privileged “labor aristocracy” arose within the working class. This development drained the revolutionary energy from their struggles.

Imperial Russia was not imperialist in the same sense. It had only recently emerged from outright feudalism, and its economy was still overwhelmingly agrarian. It had no overseas colonies. But in a few key cities, tens of thousands of workers toiled under the most oppressive conditions — the men in heavy industry, the women in textile factories.

Once the war came, these workers rubbed shoulders in the trenches with impoverished peasants who hated the landlords as much as the workers hated the bosses. Other workers became forced laborers on the czar’s warships. All of them hated the ruling class that had forced them into the bloody war, and they were ready to turn their guns around given an opportunity to get rid of their tormentors.

Out of this mix came the most profound revolution that the world had yet seen. It validated the Marxist view of social evolution and the role of the proletariat as the class that could lead the struggle to abolish class divisions. But it also validated Lenin’s view on the role of imperialism in holding back — for a time — the revolutionary potential of the working class in the developed capitalist countries. ♦

Part II

Social gains in the early years of Soviet power

By Deirdre Griswold, posted on October 18, 2017

WWW.TINYURL.COM/WW171018DG

As we described in the first article in this series, the workers' revolution that started in Russia in 1917 and spread to all the nationalities brutally oppressed by the czarist empire took place in one of the most underdeveloped countries of Europe, only recently emerged from feudalism. The majority of the people were impoverished peasants, and few could even read or write.

Nevertheless, it was a revolution that reflected the rise on a world scale of a working class capable of taking power into its own hands in order to socialize the means of production — to use them not for private profit but to liberate the people from want and oppression.

From its very beginnings, the revolutionary government initiated social advances far beyond anything achieved in the capitalist West.

Take the question of the status of women.

Just six weeks after the revolution, on Dec. 19, 1917, the church's control over marriage, rooted in the patriarchy, was replaced by civil marriage. Divorce was made very simple. If there was mutual consent by both spouses, a divorce was immediately granted. If just one spouse requested a divorce, there was a brief court hearing. No grounds were needed, no contest, no evidence or witnesses. Soviet Russia became the only country in the world with full freedom of divorce.

Within a year of the revolution, a marriage code was produced that asserted the complete equality of rights between spouses as well as between legitimate and "illegitimate" children.

When two people marry, which must change their last name? The Code of Oct. 17, 1918, stated: "Married persons use a common surname. ... On the registration of marriage they may choose whether they will adopt the husband's (bridegroom's) or wife's (bride's) surname or their joint surnames."

Lenin in 1919 famously summed up what the Bolsheviks had achieved and what still had to be done:

"We actually razed to the ground the infamous laws placing women in a position of inequality, restricting divorce and surrounding it with disgusting formalities, denying recognition to children born out of wedlock, enforcing a search for their fathers, etc., laws numerous survivals of which, to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism, are to be found in all civilized countries. We



The women's demonstration for bread, land and peace on March 8, 1917, in Petrograd was the beginning of the end of Tsarist Russia.

have a thousand times the right to be proud of what we have done in this field.

“But the more thoroughly we clear the ground of the lumber of the old bourgeois laws and institutions, the more we realize that we have only cleared to build on, but we are not yet building.

“Notwithstanding all the laws emancipating women, she continues to be a domestic slave, because petty housework crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and the nursery, and she wastes her labor on barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery. The real emancipation of women, real communism, will begin where and when an all-out struggle begins (led by the proletariat wielding the state power) against this petty house-keeping, or rather when its wholesale transformation into a large-scale socialist economy begins.”

What the revolutionaries envisioned was a proliferation of communal laundries, kitchens, nurseries, kindergartens and so on that would free women from household drudgery.

Now, a century later, all kinds of labor-saving devices exist in developed countries to lighten the burden of housework that was so onerous in Lenin's time. Nevertheless, women still have the major responsibility for this work — even when they have also become wage earners on a level close to that of men. In the United States, women make up 47 percent of the total workforce, yet most women workers with families are the primary caregivers in raising children and doing the housework.

First country to legalize abortion

In November 1920, Soviet Russia became the first country in the world to legalize abortion. Abortions were already being performed, of course, but in secret, often in unsanitary conditions and at a steep price. To protect the health of women, the decree stipulated that the operations “be performed freely and without any charge in Soviet hospitals, where conditions are assured of minimizing the harm of the operation.”

Despite great medical advances, we in the U.S. are still fighting for the right to control when and if we have children. Capitalist politicians — most of them men — are constantly finding ways to restrict our access to contraception and abortion.

It took many years to build up the Soviet economy to a level where these services were available to all women. But then they suffered a terrible setback after Nazi Germany, on June 22, 1941, invaded the Soviet Union with 4.5 million soldiers along an 1,800-mile front in Operation Barbarossa.

Yet despite the massive destruction and death at the hands of fascist-led German imperialism in World War II, followed by the staggering costs imposed by the Cold War, the social position of women in the USSR continued to outstrip that in the capitalist countries.

Dorothy Ballan, one of the founders of Workers World Party, wrote the book “Feminism and Marxism” in 1971. She cited reports in the New York Times and other U.S. papers showing that 79 percent of the doctors in the USSR at that time were women.

Wrote Ballan, “More than 30 percent of the engineers are women, 52 percent are head doctors or heads of health agencies; 33 percent of collective farm management jobs are held by women. All professions are open to her; women make up 47 percent of the scientists. Half the population of the universities are women. There are also women bus drivers, subway conductors, and women are in virtually every field of work. There is equal pay for equal work. In case of pregnancy, a woman receives two months paid vacation before delivery and another two months after delivery. Working women may take advantage of widespread nurseries and kindergartens and daycare centers. Abortion is legal at any age and virtually free of charge.”

Abolition of anti-gay laws

The young Soviet Russia, which had established the most progressive laws and practices in the world regarding liberation of women, also took a stand against the oppression of lesbian and gay people.

Bob McCubbin, in his book “The Roots of Lesbian and Gay Oppression” first published in 1976, wrote: “It took less than two months for the Bolshevik government in Russia to take action against lesbian and gay oppression. And



In 1918, women joined the 'Red Sisters' militias to defend the new Soviet republic.

it is important to note that they did so even though there was no gay movement in Russia as there was in Germany. In December of 1917 the czarist anti-homosexual law was removed from the Russian penal code.

“As paraphrased by Wilhelm Reich in ‘The Sexual Revolution,’ the Bolsheviks’ position was that the problem of homosexuality was exclusively a scientific one. They believed that homosexuality harmed no one and that it was wrong to punish people for their sexual orientation. The Bolsheviks also expressed the idea that it was necessary to take down the walls that separated gay people from the rest of society. Such a revolutionary proposal was entirely in keeping with their defiant rejection of bourgeois attitudes and practices in every area of social concern. ...

“A pamphlet called ‘The Sexual Revolution in Russia’ by the director of the Russian Institute of Social Hygiene, first published in 1923, stated: ‘Concerning homosexuality, sodomy, and other forms of sexual gratification, which are set down in European legislation as offenses against public morality — Soviet legislation treats these as exactly the same as so-called “natural” intercourse. All forms of sexual intercourse are private matters. Only when there is use of force or duress, as in general when there is an injury or encroachment upon the rights of another person, is there a question of a criminal prosecution.’”

McCubbin’s book can be read online at workers.org/books.

Even as the Bolsheviks were making these great strides in defying bourgeois convention and eliminating the oppressive laws imposed under czarism, the material conditions for the people were devastating.

The first world war, in which so many had died, was followed by a civil war and an invasion by 14 imperialist countries, including the U.S., that tried to strangle the revolution in its infancy.

Over two years the imperialists poured some 200,000 soldiers into an attempt to destroy the revolution. But the newly organized Red Army, with support from many hastily organized local militias, was able to beat back the invaders and home-grown counter-revolutionaries.

Nevertheless, in 1920 the Soviet republics emerged from the civil war and imperialist intervention in a state of economic collapse unparalleled in history. Industrial production was about a fifth of the 1914 level and the population had shrunk. Between the end of 1918 and the end of 1920, war, epidemics, famine and cold killed 9 million people in Russia.

All this produced serious setbacks in the agenda for realizing social progress, including for women's liberation and on gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender rights. For a more detailed look at these issues, see Leslie Feinberg's "Progress and regression: Sex and gender in 1930s USSR." (workers.org/lavender-red)

But despite the early hardships and setbacks, the first workers' state survived. It eventually was able to recover enough to begin a plan for economic growth.

By the 1930s, when world capitalism was in a spectacular decline after the stock market crash of 1929, the superiority of socialist planning over capitalist anarchy of production was obvious, and skilled workers from around the world were attracted to the USSR. In Western Europe and the U.S., factories closed down and farmers lost their land to the banks in the depths of the Great Depression. At the same time, the Soviet Union was able to industrialize at a speed never seen before.

When the USSR was finally overturned in 1991, all the old reactionary features of capitalism resurfaced. The counter-revolution devastated the working class, taking its greatest toll on women and LGBTQ people, as well as on the many nationalities that had been conquered by the Russian czarist regime and held as semicolonies before the revolution. ♦

'Whose state? Our state' — meaning all nationalities

By Deirdre Griswold, posted on October 25, 2017

WWW.TINYURL.COM/WW171025DG

As we explained in Part 2 of this series, in the early years of the Bolshevik Revolution deep social advances were codified that made it the most enlightened country in the world regarding women's rights and the elimination of state suppression of lesbians and gays.

All this happened in a few years despite the wretched material conditions of the masses, who bore the brunt of the human and material costs of World War I and then the civil war that followed the revolution, in which domestic counterrevolutionaries — the “white terror” — were reinforced by the military intervention of 14 imperialist countries.

Yet despite all the material difficulties, another most important advance was made in this period. It was the building of a multinational state based on the Soviets — councils of workers, peasants and soldiers — that brought together all the peoples formerly oppressed and exploited by the czarist autocracy and the Russian bourgeoisie. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was established in 1922 and was able to unite 69 different nationalities, spread out over 11 time zones, under one Soviet government.

How could this be done equitably and with safeguards for the oppressed nations when the Russians were the majority and some of the nations brought under Russian rule by czarist conquest were not only poorer and even less developed, but quite small?

The answer, arrived at after lengthy discussion with all the peoples involved, was a bicameral government with two houses: the Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Deputies and the Soviet of Nationalities.

Sam Marcy on the Soviet state

Sam Marcy, the founding leader of Workers World Party, wrote an article titled “The Structure of the Soviet State” for publication in the Workers World dated Sept. 1, 1988. It is worth quoting extensively:

“The attitude of the ruling classes of the capitalist countries with regard to the national question in Russia underwent an extraordinary change when the Bolshevik Revolution triumphed in 1917. At first the international bourgeoisie attempted to malign the new republic by proclaiming that the revolutionary

leaders, in particular the members of the Executive Committee of the Soviets, were not really representative of Russia. Dzerzhinsky was a Pole, Stalin was a Georgian, Trotsky was a Jew, other leaders were Ukrainian, Armenian and so on. It was the same tactic they used to bait communists in this country when the left movement had many members and leaders who were Jewish, Black or foreign-born.

“However, as the Revolution progressed, and as Soviet power took hold over larger and larger sections of the country, sweeping all the provinces and nationalities within its fold, it became clear that it was an all-national revolution. The international bourgeoisie thereafter took another tack and began to malign the USSR in a new way. Now it was said that the Great-Russians were oppressing all the other nationalities. ...

“If it is true that the construction of a socialist society is impossible without a planned economy, it is equally true that a planned economy is impossible in a multinational country without the equality of all the nations and their free, voluntary association within the framework of a union of all the socialist republics. It was precisely to this question that Lenin devoted the last days of his life.

“How could the interests of a planned economy be reconciled with the apparently contradictory need for the equality of all the nationalities in the USSR? What kind of a state structure should be developed to give full vent to the workers and peasants and conform to the revolutionary reconstitution of Soviet society as it emerged from the overthrow of the czarist autocracy and the sweeping away of the bourgeoisie and the landlords?

“At first, the Bolsheviks raised the slogan, ‘All power to the Soviets!’ And, indeed, power was fully taken by the First Congress of the Soviets of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Deputies. When the Congress of Soviets was not in session, the Executive Committee of the Soviets carried out the functions of the Congress.

“In 1918 this slogan was translated into the celebrated decree, the ‘Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People,’ which embodied the fundamental state program and structure of the USSR. The leading ideological and political role taken by the Communist Party was the central factor in making the Soviets a living reflection of the interests of the exploited and oppressed masses of Russia.

“While the Congress of Soviets was revolutionary in form as well as in content, it still had some inadequacies. The problem of how to perfect the state structure covered many weeks and months of discussion, both during the periods of relative peace as well as during the war of imperialist intervention and the civil war. It was not until 1922-23 that the new structure of the USSR was to emerge, after intense if not heated discussions. This structure was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and it differs from that of any capitalist government in two fundamental ways.



“In the first place, it is based not on the landlords and capitalists, not on the existence of private property in the means of production, not on wage labor employed by private enterprise, but on a new social system where the means of production are socially owned and the economy is planned. ...

“There is another feature of the state structure of the USSR which is just as fundamental, yet the bourgeois ideologues and their myriads of apologists and historians rarely refer to it. It is even neglected in much of the progressive and radical literature of the workers’ movement. To understand this second feature, it would be helpful to first look at the innumerable capitalist state structures, whether their form be democratic, monarchical, military or even fascist.

“The most democratic form of the capitalist state may be unicameral, that is, having one body which enacts all legislation, plus an executive arm of the government. Or, as in the United States, it can have two legislative bodies, such as the House of Representatives and the Senate. However, not one of the capitalist governments, whatever its constitution may be, has an arm built into the framework of the state to deal with the national question and make sure that the nationalities within the country are represented in all important decisions.

“There may be references in the constitution to equal protection of the law, due process and so on. There may be special legislation regarding civil rights. There may be this or that agency dealing with complaints or enforcement. But there is no specific arm within the constitutional structure of any capitalist state which deals specifically with the question of nationalities. This differentiates the USSR from all the capitalist countries.

“From the point of view of its external characteristics, the USSR has this in common with some of the capitalist states: It has a bicameral system. In this

sense, it seems like the U.S., but the two arms of its legislative structure are very different from the two houses of Congress here.

Soviet of Nationalities a revolutionary departure

“This bicameral system is found in the highest governing body, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which consists of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. The Soviet of the Union is chosen on the basis of proportional representation — each deputy represents an equal amount of people. In the Soviet of Nationalities, each nationality is guaranteed a set number of deputies.

“The members of both chambers serve equal terms, and no bill can become law unless adopted by a majority of both chambers. This all-important second arm is of extraordinary significance, particularly in the epoch of imperialism, in which national oppression is a characteristic feature. It is the kind of structure which, if incorporated into a bourgeois state, would tremendously assist the struggle of the oppressed nationalities against the dominant nationality.

“In constructing this mechanism for governing, the Soviet Union accorded recognition to the existence of nationalities in a revolutionary way which had never been done before. It created an equality between the two chambers, one based on representation according to the proportion of the population, the other on guaranteed representation for every nationality. In this way, not only the general interests of the working class are reflected, but also the very special and important interests of all nationalities.”

When the Soviet Union was dissolved in 1991, what followed was a true disaster for the working class — and especially for those nationalities not Russian, who have not recovered to this day. The indices of social welfare — infant mortality, maternal deaths, life expectancy, alcoholism and drug abuse, prostitution, unemployment, spread of infectious diseases — all worsened dramatically in a few short years.

We said earlier that this series would examine the objective reasons for political regression in the Soviet Union, which ultimately led to its collapse without the workers being willing or able to mobilize significantly in its defense. There were, of course, tremendous struggles within the party that broke out after Lenin’s death. Much has been written in support of one leader or another. Our focus here is not on who was right, but on why this struggle needed to happen in the first place.

For that, we need to understand the material conditions that undermined this great revolution and the party that led it, rather than putting it all down to the personalities of any of the Soviet leaders, be they Stalin, Trotsky and Khrushchev, or Gorbachev and the rest of the crew that actually presided over the dissolution of the first workers’ state. ♦

External and internal problems, strengths and setbacks

By Deirdre Griswold, posted on October 31, 2017

WWW.TINYURL.COM/WW171031DG

Karl Marx was not a utopian — that is, he did not pull out of his head the concept of what an ideal society would look like.

Rather, he analyzed capitalism, as well as earlier forms of class and pre-class societies, to understand what gives rise to new social forms and the passing away of older ones.

Why did private property and the development of classes take over from the early, communal form of human society, which had existed around the globe for tens of thousands of years?

How is it that capitalist development, which has led to a spectacular increase in productivity in pursuit of profits for the ruling class, has also laid the material basis for realizing socialism? By abolishing private ownership of the means of production, socialism is the only system that can carry out plans to use the wealth created by the workers to benefit everyone.

Marx also studied revolutions as the necessary catalyst to make such a transformation possible. He wrote that people “make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.” (The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte)

What happened in Russia in 1917, and later in all the nations under the heel of the vast czarist empire, confirmed this important concept of Marx. The revolution came because of unbearable poverty and repression, but it came to the weakest of the capitalist countries, not the most advanced. While the Russian revolutionaries had counted on the revolution spreading in Europe because of the desperate conditions created by World War I, that didn’t happen. There were soldiers’ and workers’ rebellions in several European countries, but they were crushed, leaving the Bolshevik Revolution surrounded by stronger capitalist powers bent on its destruction.

Lenin on world revolution

V.I. Lenin, the great revolutionary thinker and fighter, recognized the terrible dangers facing the besieged Bolshevik Revolution. In a resolution for the 7th Congress of the Russian Communist Party on March 6, 1918, he wrote: “The

Congress considers the only reliable guarantee of consolidation of the socialist revolution that has been victorious in Russia to be its conversion into a world working-class revolution.”

Six weeks later, in a speech to the Moscow Soviet on April 23, he said: “We are a revolutionary working-class contingent that has advanced to the forefront, not because we are better than other workers, not because the Russian proletariat is superior to the working class of other countries, but solely because we were one of the most backward countries in the world. We shall achieve final victory only when we succeed at last in conclusively smashing international imperialism which relies on the tremendous strength of its equipment and discipline.

“But we shall achieve victory only together with all the workers of other countries of the whole world. ... Our backwardness has put us in the forefront, and we shall perish unless we are capable of holding out until we receive powerful support from workers who have risen in revolt in other countries.”

The Bolshevik Revolution survived for another 74 years, a testament to the enormous potential of a workers’ state, even one born out of underdevelopment and devastating imperialist war. But from the beginning it had to make concessions in order to exist.

Need for skilled personnel

Take the question of personnel to run the new society. In the civil war and invasion by 14 imperialist countries that followed the actual seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, the most advanced workers committed to the revolution rushed to the battle. Many never came back. They died of war wounds, epidemics and even famine. Lost were the most dedicated communists with skills, both political and practical, desperately needed to get production going again and also to win over the masses to enlightened views on women’s rights, the rights of oppressed nationalities, how to collectivize agriculture, how to take over and run the factories and other workplaces under new worker management, etc.

Sam Marcy, the founder and theoretical leader of Workers World Party, wrote on this in a pamphlet called “Soviet Socialism: Utopian or Scientific?” The Bolsheviks could not make history out of their own materials, he said, referring to Marx, but had to make do with the conditions that prevailed in Russia.

“First and foremost among these conditions,” wrote Marcy, “was that the workers’ state in the USSR only succeeded because of its alliance with the much more numerous peasantry. The alliance was correct, principled and indispensable in the overthrow of czarism. But it presented an enormous problem. The proletariat as a class is supremely interested in the socialization of property and production, which the bourgeoisie has in fact already started. But the peasants are concerned with private property, their private plots. The alliance showed its difficulties right from the start of the revolution. How to keep the loyalty of the peasants?”

Wolves in sheep's clothing

“This led to the next problem. It was not a pure workers’ state in the sense that the proletariat was a majority of the population or was able to organize a new social system on its own. The truth of the matter, as Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin and Stalin all saw and agreed, is that it was necessary to rely to a large extent on the old czarist administrative apparatus — a bitter pill to swallow. This was true even in the military sphere. Former czarist officers were recruited, even though they had to be guarded by communist civilian cadre, the commissars. ...

“Relying upon elements of the old state apparatus in all fields of life held not only obvious dangers but a hidden one: These elements knew how to show eagerness and servility to the state, as in czarist times. The Communist Party, which they had previously scorned and feared — not to speak of imprisoned and banished — now could become a source of privilege if they showed support for the government and party.

“The question before the Bolsheviks was how to deal with these layers — the old bureaucracy, the officialdom, remnants of the old educated classes — who now sensing the victory of the revolution tried to find an easy entrance into it.”

How to feed the people?

During the civil war the Bolsheviks had to requisition grain from the peasants to avert an even greater famine. In 1921, shortly after the counterrevolution was finally defeated, Lenin advocated a temporary return to market relations in agriculture — the New Economic Policy — in order to stimulate food production, which had fallen to a disastrous low. It was another necessary step backward, and one that led some rich peasants, known as kulaks, to become richer while the majority remained poor.

Lenin’s death in 1924 was a terrible blow to the party and the revolution. As the acknowledged leader, he had participated in vigorous debate and discussion at every step along the way, usually, but not always, winning over the rest of the party leadership to his point of view.

Without Lenin, how to collectivize agriculture became a bone of contention in the party. To win over the poorer peasants and try to neutralize the kulaks, the government needed to supply the collectives with material support. The lives of the peasants would be vastly improved if the collectives could offer them electrification, education and less back-breaking agricultural work by providing at least horses and, even better, tractors and mechanized harvesters.

The 15th Congress of the Communist Party in 1927 resolved to proceed with collectivization at a gradual pace and let the peasants join the collectives voluntarily. Soviet industry was still only on the verge of being rationalized by the first five-year plan, which began in 1928. It was not yet producing the machinery needed to run many large-scale collectives.



Lenin in 1923, shortly before his death.

But by the end of 1929, peasants were being forced to join the collectives, many of which had not yet been supplied with either horses or farm machinery. This led to resistance on their part, the slaughter of livestock and destruction of farm equipment, with many peasants abandoning the collectives. Another famine followed in the countryside in 1932-33.

Women and gay rights set back

Other setbacks occurred in this period. Legal breakthroughs won soon after the revolution regarding the rights of women and gay men were partially rolled back.

The Soviet Union had been the first country in the world to remove restrictions on divorce and abortion, as well as same-sex love. But Soviet law was changed in 1936 and again in 1944 to put restrictions on divorce in order to “strengthen the family.” A decree of July 8, 1944, also imposed a fee of at least 100 rubles to obtain a divorce. While the rationale given was concern over the fate of children, the result was to put wives more firmly under the control of their husbands.

In 1936, abortions, which had been made free on demand in 1920, were banned except in cases involving danger to the mother’s health. It became a crime for anyone to provide an abortion other than authorized doctors.

All restrictions on same-sex love had been removed just months after the 1917 revolution. But on March 7, 1934, a decree was issued criminalizing same-sex

love between men and setting a punishment of up to five years of hard labor in prison.

Of course, we cannot forget that in even the most advanced capitalist countries, similar and often much more repressive laws were the norm at that time. Where they have been changed since then, it is because of the strength of the women's and LGBTQ movements and not the enlightened goodwill of the capitalist ruling class.

Soviet Union survived and inspired

These concessions to social conservatism, serious as they were, did not undo the revolution or restore the old ruling classes. In fact, they came at a time when the Soviet Union was pulling ahead in industrial production after the initiation of its first five-year plan. The capitalist world, on the other hand, was in the depths of the Great Depression, a crisis caused by the inner contradictions of the system itself.

To millions of workers and oppressed peoples around the world, the Soviet Union remained a beacon of hope. Great communist parties sprung up in both the imperialist countries and the colonies their rulers exploited. Among the latter, the parties in China, Korea and Vietnam eventually managed to carry out socialist revolutions based on both national liberation from imperialism and the struggle of the workers and peasants against class oppression and exploitation.

Even the outbreak of another disastrous world war failed to undo the 1917 Revolution. In June 1941, the Nazi regime launched Operation Barbarossa, sending 4 million troops to invade the USSR along an 1,800-mile front. It was then, and continues to be, the largest invasion the world has ever seen.

The Germans captured 5 million Red Army troops in the war that followed. A majority of these POWs never returned alive. The Nazis deliberately starved and killed 3.3 million prisoners, as well as a huge number of civilians, through their "Hunger Plan," intended to replace the Slavic peoples with German settlers. Nazi death squads and gassing operations also murdered over a million Soviet Jews.

But the enormous heroism of the Soviet people in defending the gains of their revolution won the day. The war in Europe ended with soldiers of the Red Army planting the hammer-and-sickle flag on the roof of the Reichstag in Berlin. ♦

To the 0.001 percent: You are cheering too soon

By Deirdre Griswold, posted on November 6, 2017

WWW.TINYURL.COM/WW171106DG

The world bourgeoisie, in their evaluations of the Russian Revolution, say it “failed,” and this proves socialism can never be achieved — certainly not through a revolution of the workers and the oppressed.

Maybe a little bit of “socialism” is OK in the eyes of some of them. By that they mean giving in to mass pressure for the capitalist state to play a larger role in mitigating the suffering of the people. But it usually takes a near rebellion for a capitalist government to institute socialized medicine, for example, or even Social Security pensions, which became law in this country in 1935, during the tumult of the Depression.

But allow the masses to have their own state power? Never, say the bosses.

In this series, we have gone over some of the deep material reasons for the weakening of the revolution, which eventually led to the dissolution of the USSR and the return of capitalist wage slavery to that vast region. But we reject the idea that the revolution itself failed. It was overcome eventually, but it left a profound impact around the world.

Even while it was struggling to build up its economy after severe underdevelopment and wartime destruction, the USSR was giving aid to countries fighting imperialism.

Soviet support for other revolutions

During the 1950-53 imperialist war against the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, the Soviet Union provided MiG fighter planes, and eventually pilots, to defend both the Chinese and Korean forces under attack from the U.S.

It supported liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. It helped the Ethiopian Revolution. It supported Vietnam in its struggles against French colonial rule and then U.S. imperialist intervention. And it intervened militarily in support of the revolutionary government in Afghanistan that was under attack from a CIA-armed and -trained reactionary army of warlords.

Yes, Afghanistan had a revolution in 1978 that set up a very progressive government which freed the peasants from debt and fought for women’s rights, sending young teachers — women and men — to the countryside. The U.S.

armed and trained the counterrevolution — yet claims that its bombing of villagers in Afghanistan today is meant to promote democracy.

In supporting the Cuban Revolution, the USSR went to the brink of a military confrontation with the U.S. — the so-called “missile crisis” — in October 1962. The crisis ended when the Kennedy administration pledged not to invade Cuba again. (The CIA had organized the failed Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961.)

For the first 31 years of its existence, the Soviet Union had stood virtually alone as the only country in the world attempting to build socialism. The one exception was the Mongolian Revolution of 1921. Aided by the Soviet Red Army, the Mongolians drove out Russian White Guards who had invaded their country. In 1924, they proclaimed the People’s Republic of Mongolia. But Mongolia was very isolated, with a small population.

In 1948, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea was founded, followed a year later by the triumph of People’s China. The common thread in all these revolutions was that they were carried out by parties based in the working class whose ultimate aim was to create a socialist society.

From day one, the main objective of the imperialists has been to break up the solidarity among these countries — just as it is doing today regarding China and the DPRK. It uses the carrot, but mostly the stick — the very big stick of threatening nuclear war.

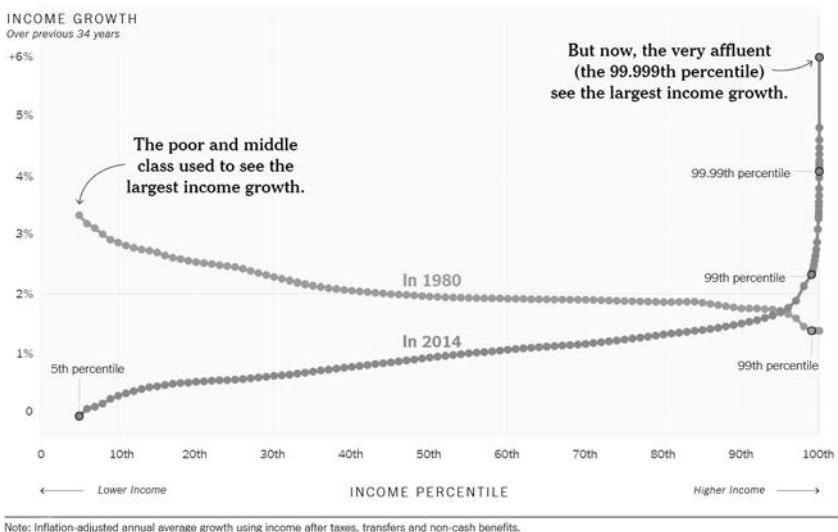
Can nukes stave off social advance?

Take away the nuclear weapons of the imperialist powers and what do we see? A dying system, choking on its own productivity.

If capitalism continues to be the dominant system, the youth of today will inhabit a world in which the gap between the haves and have-nots will have reached even more monstrous proportions. It is in the nature of capitalism to concentrate ownership of the means of production in fewer and fewer hands. While this may be concealed in the illusion that everyone with stocks owns a



“Comrade Lenin cleans the Earth of scum,”
1920 Soviet poster by Viktor Deni.



part of a company, even if it's just through a pension plan or other market-based savings accounts, the truth comes out in the wealth figures.

An amazing chart, based on recent analysis of incomes, shows that since 1982, almost the entire growth in income in the U.S. has gone to the richest 1 percent of the population. (New York Times, Aug. 7) And in the last few years, the very, very, very rich — the top 0.001 percent — have seen the largest economic growth.

And this is BEFORE the changes in taxes and government regulation proposed by the Trump administration have been enacted.

If capitalism remains the dominant system, the racism, sexism, homophobia and scapegoating of immigrants — all of which serve the interests of capital by dividing the working class and thus lowering wages — will persist despite all the struggles against them.

Changing consciousness has begun

Clearly, a day of reckoning is long overdue. Consciousness often lags behind reality, but when it comes, it comes with a bang.

Today's generation is already reflecting the future. Capitalism is a dirty word. In a YouGov poll taken in January 2016, 43 percent of those in the 18-29 age bracket said they favored socialism; only 26 percent said it was unfavorable.

By March 18 of this year, the right-wing National Review was writing: "Socialism's Rising Popularity Threatens America's Future."

If this is true in the United States, the bastion of world capitalism, it is doubly or triply true in the rest of the world. The capitalists have nothing to offer the vast majority, and instead seem intent on wrecking the planet rather than reining in their pursuit of more obscene profits.

Who is this young generation who have made what the National Review calls “a tectonic shift” in their views, compared to their elders? They are overwhelmingly young workers, whether they’ve been able to nail down a steady job or not. A large proportion are doubly or triply oppressed — because of their national origin, their color, gender and/or sexual orientation. And if they’ve tried to get a higher education in order to break into the job market, they are already debtors, tied to the financial system just as securely as those in debtors’ prisons in Charles Dickens’ times.

Speaking in Marxist terms, they represent a shift in consciousness of the workers, based on the new reality of capitalism having reached a dead end, unable to resolve its inner contradictions.

Every huge corporation now in existence wants to cut labor costs and expand its market. That’s what keeps the owners and investors happy.

They do it in several ways: eliminating jobs through automation and computerization, cutting wages and benefits, speeding up production and/or moving their operations to regions like the U.S. South or other countries where wages are lower.

While Trump blames Mexico for job losses in the U.S., the real culprits are Trump’s capitalist cronies who specialize in pitting workers against one another so they can pay the lowest wages. This was true as far back as the 1880s, when immigrant workers were being blamed (by the bosses’ politicians) for low wages (that the bosses forced on them).

Thus, the prospects for the future under capitalism are bleak indeed.

But take the same high level of technological development now achieved and put it to use raising living standards, reducing back-breaking labor, providing education and health care for all, harmonizing production with environmental protection, and liberating culture from the corrosive effects of racism, sexism, homophobia, class oppression and corporate consumerism. Then there is definitely a bright light at the end of the tunnel.

All this is sinking in as we write. Consciousness does eventually catch up to reality. And the reality is that there is no future for the workers — or the planet itself — under capitalism.

The Soviet Union showed that life for the workers could be improved enormously under a workers’ state and a planned economy. It never reached the level of full socialism, having to battle the world bourgeoisie for its entire existence, but it raised up tens of millions of workers and peasants from abject poverty and oppression. Its fall opened the floodgates of reaction and let capitalism be capitalism — unvarnished. And that opened the eyes of the new generation.

Now the ball is in our court. It will be up to the workers and politically conscious youth and oppressed peoples in the more developed, more utterly irrational bastions of rotting capitalism, to carry forward the world revolutionary struggle to break the billionaires’ grip on our planet.

That’s what the ruling class fears the most. And it should. ♦

The way to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the October Revolution?

An open letter to revolutionaries everywhere

By Larry Holmes, posted on October 30, 2017

WWW.TINYURL.COM/WW171030LH

Revolutionary greetings to all, on the centennial of the Russian Revolution.

The 100th anniversary of the Russian Revolution may have different meanings for many of us across the world, based on our age, background and political experiences. That's understandable.

Why is this such an important anniversary?

The 1917 revolution, referred to sometimes as the October Revolution, and the establishment of the first socialist country, the Soviet Union, was a new beginning, not just for Russia, but for the entire world. The conditions for the revolution grew out of the suffering that the imperialist war subjected the masses of Russia and all of Europe to.

Revolutionaries in Russia hoped that their revolution would spread to Europe. That did not happen. Still the Russian Revolution opened up a century of struggle for socialism, for revolution and for solidarity with the national liberation struggles throughout Africa, Asia, the Americas and the Middle East. It was the precursor to the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, other revolutions, and all of the chapters of a century of worldwide class struggle against capitalism and all forms of oppression.

The Russian Revolution convinced millions of people in every part of the world that another world is possible.

The capitalist ruling class will mark this anniversary by loudly reminding us that the Soviet Union is no more, and that this is proof that communism failed and capitalism prevailed. In a sense, all who believe that history has not ended, and that there has to be an alternative to capitalism, will be put on trial this anniversary by the ruling class.

It is unlikely that the capitalists will tell the truth about how much they hated and feared the revolution from the very beginning, and how the idea that workers and peasants would dare to rise up against the ruling class and free themselves from their masters horrified them. Nor are they likely to mention that world imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism, dedicated itself to crushing the Soviet Union in one way or another and spared no effort economically, militarily, covertly and overtly in accomplishing this.

Why is the Soviet Union no more? Like Workers World Party, most political tendencies in the movement have their own ideas about that.

It is a discussion that is inexhaustible. It's a discussion we should have, even if it leads to arguments, as long as we agree not to let the arguing get in the way of the work we must do going forward. Which brings us to our main point.

How should we use this anniversary?

The capitalists pray that the fight for socialist revolution ended with the Soviet Union. It is up to us and millions like us, to affirm that it did not, and that it must not. This is not dreaming; it is cold, calculating realism.

We believe that capitalism has reached an unprecedented stage in the process of dying. Any hope that capitalism can be reformed and made more humane, is also dying as it surely must.

From the perspective of the working-class movement and the struggle of the oppressed, ultimately this is a reality that can't be ignored much longer. This reality pushes the class struggle and the global struggle against capitalism into a new phase.

The capitalists can no longer pretend that their system can meet the needs of the people. All of the lies and illusions about the wonders of capitalism are crashing, in prelude to the system itself crashing.

For the oppressed, all the system has to offer are deportations, prison, death by cops, Muslim bans, occupation and war, and the way Trump is treating the devastated people of Puerto Rico. Some sections of the working class used to feel secure before globalization, automation, austerity, union busting, bank foreclosures and pauperization.

Now, all that capitalism has to offer them is white supremacy, "make American great," misogyny, anti-LGBTQ bigotry and an opioid epidemic.

In more and more ways, capitalism is an existential threat to all life.

How much time do we have before capitalism destroys the environment, making the planet uninhabitable?

When an empire is falling apart, as the U.S. imperialist empire is, it is more, not less tempting to use its remaining advantage, military might. The question is not if, but when and where the next U.S. war will be? Will it be against Iran? Will it be against Venezuela? Will it be somewhere in Africa, where the Pentagon has thousands of troops in at least 53 countries? Or, will it be against Peoples Korea, which would really be against both Koreas and China, making it a third world war? How much longer can we endure such a threat?

A new beginning for revolutionary struggle & higher level of unity

We propose that every group and every individual that considers themselves to be revolutionaries and in the service of the workers and oppressed of the world, including Workers World Party, embrace the 100th anniversary of the



Larry Holmes. WW Photo: G. Dunkel.

October Revolution as a time to rededicate ourselves, not only to fighting capitalism every day, but to bringing it to an end at the earliest possible time, and replacing it with socialism.

Furthermore, we propose that we all commit ourselves to achieving a higher level of revolutionary unity in the struggle. The form that this unity might take is not a question that needs to be answered here. The program, basis and plan of action for such unity are questions that we can answer together if there is the understanding and the will to do so. We will all need to reassess whether or not we are holding on to conceptions, attitudes or any baggage that might be a barrier to a higher level of revolutionary unity. It's the right time to do that.

An immediate program & a maximum one

As much as we'd like to, we cannot predict capitalism's imminent demise. Revolution, as a practical task in the U.S., is not yet on the table. The masses will be fighting under capitalism indefinitely for their basic needs and against repression, against all of the mounting attacks and for the right to organize. Revolutionaries can't be distant from or above these struggles; they must be in them. Revolutionaries have to work with progressive forces knowing that some of these forces will become revolutionary, while others never will.

We will be constantly fighting the tendency within the larger movement to be pulled in to the electoral appeals of the capitalist parties. This is all the more reason why, as revolutionaries, we need both an immediate perspective and a maximum one. There must be an end game. However long it takes, we must build an independent, mass revolutionary resistance able to take down capitalism.

Trump: a symptom of the crisis

Trump is a symptom of the severity of the capitalist crisis and of the political and economic explosions that are ahead of us. Trump, with a section of the

ruling class behind him, has launched a pre-emptive strike against the prospect of class unity in the coming struggle against capitalism. His goal is to smash the working class into a thousand pieces by attacking its most oppressed sections. We must prevent that from happening at all cost. Fighting the white supremacists and neofascist forces that Trump has empowered is our number one task at this moment.

It is critical to understand that Trump didn't win because of "identity politics," which is a phrase that really means the oppressed. The struggles of Black, Brown and Indigenous peoples, or Muslims, immigrants, women, the disabled and LGBTQ people, are not responsible for Trump. And neither is Russia. The crises of U.S. imperialism and capitalism, plus racism and the Democratic Party's abandonment of the entire working class, are to blame.

Almost 100 years ago the communist movement, with the guidance of Vladimir Lenin, changed its main slogan from "Workers of the world unite" to "Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite." This change meant that the best revolutionaries in the working-class movement understood that to weaken imperialism, there would have to be solidarity between the workers of the oppressor countries and the people of the oppressed nations.

The circumstances and conditions of the struggles of oppressed peoples may be different than they were in Lenin's time. Oppressed people may have different demands and they may be more intertwined with the workers' struggle. But they remain extensions of the struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

The struggles of oppressed peoples, including women, LGBTQ people and the disabled, are not secondary struggles. They are working-class struggles and they are central to the working-class movement. If our mission is to prevent Trump and the ruling class from smashing working-class solidarity into 10,000 pieces, then first and foremost we have to stand with and defend the most oppressed.

Re-empowering the revolutionary perspective

The capitalist ruling class is not going to allow itself to be voted out. We cannot live in denial of this fact. The urgency of this truth must move us all to act.

We cannot substitute ourselves for the masses, as tempting as that is sometimes. Nothing can be achieved without the people. We understand that our class must overcome many weaknesses. But we have confidence that it will. It is entirely possible that a time may come when the masses are ready to move and it is the revolutionaries who are not ready, because being ready was not their perspective.

When the great revolutionary leader Lenin returned to Russia from exile in Switzerland in April of 1917, many of his comrades told him that the conditions in Russia made a socialist revolution impossible. Fortunately, he convinced them that they were mistaken.

Let's make the anniversary of October 1917 the occasion to restart, in a serious and meaningful way, the perspective of socialist revolution. It's a perspective that has been far too weak for far too long.

This anniversary is a good time to remind the world that there is a future beyond this terrible system. Moreover, that future is not another 100 years away. People who are alive today will help bury capitalism in the graveyard of history.

Youth are rising up

There are promising signs. Capitalism is more and more hated with every passing hour. Amongst the youths of the world, socialism is more popular than capitalism.

And many of these youths are rising up. They are the ranks of Black Lives Matter, of the immigrant rights movement and of Antifa. They are shutting down white supremacist speakers, pulling down racist statues, and fighting fascism and white supremacy. Young militants are also starting to show that they understand the need to engage and learn from wider sections of the working class.

Women and LGBTQ people are visible in the leadership of the rebellion. This bodes well for the future. It is a sign of the transformation of the working class. It's revolutionary and it must go forward and be defended.

Solidarity is so important

Capitalism has always threatened the health of the masses. Now that the system is in an advanced state of decay, its existence is a daily assault on every aspect of our well being, our identities and our social relationships. We must work deliberately to build a culture of solidarity as part of the struggle and as a necessity for our very survival.

Inspiration from Che's words

This month also marks the 50th anniversary of Che Guevara's martyrdom. Che once said that "at the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality."

May Che's words inspire us all to take a step forward into the future.

Happy anniversary comrades!

Signed,

Larry Holmes, First Secretary of Workers World Party



Contact a branch near you

National Office

147 W. 24th St. 2nd Floor
New York, NY 10011
212.627.2994
wwp@workers.org

Atlanta, GA

P. O. Box 18123
Atlanta, GA 30316
404.627.0185
atlanta@workers.org

Baltimore, MD

c/o Solidarity Center
2011 N. Charles St.
Baltimore, MD 21218
443.221.3775
baltimore@workers.org

Bay Area, CA

1305 Franklin St. #411
Oakland, CA 94612
510.600.5800
bayarea@workers.org

Boston, MA

284 Amory St.
Boston, MA 02130
617.286.6574
boston@workers.org

Buffalo, NY

335 Richmond Ave.
Buffalo, NY 14222
716.883.2534
buffalo@workers.org

Chicago, IL

312.630.2305
chicago@workers.org

Cleveland, OH

P. O. Box 5963
Cleveland, OH 44101
216.738.0320
cleveland@workers.org

Denver, CO

denver@workers.org

Detroit, MI

5920 Second Ave.
Detroit, MI 48202
313.459.0777
detroit@workers.org

Durham, NC

804 Old Fayetteville St.
Durham, NC 27701
919.332.9970
durham@workers.org

Houston, TX

P. O. Box 3454
Houston, TX 77253-3454
713.503.2633
houston@workers.org

Huntington, WV

huntingtonwv@workers.org

Indiana

indiana@workers.org

Los Angeles, CA

5278 W. Pico Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90019
323.306.6240
la@workers.org

Madison, WI

madison@workers.org

Milwaukee, WI

milwaukee@workers.org

Philadelphia, PA

P. O. Box 34249
Philadelphia, PA 19101
610.931.2615
phila@workers.org

Pittsburgh, PA

pittsburgh@workers.org

Portland, OR

portland@workers.org

Rochester, NY

585.436.6458
rochester@workers.org

Rockford, IL

rockford@workers.org

Salt Lake City, UT

801.750.0248
SLC@workers.org

San Antonio, TX

SanAntonioWWP@workers.org

San Diego, CA

P. O. Box 33447
San Diego, CA 92163
sandiego@workers.org

Tucson, AZ

tucson@workers.org

Virginia

virginia@workers.org

Washington, DC

P. O. Box 57300
Washington, DC 20037
dc@workers.org

MUNDO OBRERO WORKERS WORLD

Join Us! Workers World Party (WWP) fights for socialism and engages in the struggles on all the issues that face the working class and oppressed peoples—Black and white, Latino/a, Asian, Arab and Native peoples, women and men, young and old, lesbian, gay, bi, straight, trans, disabled, working, unemployed, undocumented and students. If you would like to know more about WWP, or to join us in these struggles, contact us.

National Office

147 W. 24th St. 2nd Floor
New York, NY 10011
212.627.2994
wwp@workers.org

Local Branches

Check listing on previous page



SUBSCRIBE TO WORKERS WORLD

Four weeks trial subscription \$4 One year subscription \$30 **workers.org**

Name _____

Phone _____ Email _____

Address _____ City/State/Zip _____

Workers World Weekly Newspaper 147 W. 24 St. fl. 2, NY, NY 10011 **212.627.2994**