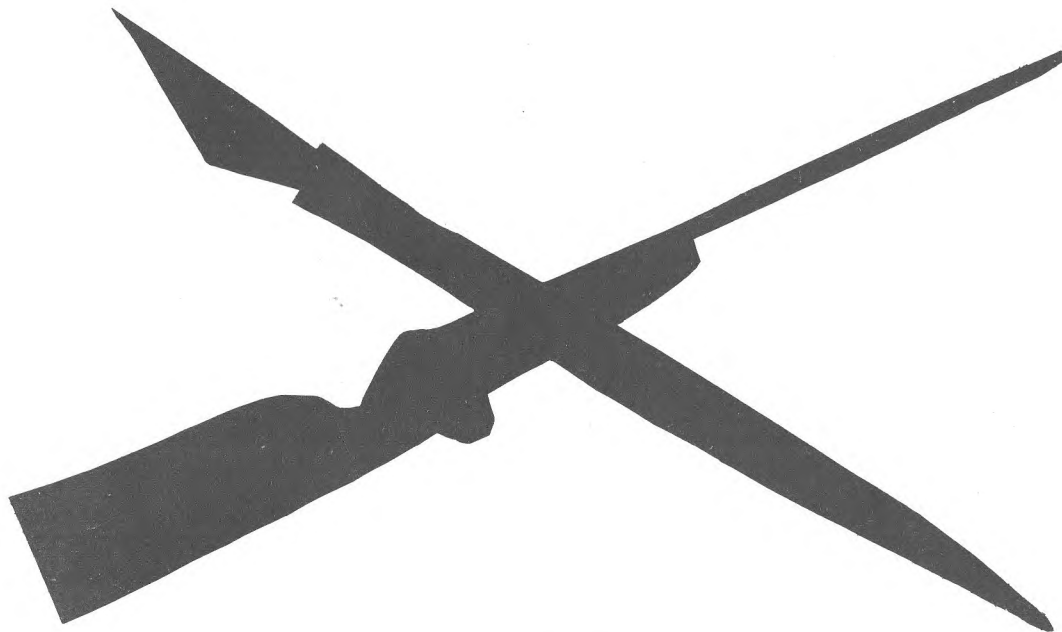


A Theoretical Journal Published by the Communist League

PROLETARIAT



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Comrades and Friends:

We hope you will like the second issue of PROLETARIAT, a theoretical journal published by the Communist League.

In the present number we have included two reprints, one, by Olgin, about Trotskyism, the other, by Manuilsky, about how to analyze current events. We have also included two new articles which in essence deal with the same problem: How to understand the building of socialism, how to understand the dictatorship, in the light of concrete facts and the science of Marxism-Leninism, not idealism and metaphysics. This, of course, is a particularly important question at the present time in the United States, when we are faced with the extremely difficult, complex and important task of building a really Leninist communist party capable of leading the US working class effectively to defend itself against rising fascism, crush fascism and imperialism, and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. To accomplish this task the firmest grasp of dialectical materialism is indispensable, as is a firm grasp of the various pseudo-Marxist, idealist trends which go disguised as Marxism but which in fact serve to confuse people and lead the revolution onto the wrong track. It is for the purpose of exposing and countering some of the main anti-Marxist trends (particularly apparent in the US at the present time) that the two new articles have been written.

We wish to point out again (as we did in the first issue) that PROLETARIAT exists to serve as a forum for ideological struggle and polemics. Many people will quite possibly have disagreements with certain points made in the articles. Well and good. The pages of PROLETARIAT are open to all honest revolutionaries. You should feel that PROLETARIAT belongs to you, and that it is your obligation to write articles and send them to us, or at least to drop us a line giving your opinion of what we publish. (A page at the very end of the magazine has been designed to facilitate this.) Remember that there is no such thing as being too busy to try to clarify a certain point of theory or practice that will help (even a small bit) the US working class to destroy the world hangman, US imperialism, that much sooner. Write to:

TJ
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Comradely,
J A, Editor

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N. SANMUGATHASAN'S BRIGHT RED BANNER

During the past two years, there has developed a new ideological position within the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist groupings opposed to Soviet revisionism, supporting Mao Tsetung, and especially supporting the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. This new position has a marked anti-Stalin orientation, in many areas openly supports Trotsky, and in general (this is the essence) claims that social motion, and especially, revolution, is the result of man's consciousness to the exclusion of his social being. In the main the ideological manifesto of the position of these new groupings is a pamphlet by N. Sanmugathasan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon, entitled The Bright Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, published by the Ceylon CP in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. (Workers Press, 121 Union Place, Colombo-2, Ceylon.)

At first glance, this pamphlet would appear to be simply an overly individualized salute to the historic stature of Mao Tsetung. A closer examination of it will show that there is a real reason for it. I believe that this reason is to separate Mao from Marxism-Leninism, make him an object of the cult of the personality aside and apart from the practical political struggle of the day. Most of all, the reason is to place the subjective factor of the revolutionary movement (ideas) in the position of being the leading factor, more important than the developing productive forces in society. Let us examine the statement.

On p2 Sanmugathasan says, "Lenin applied the teachings of Marxism to the changed conditions of his own time. In doing so he developed Marxism to the higher stage of Leninism."

This seems like an innocent statement which corresponds to the facts---until you compare it to what is accepted by Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, by Stalin and by revolutionaries everywhere. What is Leninism? It's not Marxism which has been elevated to a different level. Leninism, as Stalin says (Foundations of Leninism, Peking, p10), "is Marxism in the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. Marx and Engels pursued their activities in the prerevolutionary period, when developed imperialism did not exist, in the period of the proletarian preparation for revolution, in the period when the proletarian revolution was not yet a direct practical inevitability. Lenin, however, as a disciple of Marx and Engels, and pursued his activities in the period of developed imperialism, in the period of the unfolding proletarian revolution, when the proletarian revolution had already captured one country, had smashed bourgeois democracy and had ushered in the era of proletarian democracy, the era of the soviets."

We can see that this accepted formulation of the question of Leninism is a bit different from what is proposed by Sanmugathasan. He says that Lenin developed Marxism into something that was different, a "higher stage", that it was no longer Marxism, but Leninism. But Lenin did not rearrange the base of Marxism in any way. He applied Marxism to the tasks of our day, that is, the tasks of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the

proletariat. To follow Sanmugathasan's description would be to say that Marxism is a set of dogma applicable for one circumstance but not for another. In the Communist League we see Marxism as a system, applicable to all phenomena, theoretical and practical.

Again, on p3, Sanmugathasan repeats his assertion in different words, saying that Lenin "raised Marxism to new heights and, hence, Marxism began to be referred to as Marxism-Leninism." It may seem that we are being nit-picking to belabor what seems to be a small point. But as Marx points out, "The body as an organic whole is more easy of study than are the cells of that body." And, "To the superficial observer the analysis of these forms seems to turn upon minutiae." (Capital, FLPH, Moscow, 1961, p8). We should also recall Lenin's well-known discussion of the crucial importance of "shades" of differences in What Is To Be Done?. For if we follow this "small" point, this "shade" of Sanmugathasan's, namely that Leninism is different and separate from Marxism, then his whole thesis that Mao is also separate from Marx logically follows.

So much for Sanmugathasan's first main thesis. A second is stated on p3, where he says, "Stalin continued Lenin's tasks and, despite some mistakes, he did a good job in building socialism in one country," etc. Here we come across the allusion to "some mistakes" of Stalin, which are so often left unconcretized. Of course this vagueness and unwillingness to nail down questions of importance are the touchstone of every opportunist. At least the Chinese revisionists, who were crushed by the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, were frank in their statements. For example,

During the latter part of his life, Stalin took more and more pleasure in this cult of the individual, and violated the Party's system of Democratic Centralism and the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility. As a result he made some serious mistakes such as the following: he broadened the scope of the suppression of the counter-revolution; he lacked the necessary vigilance on the eve of the anti-fascist war; he failed to pay proper attention to the peasantry; he gave certain wrong advice on the international communist movement, and in particular made a wrong decision on the question of Yugoslavia. On these issues, Stalin fell victim of subjectivity and one-sidedness, and divorced himself from objective reality and from the masses. (Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Peking, 1961, pp8-9.)

The Chinese revisionists say later; "The CPC congratulates the CPSU on its great achievements in its historic struggle against the cult of the individual." (Ibid., pll.)

Of course, we do not have to belabor the point. The CPSU's "great achievements" in correcting Stalin's "mistakes" led to the restoration of capitalist imperialism in the Soviet Union by the Krushchov gang, with disastrous effects for the Russian people and the international communist movement. Mao Tsetung and the Marxist-Leninists of the CPC have other ideas about Stalin. Mao said on the latter's 60th birthday, "Stalin is the leader of the world revolution. This is of paramount importance. It is a great event that mankind is blessed with Stalin. Since we have him, things can go well. As you all know, Marx is dead and so are Engels and

Lenin. Had there been no Stalin, who would there be to give directions? But having him---this is really a blessing. Now there exists in the world a Soviet Union, a Communist Party and also a Stalin. Thus the affairs of the world can go well." Further, Mao says, "We must hail him, we must support him and we must learn from him." "We must learn from him in two respects: his theory and his work."

We would add only that Mao Tsetung made these remarks in 1939, after the Moscow Trials and the mass purgings of counter-revolutionaries in the Soviet Union by Stalin. Then, too, various revisionists, Trotskyites and other scum in China were attacking Stalin and whining about his "broadening the scope of the suppression of the counter-revolution," etc. Mao Tsetung answered them just as we answer them now.

Mao and his teachings on Stalin live on on while those who have attacked Stalin under the cloak of lies and vagueness have been crushed, and will continue to be crushed, by the masses. Life itself has now shown us that it is impossible to attack Stalin the individual. Such attacks have no meaning for communists. On the other hand, those who attack Stalin the political figure cannot help but attack the proletarian revolution and especially the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in fact use attacks on Stalin as a cover for attacking the proletarian revolution. Of course, we see this in hindsight. It was the Krushchov gang, both hidden and open, that first saw clearly that the path to attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism was to attack Stalin. because they saw it first we, in a sense, have been forced on the defensive on the question of Stalin. But since we now know from Soviet and world experience the meaning of the attacks on Stalin, we will not let such attacks go unanswered, no matter how slight. (We know from our own experience that such attacks always start out in the form of ten sentences of praise plus one of blame, and then invariably transform themselves into one sentence of praise plus ten of blame, and finally to eleven sentences of blame.)*

Marx, Engles, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao have consistently taught that the difference between Marxists and bourgeois socialists is the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, this demand is concretely translated into the defense of the great historical contributions of Stalin. Why? Because the USSR was the first country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Stalin was its leader for over thirty years.

To continue. The grouping developing around Sanmugathan has as one of its main projections that Lenin and Stalin did not understand the continuation of the class struggle after the military victory of the revolution. Sanmugathan says on p4, "With unerring farsightedness, Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out that classes would continue to exist during the entire historical epoch from socialism to communism and that, therefore, class struggle would continue to exist even after the socialist revolu-

*Note: In fact, since this article was first drafted, some of the main advocates of Sanmagathan have completely renounced Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thought and have become open Trotskyites.

tion." (Emphasis added.)

The first question that should come to mind in examining this is, "If class struggles don't exist after the proletarian revolution (that is, the military victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie), why have the dictatorship of the proletariat at all?" After all, you cannot have the dictatorship of the proletariat without having defeated the bourgeoisie in the military field and having smashed their state. But after you have done so? There's only one possible conclusion, and that is that the dictatorship of the proletariat itself is the full recognition of the continuation of the class struggle in other than military forms. Marx points out in the Communist Manifesto:

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e. of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. (Communist Manifesto, International Publishers, 1948, pp30-31.)

On p47 of the Foundations of Leninism, in the section entitled "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", Stalin says,

The revolution can defeat the bourgeoisie, can overthrow its power, even without the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the revolution will be unable to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie, to maintain its victory and to push forward to the final victory of socialism unless, at a certain stage in its development, it creates a special organ in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat as its principal mainstay. From Lenin the quote, 'The fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power.' Does this mean that all that is required is to assume power, to seize it? No, it does not. The seizure of power is only the beginning. For many reasons, the bourgeoisie that is overthrown in one country remains for a long time (WE EMPHASIZE "FOR A LONG TIME") stronger than the proletariat which has overthrown it. Therefore, the whole point is to retain power, to consolidate it, to make it invincible. What is needed to attain this? To attain this it is necessary to carry out at least three main tasks that confront the dictatorship of the proletariat 'on the morrow' of victory.

Further, on p48 Stalin quotes Lenin as follows:

The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters - who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it - throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the 'paradise' of which they have been deprived, on behalf of their families, who had been leading such a sweet and easy life and whom now the 'common herd' is condemning to ruin and destitution (or to 'common labor'). In the train of the capitalist exploiters follows the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, with regard to whom decades of historical experience testify that they vacillate and hesitate, one day marching behind the proletariat and the next day taking fright at the difficulties of the revolution; that they become panic-stricken at the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers, grow nervous, rush about, snivel, and run from one camp into the other.'

Further, Lenin says (Selected Works, Vol VII, p140), 'If the exploiters are defeated in one country only, and this of course is typical since the simultaneous revolution in a number of countries is a rare exception, they will still remain stronger than the exploited.'

No one can deny that Marx understood the existence of class struggle after the proletariat has beaten the bourgeoisie, since you don't have to 'wrest' wealth from a dead man. Lenin applied this concept to the conditions of the Soviet revolution as did Mao to the Chinese revolution. But Sanmugathan has another, essentially counter-revolutionary view of the dictatorship of the proletariat under Lenin and Stalin. He supports it by saying,

But where he (Stalin) failed was in not recognizing, on the level of theory, that classes and class struggle exist in society throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the question of who will win in the revolution has yet to be finally settled; in other words, if all this is not handled properly there is the possibility of a comeback by the bourgeoisie. The year before he died, Stalin became aware of this point and stated that contradictions do exist in socialist society and if not handled properly might turn into antagonistic ones. (r52)

Of course this is sheer duplicity. Either Stalin did understand the situation or he didn't. At the beginning of the paragraph he didn't and then at the end of the paragraph it's admitted that he did, since it is printed for all to see. (See Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR)

But Sanmugathan keeps repeating his assertion, as if saying it enough will make it so. On p25 he says,

One of the specific contributions of Comrade Mao Tsetung to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism is his summing up of the experiences of the revolutions in China and other countries and his conclusions that classes and class struggles exist throughout the entire historical epoch from socialism to communism; and that there existed the danger of capitalist restoration and the danger of the dictatorship of the proletariat being lost and subverted.

First of all, the epoch is from capitalism to communism - socialism is the name of that epoch. Secondly, we have shown by quotations that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin had a pretty clear idea of this, and that is why they refer to this epoch of transition as the dictatorship of the proletariat. Let us quote Lenin once more:

Under the Soviet power, your proletarian party and ours will be invaded by a still larger number of bourgeois intellectuals. They will worm their way into the Soviets, the courts, and the administration, for communism cannot be built up otherwise than with the aid of the human material created by capitalism, and the bourgeois intellectuals cannot be expelled and destroyed, but must be vanquished, remolded, assimilated and re-educated, just as one must - in a protracted struggle waged on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat - re-educate the proletarians themselves, who do not abandon their petty-bourgeois prejudices at one stroke, by a miracle, at the behest of the Virgin Mary, at the behest of a slogan, resolution or decree, but only in the course of a long and difficult mass struggle against mass petty-bourgeois influences. Under the Soviet power the same problems, which the anti-parliamentarians are now so proudly, so lightly and so childishly brushing aside with a wave of the hand - these very same problems are arising anew within the Soviets, within the Soviet administration, among the Soviet 'attorneys' (in Russia we have abolished, and have rightly abolished, the bourgeois legal Bar, but it is being revived in the guise of 'Soviet attorneys'). Among the Soviet engineers, the Soviet school teachers and the privileged, ie the most highly skilled and best situated workers in the Soviet factories, we observe a constant revival of absolutely all the bad traits peculiar to bourgeois parliamentarism, and we shall gradually conquer this evil only by constant, tireless, prolonged and persistent struggle, proletarian organization and discipline. ('Left-wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder, Int Pub, 1940, pp92-3)

This is clear enough and that should be the end of that. But Sanmugathan goes back for another try at Stalin. He writes,

But what was his shortcoming? After 1928, when the problem of the kulaks had been solved, when collectivization of agriculture was completed, when the first Five-Year Plan was completed, he said classes had been entirely eliminated and no longer existed. This incorrect idea was clearly expressed in his report on the Soviet Constitution in 1936. (p58)

What did Stalin really say? From 'The Report on the Constitution':

In conformity with these changes in the economic life of the USSR, the class structure of our society has also changed.

The landlord class, as you know, had already been eliminated as a result of the victorious conclusion of the civil war. As for the other exploiting classes, they have shared the fate of the landlord class. The capitalist class in the sphere of industry has ceased to exist. Thus all the exploiting classes have been eliminated.' (Problems of Leninism, FLPH, Moscow, 1954, p683)

No one will deny that the victory of socialism was marked by the adoption of the Constitution, made possible by the elimination of economic classes

(except for the proletariat and peasantry), a task completed by 1936. If you confuse the statement about 'eliminating classes' you take the position of the fascists, who accuse the Soviet Union and Stalin of meaning that eliminating the kulaks as a class means eliminating all the kulaks. But this was not what was meant at all. Kulaks as kulaks and capitalists as capitalists were eliminated, and the Constitution was therefore adopted. But did the elimination of the exploiting classes as classes mean that there were no more enemies of the Soviet power in the Soviet Union? This is ridiculous as, among other things, the Purge Trials of 1936-8 pointed out, and as Stalin pointed out 'in the realm of theory' in Mastering Bolshevism, 1937.

But enough on this point. We suggest to our comrades and to those friends who still have questions on this score to avail themselves of Stalin's works and study them.

Assuming that everyone is overwhelmed by his arguments, Sanmugathanan leaps from the contention that Mao discovered class struggle under socialism to the contention that Mao discovered that dialectics operate within the Communist Party. Of course this is pure foolishness. Lenin dealt in great detail with the bases of contradictions within the party in his 'Struggle Against Revisionism.' Stalin says in 'Inherent Contradictions of Party Development' (the title alone discredits Sanmugathanan), 'The whole history of our Party is the history of overcoming internal Party differences and the steady consolidation of the ranks of our Party on the basis of overcoming these contradictions....It follows that the fight to overcome internal Party differences is the law of development of our Party.' (Int Pub, 1946, p47) Sanmugathanan is simply not telling the truth when he says that internal party struggle was discovered by Mao Tsetung.

Similarly, Sanmugathanan says on p43, 'Comrade Mao Tsetung solved these questions of art and literature with the aid of Marxist dialectics.'

The way this is said leaves one to believe that Stalin's important works, that Andrey Zhdanov's important writings on art and literature, don't exist; that the brilliant essays by Marx and Engels entitled 'Literature and Art' were never published. They are totally disregarded.

It's clear from the examples we have given that time after time Sanmugathanan attributes to Mao Tsetung theories that were developed and elaborated by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as well as by Mao himself. By pointing this out do we mean to diminish the stature of Mao? On the contrary. For us Mao's greatness lies in the way he applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Chinese society, it lies in the fact that he is the undisputed leader in the worldwide struggle to make Marxism once more a realistic, living revolutionary theory and practice. His greatness does not lie for us (as it does for Sanmugathanan) in his having invented abstractions of Marxism.

It is Sanmugathanan, not we, who does a disservice to Mao Tsetung and to Marxism-Leninism in general by developing a cult of personality, by separating Mao Tsetung from Lenin and Leninism, from Marx and Stalin; and even worse, by separating him from the realities of social life and social struggle. To illustrate this once more let us examine Sanmugathanan's treatment of Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

According to Sanmugathasan, Mao Tsetung personally initiated and led the Cultural Revolution. Now, it's a fact that Mao did initiate and lead the Cultural Revolution - but not as some abstraction. His leadership, and the Cultural Revolution itself, were part of the general revolutionizing of the means of production of China, the winning of the battle for production, the development of production, without which socialism and the development of communism are impossible. And how is the battle for production and socialism won? By bringing society and the superstructure into line with the more mobile and developed productive forces by means of a revolution in social relationships. It is the productive forces, the most revolutionary aspect of society, that objectively lead society toward communism. Without revolutionizing the means of production, communism is impossible. But Sanmugathasan wants you to think that all you have to do is develop the right spirit, the right thought. He thus proposes that spirit or thought, not the productive forces, is the most revolutionary force in society. This is utopian socialism of the Robert Owen type, not Marxism. For haven't thinkers and religious figures for thousands of years had an idealist, naive conception of 'communism' and attempted to realize their vision by strictly idealist means? And haven't they failed, not out of lack of sincerity and high-mindedness, but because it is only in modern times that the productive capacity of society has produced a situation - and a leading force, the proletariat, and a leading theory, scientific socialism or Marxism - where it is really possible to build socialism and communism? But it is precisely this material, historical content of Marxism that Sanmugathasan 'extracts' from Marxism, thus rendering it flat and banal.

It is, of course, undialectical and anti-Marxist not to give full account of the dialectical relationship and transformation of thought and activity - base and superstructure, the ideal and material world. One has an impact on and changes the other. Stalin says,

The strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism lies in the fact that it bases its practical activity on the needs of the development of the material life of society and never divorces itself from the real life of society.

It does not follow from Marx's words, however, that social ideas, theories, political views and political institutions are of no significance in the life of society. We have been speaking so far of the origin of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions,

of the way they arise, of the fact that the spiritual life of society is a reflection of the conditions of its material life. As regards the significance of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions as regards their role in history, historical materialism, far from denying them, stresses the important role and significance of these factors in the life of society, in its history. (Dialectical and Historical Materialism, op cit, Problems of Leninism, p726)

Mao Tsetung says,

While we recognize that in the development of history as a whole it is material things that determine spiritual things and social existence that determines social consciousness, at the same time we also recognize and must recognize the reaction of spiritual things and social consciousness on social existence, and the reaction of the superstructure on the economic foundation. This is not running counter to materialism; this is precisely avoiding mechanical materialism and firmly upholding dialectical materialism. (Selected Works, vol2,

Int Pub, 1954, p41)

None of the great teachers supports a mechanistic view of the role of the productive forces. Our view is dialectical, and that is precisely why we reject the line that revolutionary thought is divorced from the concrete basis of the productive forces and productive relations which arise from them. In this regard the whole latter part of Stalin's Dialectical and Historical Materialism is worth quoting. But let me quote Marx instead:

Social relations are closely bound up with productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production, in changing the way of earning their living, they change all their social conditions. The hand-mill gives society the feudal lord; the steam-mill gives society the industrial capitalist.

The same men, who establish their social relationships in conformity with their material productivity, produce also principles, ideas and categories, in conformity with their social relationships.

Thus these ideas, these categories, are as little eternal as the relationships they express. They are historical and transitory products.

There is a continual movement of growth in productive forces, of destruction in social relations, of formation in ideas; the only immutable thing is the abstraction of movement - mors immortalis.
(Poverty of Philosophy)

There it is, summed up as Marx saw it, as Stalin saw it, and as Mao sees it. Fundamentally, the productive forces are the forces that revolutionize society and its superstructure, not the other way around as Samugathasan would have us believe. To make this even clearer, it is not a question of which aspect (the material base or the superstructure) is principal at a given moment, the question is which is fundamental. For example, no one would deny that white chauvinism (a belief, part of the superstructure) has greatly affected the bloody history of the Negro people, that it has had a great impact on the material life of the United States. But where did white chauvinism come from? From the material system, from imperialism. The importance of ideas is as Stalin says: Revolution is impossible without the introduction of new, revolutionary ideas.

New social ideas and theories arise precisely because they are necessary to society, because it is impossible to carry out the urgent tasks of development of the material life of society without their organizing, mobilizing and transforming action. Arising out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, the new social ideas and theories force their way through, become the possession of the masses, mobilize and organize them against the moribund forces of society, and thus facilitate the overthrow of these forces which hamper the development of the material life of society.
(Dialectical and Historical Materialism, op cit, p727)

Finally let us quote from Marx's A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy:

It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.

At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or - what is but a legal expression for the same thing - with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.

That's what any revolution is all about, including the Cultural Revolution. In our opinion the Cultural Revolution was indeed a revolution, a revolution to bring the social relations of China into conformity with the developing productive forces and to free those productive forces for further advance and further social revolution. The struggle to accomplish these necessary tasks resulted in a seizure of state power by the broad masses on a much larger and deeper scale than the seizure of state power in 1949, the simple military victory which ended the period of 'new democracy' and began the period of socialist construction.

How does Samugathasan view this seizure of power? In the abstract. He says on p25, 'The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China was a revolution for capturing people's minds. It was an attempt to uproot the old feudal and bourgeois ideology,' etc. Finally, he correctly concludes, 'It was an endeavor to bring the superstructure into line with the changed socialist economic base. It would probably take centuries before its full effects would be felt.'

The Cultural Revolution did not and could not limit itself to the capture of people's minds. This is a bourgeois approach.

And as far as the question of 'bringing the superstructure into line with the changed socialist economic base' is concerned, we should understand that the most important aspect of the superstructure is the state. It is precisely in the struggle to consolidate state power that the Cultural Revolution really meant something. Lin Piao's speech on National Day, October 1, 1967, states,

From the capital to the border regions, from the city to the countryside, from the factory workshops to workers' homes, everyone, from teenagers to old folk concerned themselves with state affairs and the strengthening and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To get yourself into someone's mind doesn't mean anything if that person keeps state power. Samugathasan is quite correct when he says the Cultural Revolution was for bringing the superstructure into line with the changed socialist economic base. This meant, first of all, changing the character and composition of the state. But Samugathasan refuses to plant himself firmly in materialism. On p36 he says, 'The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was an attempt to see that proletarian ideology decisively triumphed inside the minds of the Chinese people.' He says nothing about the historical conditions which made it necessary to carry out the Cultural Revolution, to get rid of the capitalist roaders, to shake off the fetters that had developed and which hampered the further development of Chinese society. For him the thing remains a sort of big debate.

Samugathasan's idealist approach to the Cultural Revolution is reflected in his approach to revisionism, and in particular modern revisionism.

He talks a lot about revisionism, but does not say a single word about the material basis for revisionism. For example (p21), 'Lenin, in his day, clearly defined revisionism as the influence of the bourgeoisie inside the working class movement.' This is of course true, but is it all? No, because Lenin also explained that this influence was brought into the proletariat via certain strata of workers - principally, the impoverished petty bourgeois forced to become wage workers, and the bribed workers, the labor aristocracy. As Stalin says in 'Inherent Contradictions of Party Development,'

The pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology upon the proletariat and upon its party result in bourgeois ideas, morals, habits and moods not infrequently penetrating into the proletariat and its party through the medium of certain strata of the proletariat connected in one way or another with bourgeois society. (Marxism and Revisionism, Int Pub, 1946, p49)

Why is Samnugathasan's failure to discuss the material basis for revisionism important? Because it is part of his attempt to turn class struggle into a debating society, a struggle of ideas, not of social classes and strata. This failure, incidentally, is one that Samnugathasan shares with countless so-called 'lefts' and 'communists' in the United States. These people talk loud and long about revisionism, but never say exactly how it comes into the working class. This is because they belong to, and appeal to, one of the two strata Stalin says bring opportunism to the movement, that is, they belong to 'the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia.' They don't want to point the finger at themselves, so they remain silent. Charity begins at home.

But to continue. Samnugathasan further uses the concept of revisionism in another attempt to split Mao off from Marxism-Leninism. He goes to great pains to do away with the whole concept of modern revisionism as a new process, a new counter-revolutionary stance. Speaking of the 'great debate' between Lenin and Bernstein, Kautsky, etc, Samnugathasan says,

The present-day revisionists, from Khrushchov to Keuneman, have not improved on any of the theories originally put forward by Kautsky and Bernstein and brilliantly refuted by Lenin during his time. They are merely repeating the same balderdash. The only reason why they are called the modern revisionists is to distinguish them from the revisionists of Lenin's time.

He admits that Lenin's struggle against revisionism was a defense of the theories and teachings of Marx and Engels. But he stops there and says nothing has changed since. Look at what the Chinese comrades say in Long Live Leninism (1960):

As pointed out in the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow in 1957, 'The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source.' Old revisionism attempted to prove that Marxism was outmoded, while modern revisionism attempts to prove that Leninism is outmoded. The Moscow Declaration states, 'Modern revisionism seeks to sneer the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism...'

Furthermore, the fine pamphlet entitled 'Leninism and Modern Revisionism' (Editorial #1, Hongqi, 1963) points out how modern revisionism attacks Lenin, and therefore differentiates itself from the old-style revisionism. Why does Sannugathasan deny this correct distinction? To accomplish what he tries to do throughout his book - to separate Mao from Lenin and Marx. In this case he lumps Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin together as one thing, and then we have the disconnected 'brilliant thought' of Mao Tsetung - shining completely by itself out in the middle of nowhere.

Another example of this trick is Sannugathasan's treatment of the Cultural Revolution as 'without a doubt the greatest epoch-making event even more profound in its influence than the October Revolution.' (Italics added)

The Communist Party of China, however, has a different opinion. In 'Leninism or Social-Imperialism?' they point out,

Applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Tsetung creatively solved the fundamental problems of the Chinese revolution and led the Chinese people in waging the most protracted, fierce, arduous and complicated revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars ever known in the history of the world proletarian revolution, and in winning victory in the people's countryside, in the people's revolution in China, this large country in the east. This is the greatest victory of the world revolution since the October Revolution. (Italics added)

The Chinese see the Chinese revolution, and the Cultural Revolution which is part of it, as a development of the October Revolution of 1917. This is absolutely correct. Sannugathasan, on the other hand, attempts to split the Chinese revolution off from the Russian revolution and to place it in limbo, just as he attempts to split Mao off from Marxism-Leninism and to place him in limbo.

We shall give one more example of Sannugathasan's splittism. It involves, characteristically, a further development of his attack on Stalin. Sannugathasan really does his thing when, on pp46-7, he says,

Stalin thus put the law of the unity and struggle of the opposites as the last one instead of the first one. When the philosophical circles in the USSR dealt with the three laws of dialectics or when Stalin wrote about the four features of the dialectical method, both sections were putting the law of the unity of opposites on an equal footing with the other laws instead of treating it as the basic law of materialist dialectics.

Then he goes on to show that Mao Tsetung discovered that the unity of opposites is the basic law of dialectics. Let us examine this.

I think that any examination of Stalin's works in philosophy will show that he didn't invent anything on the question of dialectics. He merely organized and quoted Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Sannugathasan makes a serious mistake when he fails to give quotations and merely says what he thinks is there. In Dialectical and Historical Materialism (op cit, p715) Stalin quotes Engels as saying that dialectics 'takes things and their perceptual images essentially in their inter-connection, in their concatenation, in their movement, in their rise and disappearance.' What can that be but the unity of opposites?

Further on Stalin quotes Lenin as saying, 'In their proper meaning dialectics is the study of the contradictions within the very essence of things.' And more, 'Development is the "struggle of opposites."' So we come down to the question that if Lenin says that 'Dialectics is the study of the contradictions within the very essence of things,' can this mean anything but the unity of opposites? Far from discovering that contradictions or the unity of opposites was discovered and developed by Mao Tsetung, Sannugathanan merely shows us, against his will, that Comrade Mao Tsetung is a very good Leninist, and not at all separated from Lenin and Stalin, as he would like you to think.

Before summing up, we shall mention one more example of Sannugathanan's metaphysical, idealist approach to history. On p13 he opens his polemic against Trotsky and sums it up by saying,

Trotsky, himself, had, during the unsuccessful 1905 Russian Revolution issued the sectarian slogan, 'No Tsar, but a workers' government,' in opposition to Lenin's slogan of 'A workers' and peasants' government' - thereby demonstrating Trotsky's consistent lack of faith in the peasantry.

But the point isn't at all that Trotsky lacked faith in the peasantry. The point really is that Trotsky was a counter-revolutionary and that his sloganeering was a method and a theoretical mask used to confuse naive people who could not see the counter-revolutionary role Trotsky consistently played.

CONCLUSION

The whole purpose of Sannugathanan's book is to abstract Marxism-Leninism, and especially Mao Tsetung, from reality. 'Lenin,' he says on p5, 'creatively developed Marxism to the stage of Leninism.' Later he says, 'Comrade Mao Tsetung creatively developed Marxism-Leninism to the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought.' As if it were a question of climbing a ladder rung by rung. All through the book history is presented as what Lenin or Mao decided to do, without any analysis whatsoever of the objective situation - the productive forces, the social struggle, the class struggle - the things that make Marxism-Leninism what it is.

Stalin and the CPC take a correct line, in opposition to Sannugathanan. Stalin's introduction to Foundations of Leninism is a fine example of showing how Leninism proceeded from a concrete historical situation. Stalin is correct when he says that Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions. The CPC is correct when it says (in the Constitution of the Party) that 'The CPC takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical base guiding its thinking. Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism in the era when imperialism is headed for total collapse, and socialism is advancing toward world-wide victory.' Not a rung on a ladder going God knows where, but Marxism is a particular period of history. The changing historical situation, and it alone, makes it possible to 'extend,' or, more accurately, 'to creatively apply' Marxism-Leninism. We don't think for a moment that Mao Tsetung Thought is the end of the process. It is a creative application of the methodology of Marxism that corresponds to a definite stage of the productive forces and the resulting social struggle, not in any one country, but worldwide.

Only when Marxism-Leninism is viewed concretely, in relation to the real, material world, does it have meaning. Similarly for the great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. When they are abstracted from history and the class struggle they become religious ikons, harmless to the bourgeoisie.

On p30 of his book Sannugathan gives a thumbnail sketch of the background of the Cultural Revolution, and does it quite correctly. He shows how it was built up, and how it arose on the basis of the class struggle. What he fails to show, of course - and it is the obvious conclusion - is that Mao is great because Mao marches with history. Mao raised the question of the Cultural Revolution as it was raised by the Liberation Daily, which called for a rounded cultural revolution. Then the Party discussed it, and then Mao initiated it. This showed that he was marching with history, with the masses. Nobody can make society do something. Society has to be already on the path of doing it, and then a leader emerges who is able to rationalize and sum up the desires and needs of the masses. That is what leadership is, and that is why Mao is such a gigantic figure in the history of mankind.

But Sannugathan presents a different picture, one in which god-like figures (Lenin, Mao) float about in the heavens making pronouncements and handing down decisions. Such a picture of Marxism-Leninism, of the great teachers, of revolution, can only lead to the renunciation of science, of the concrete analysis of concrete reality - the only thing that can lead the proletariat to victory and free humanity. Revolution is not a debating society or a dinner party.

Nelson P.

for

The Secretariat

HOW TO PREPARE A REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

BY D. Z. Manuilsky

You have to prepare a report on the international situation. In your hands you have a pile of newspapers for the last two weeks. They contain quite an amount of informative material dealing with international political life. Here you have a report about a visit of Delbos, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Prague and Bucharest; the suspicious visit of Lord Halifax to Berlin; the defeat of the Rumanian government at the elections; a report about the beginning of the economic crisis in the USA; a description of the ferocity of the Japanese on their entry into Nanking; war bulletins from Spain and China; the reaction of the world press to the Supreme Soviet elections held on December 12, etc.

The inexperienced speaker is "overwhelmed" by this variety of material; he is snowed under by it.

What has he to do, what to seize hold of, where to begin? The facts reported in the press are of varying significance. Some material is more important, others less so. The first and chief part of the work of a speaker is to select what is most important in characterizing the international situation, and to give facts of secondary importance a role subordinate to the main features of the international situation. Let us try to do this on the basis of a characterization of the present international situation.

Here we have a report about the economic crisis in the USA. This is something new, something that did not exist three to four months ago. Is this a big event in the life of the capitalist world? It is a very big one. The speaker cannot pass it over. The USA is the biggest country of the capitalist world. An economic crisis in such a country cannot fail to influence world capitalist economy, cannot but be reflected in the foreign policy of the capitalist powers. You will remember that the world economic crises of 1920 and 1929 began in the USA, that one may presume that the other capitalist countries will also be drawn into the present crisis in the USA. We also know that economic crises sharpen class contradictions, that the capitalists make use of crises to attack the working class, that the workers fight back in answer to this offensive; we know that the capitalists seek a way out of the crisis in fascism and imperialist wars, while the working people seek a way out of consolidating their forces for the struggle against fascism and imperialist wars, that the working people are becoming increasingly convinced of the need to overthrow the capitalist system. Therefore the speaker will make no mistake if he notes down the economic crisis in the USA as one of the main features of the present international situation.

The second main feature is the robber war being waged by the Japanese imperialists in China and by the Germano-Italian interventionists in Spain. Every speaker knows that the workers are concerned about the events in China and Spain. At the present time this is the kernel of all speeches on the international situation. The war in Spain and China sharpens the entire inter-

national situation, creates the menace of a new world imperialist war. The speaker writes down the second point: war in Spain and China, and the acute sharpening of the danger of a new world imperialist war.

He begins to analyze this, to investigate the connection between these main points and others. The economic crisis is coming to a head and the war danger has increased to an exceptional degree. The question arises: what are the workers, the working people generally, doing in the struggle against the gathering danger of war and fascism? The war in Spain and China is not a one-sided act. The Spanish and Chinese peoples are waging a heroic struggle against the fascist bandits. For it should be borne in mind that a big war is taking place both in the West and in the Far East. You know what is happening around Teruel, what is taking place in China. In other countries a struggle is also going on against fascism and the war danger. Thus from the first two points the following third point automatically arises: the growing resistance of the working class and the toiling masses against the onslaught of the fascist powers, against war and fascism. This is the third characteristic feature of the present international situation.

In our country the elections have taken place to the Supreme Soviet. These elections showed the unity of the Soviet people, the power of our country, the solidarity of the working people with the Soviet government and our Party led by Comrade Stalin, on a scale without precedent or possibility in the entire history of parties, peoples or countries. They are an event not only of internal but also of tremendous international significance. On December 12 we summed up our achievements for the twenty years of the socialist revolution. The Stalin Constitution, which is a great victory for socialism in our country, influences the life of the whole world and exerts tremendous influence over the development of the world revolutionary movement.

The speaker writes down this fact as point No. 4.

He thinks things over further and sees that all the remaining points of the international situation are covered by these four most characteristic, leading features.

He takes these four points and tries to link them together.

What becomes clear to him? It is clear that a world economic crisis is advancing, that the war danger is increasing, that fascism is on the offensive, waging war, that the masses of the people are rising up to resist fascism, that this resistance of the working masses is growing thanks to the triumph of socialism in the USSR; the victory of socialism cements the democratic forces of the whole world against fascism and war. Such is the inner mutual connection between these characteristic features which determines the present situation on the international arena.

Thus the speaker has the groundwork of his report ready. What he needs to do is to think it over somewhat fundamentally, as a whole. To this end he

must direct himself to the works of Lenin and Stalin, where they raise questions of economic crises, imperialist wars, political reaction and the struggle of the working people. These views were expressed by Lenin and Stalin in a different historically concrete situation, but they always compel the speaker to think more deeply over a number of questions; in them he will always find something new, a number of questions will become clearer to him, and consequently more accessible, more understandable to his audience. The speaker must remember that the works of Lenin and Stalin discipline thought, teach every one of us to distinguish the "woods from the trees," and so to give clear and exact expression to one's thoughts in such a way as to be understood by millions of people.

Comrade Stalin, for instance, on more than one occasion expressed his views regarding the world economic crisis of 1929. He spoke of the development of the world economic crisis in a talk with the American journalist Duranty. He gave an exhaustive and profound characterization of the world economic situation in the report he made at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. These views expressed by Comrade Stalin amaze one at their sharp penetration, and give us the key to a correct estimation of the developing new crisis of capitalist economy.

Then you proceed to work on the different parts of your report, to select materials and to work out the details of each of the main basic points outlined.

Let us begin with point No. 1, about the economic crisis. When dealing with such themes many speakers are not content unless they burden themselves and their audiences with a large number of figures. But a speaker should by no means quote many figures at a mass meeting. Too many figures make a speech heavy, tire out the audience and make the speech dry, boring and difficult of understanding. Figures are all right when read, for the so-called visual memory comes to one's aid, but it is difficult to listen to them in great quantity.

And so let us begin by selecting some of the clearest, most significant figures characterizing the growth of the economic crisis. Let us take figures showing the decline in output in the USA. (You take these figures from the press. You should, by the way, make it a rule that when you read the press and see figures there, if the figures are important and interesting, to write them down or cut them out of the paper. They will always come in handy.) Let us take the most fundamental figures: first, those of the steel industry in the USA, since this industry is decisive and most indicative. This branch of industry in 1937 worked only to the extent of 80 per cent of its capacity, while by October this figure had fallen sharply and hardly reached 30 per cent. Another characteristic figure is that of the increase of unemployment. Unemployment this year in the USA increased by 2,000,000. Finally, let us take a third characteristic figure, the decline in the value of shares by 33 per cent. Here are the three figures which provide us with a sufficiently complete and clear picture of what is going on in the economic situation of the USA.

After this some forecast needs to be made; one should think over what these figures hold in promise, what the consequences of the oncoming crisis will be for the USA and the capitalist world.

This requires above all that you remember the consequences of the preceding crisis of 1929.

You ask yourself this question, recall and note down the point that the crisis of the year 1929 had three basic social and political consequences.

First consequence. Serious disturbances in the economic situation of the capitalist countries led to the collapse of the middle-sized and small enterprises. Big monopolistic capital developed a furious offensive on the working class and on the working people generally; it brought into being and supported the fascist movement by the foulest, most unbridled demagoguery. By making use of the mass poverty, confusion and fear of the middle and small bourgeoisie, the split in the ranks of the working class, and the capitulatory policy of Social Democracy, fascism seized power in a number of capitalist countries - Germany, Austria, etc.; the fascist warmongers attacked other countries.

Second consequence. You will remember how Social-Democracy in the West European countries, for example, German and Austrian Social-Democracy, used to boast of their numerical strength after the World War of 1914-1918. Social-Democracy on more than one occasion proudly declared that every third citizen in Vienna was a Social-Democrat. Austrian Social-Democracy called itself "Left" and promised the working masses all sorts of things. By their policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, both German and Austrian Social-Democracy split the working class. These parties systematically retreated before fascism, hiding behind the theory of the "lesser evil," and so cleared the way for fascism. And now the results of this policy are at hand. What remains of these parties?

Conclusion: in a number of capitalist countries (Germany, Austria) there took place the collapse of Social-Democracy. You write this down as the second consequence of the last crisis.

The third, most important consequence. On the background of the fascist offensive, the bankruptcy of the Social-Democratic policy and the collapse of Social-Democracy in several capitalist countries there developed a powerful movement of resistance by the proletariat and the working people to the capitalist offensive, to the fascist offensive. This is the movement of the united and People's Front.

You set yourself the question as to whether the consequences of the present crisis will be the same in the life of the peoples. Of course, the monopolist trusts in the USA will utilize the crisis to attack bourgeois democracy. Of course, the entire international situation will become still more acute and the war danger will grow to a tremendous degree, yet the consequences of the crisis beginning in the USA will be, of course, somewhat different from the social and political consequences of the 1929 crisis.

At that time fascism came to power in a number of countries on the crest of the crisis. Fascism promised to withdraw the people from the economic difficulties. It failed to do so. The masses have become convinced from their own experience that fascism is in no way a means of salvation from economic crises. On the contrary, fascism deepens and sharpens all the contradictions of the capitalist system, hastens on the development of new crises. Fascism will have to render account to the people. Add to this the failures of the Germano-Italian interventionists in Spain, the steadily growing chances of a Spanish people's victory which can draw in its train the military and political bankruptcy of fascism in Germany and Italy. Therefore the new crisis will shake the foundations of the fascist powers, and prepare the conditions for the overthrow of the fascist regime by the masses of the people.

Further, there will be an increase in the power of resistance of the masses to fascism; this will be the case because the masses, on the basis of the bitter experience in Germany and Austria, have become clearer as to the real capitulatory meaning of the policy of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy to deceive the masses, who will make use of the lessons of the past crisis, the lessons of the heroic struggles in Spain and China, the experience of France, and will wage a victorious struggle against the attempt to place the consequences of the crisis on their shoulders, and achieve new victories over fascism.

Further, it is necessary to stop for a moment to deal with the perspectives of the very development of the crisis. This crisis, which, as in 1929, began in the USA, has a tendency to grow into a world economic crisis. The situation is already markedly worse in England, Italy, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, etc. To illustrate this point, speakers should make use of the figures quoted in the recent articles by Comrade Varga on the crisis. However, it is necessary to warn speakers against too hasty generalizations regarding the development of the crisis in America into a world economic crisis. Comrade Stalin teaches us not to be in a hurry in drawing conclusions, but to make them on the basis of a comparative and careful examination of all the facts and data that characterize the various phenomena of political or economic life.

At the same time, it will not be superfluous if the speaker shows his audience the special features of the present crisis in the USA, if he shows what distinguishes it from the economic crises that took place prior to the imperialist war of 1914-1919. It is well known that pre-war developments went through the following four stages: crisis, depression, revival, boom. The capitalist economy of the USA after the crisis of 1929, which reached its apex in 1932, developed into a depression, and then in the years 1935-1937 into a revival; it did not manage to see "boom" days before the new economic crisis broke out. How is the phenomenon to be explained?

The characteristic feature of present-day economic crises is that they take place in conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, when capitalism does not hold undivided sway throughout the world, when the socialist system of economy has achieved victory over one-sixth of the globe.

This is why capitalist economy cannot experience a "boom" even in the post-crisis years.

After having given serious thought to the whole of this first section of one's speech, one should proceed to the second point, about war and the war danger. There is a logical connection between the first point and the second.

What does the economic crisis in the USA mean?

It means a still further sharpening of the war danger. What are the signs of this growing danger of a new world war? First, the war in Spain and China now being waged by the fascist war-makers. The war in Spain and China has actually involved one-quarter of the population of the earth. The fascist scoundrels attacked the Spanish people without officially declaring war. The fascist militarists of Japan behaved in the same way toward the Chinese people. And here we should call to mind what Comrade Stalin said in his talk with Roy Howard. In reply to Howard's question as to when war should break out, Comrade Stalin replied: "It is impossible to say in advance. War may break out unexpectedly. Nowadays wars are not declared. They simply begin."

This talk took place on March 1, 1936. Since that time the events in Spain and China have shown how correct was Comrade Stalin in the way he characterized the bandit methods employed by the fascist war-makers. But these fascist methods are also shown in the ferocity employed by the fascist bandits toward the "rear" and the peaceful population. The speech will gain a great deal if the audience is given a brief and clear picture of the foul deeds done by the fascist barbarians against the peaceful population. And if the capitalist states put no obstacles in the way of these fascist scoundrels, it is because the fascist barbarians have the support in all capitalist countries of the most reactionary, chauvinistic elements of finance capital.

The second sign of the growing war danger is the formation of such blocs as the "Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis", the advent to power in a number of capitalist countries of gangs of adventurers, fascist war-makers. An example in recent days is Rumania. But even in countries where the fascists are not in power, both in the USA and in France, there are groups of adventurers (for example, the fascist gang of the Trotskyist Doriot) who, although they have been severely battered about and shaken up, yet don't slow down their foul work, and so everything possible to set alight the flames of war.

The third sign of the growing war danger is that the democratic powers that might have stopped the war (primarily England, France and the USA) capitulate and retreat step by step before the advance of the fascist aggressors. This policy of retreat only favors the aggressors, stimulates their appetite. A clear example of this support of the aggressors is the notorious "non-intervention" policy.

Finally, the fourth sign is the evergrowing tendency of German and Italian fascism and of the Japanese militarists to undertake the most barefaced intervention in the internal life of neighboring peoples and countries, to

carry on disruptive work there, to organize the fascist movement in these countries and to prepare the way for the seizure of power by their agents. There are many examples of this, such as the direct complicity of the Gestapo in the fascist plot in France, the coup d'etat in Rumania, the pressure on Czechoslovakia, etc.

You see now that all the facts that at first overwhelm you when you read the press now find their place in your speech, and fill it with concrete material. To avoid being wholesale in your assertions, reinforce your speech with striking examples and illustrations.

After the scheme of sections in which the material deals with the war danger and fascist danger in connection with the world economic crisis has been sufficiently thought over and reinforced with facts, we pass on to the third section. Here again the transition is quite natural and logical. Having spoken of the dark forces of war, it is necessary to give a picture of the anti-fascist, popular forces of peace that stand against them. You must remember that this is the most important, the most moving part of your speech. Your audience will listen to this with the greatest of interest. In this part of your speech you will deal with the growing struggle of the masses against fascism. To be convincing you should use the language of living facts. This makes it incumbent on you to make a brief historical review of the development of the struggle against fascism.

Here, for example, we have the year 1933 when fascism came to power in Germany. Did the masses of the people there fight against fascism? Yes, they did, but it was a weak struggle. Why? The masses offered weak resistance to fascism because of absence of unity in the ranks of the working class, because of the treacherous policy of Social-Democracy, which waged a struggle not against the offensive of fascism, but against the Communist Party, and did everything possible to prevent the establishment of the united front. By this policy Social-Democracy drove away from the working class its allies, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. The fascists made use of the patriotic feelings of the German people which had been insulted by the yoke of the Versailles Treaty, and also of the wavering of bourgeois democracy. That is why the fascists were able to come to power in Germany without meeting any serious resistance from the masses.

But 1934 already showed another picture. Encouraged by the easy victory in Germany, the fascists endeavored to seize power in Austria, but came up against the armed resistance of the Schutzbund workers. In Spain the working class replied to the provocation of the Lerroux government with the Asturian revolt. You will remember further how the French workers replied to the provocative work of the fascists by taking up the defense of liberty and democracy in February, 1934.

Since that time, the anti-fascist movement has been growing. February, 1936, saw the victory of the People's Front at the elections in Spain. In July of the same year the fascist bandits organized a rebellion. The almost unarmed Spanish people crushed this rebellion in Madrid, Barcelona, and over a great part of Spanish territory. To Franco's aid came his masters, the

German and Italian fascists. Around Madrid, Guadalajara, Belchite and Teruel, the republican army dealt severe blows at the fascist bandits.

In China, thanks to the establishment of a united national front based on agreement between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, the forces of the Chinese people have grown strong in the struggle against the Japanese invaders. The four hundred millions of the Chinese people are being drawn into the struggle against the Japanese fascist-militarists. In France, thanks to the People's Front movement, the repeated attacks of fascism have been beaten off. The People's Front has become a factor of tremendous international significance. Such is the language of facts.

Now you must pass on to the situation today in Spain and China. What is the position today? In Spain, there is Teruel in which is reflected the power of the growing republican army; therefore, you must deal with the situation in Spain from the angle of the significance of the Teruel victory. As a speaker, you must always remember that your task is not to retell the past, but to throw light on what is new, on what is now of interest to your audience. You must give a clear explanation to your audience of the tremendous significance of the Teruel victory. Here you should underline three points:

1. Franco together with Germany and Italy had for several weeks been preparing a blow against the republican front, and for this purpose had gathered big forces together; the Teruel victory disrupted this plan of Franco and the interventionists.

2. The republican army, by its blow at Teruel, inflicted on the army of intervention a very serious defeat which is demoralizing the fascist troops and is very seriously undermining Franco's worth in the eyes of his high-placed supporters in the City of London, etc.

3. The battle of Teruel bears witness to the power of the republican army, to its growing maneuvering power, to the ability of Republican Spain not only to defend itself, but also to pass over to the offensive. And it is on this background that you show the fighting qualities of the People's Army in Spain. And you should fill this part of your speech with clear examples, speak of the tremendous role of the Political Commissars in the Spanish army, of its splendid commanders, of the heroism of its rank and file, of the wonderful work done by the Communist Party in the building of the army.

The speaker must deal with all this in lively, graphic language and quote absorbing, moving facts. Give examples of heroism taken from life itself, paint the pictures of the personalities of outstanding commanders, of such people as Lister, Modesto, Campesino, Miaja, and in passing describe Comrade Pasionaria's work at the front. You may be sure that this part of your speech will be met with tremendous interest and enthusiasm.

The audience should be given living facts, and the story of the heroic struggle in order to show them how the influence of the Communists has grown and why. It has grown thanks to a correct policy (the attitude to the front, to the peasantry, the consistent struggle against the espionage of the

Trotskyites and all the other filthy wretches).

Do not forget to speak of the difficulties of the struggle. What are these difficulties? They are as follows:

1. The Spanish people have to carry on a struggle against two of the biggest fascist vultures, Germany and Italy, and the fascist rebels also receive the aid of British capitalists.

2. The Spanish Communist Party has to wage an unflagging struggle for the maintenance of the People's Front against the intrigues of Largo Cabalero, the Anarchists, the reactionary leaders of the Second International; it has to paralyze the foul disruptive work of the P.O.U.M. spies, and to wage a struggle against the supporters of a "compromise" with Franco. And this involves no small expenditure of energy.

But you must not conclude this subsection of your speech with a recital of the difficulties, for the difficulties facing the Spanish people can be overcome. And the guarantee of this lies in the growing importance of the Communist Party in the People's Front in Spain. The Spanish Communist Party now has more than 400,000 members, while the League of United Communist and Socialist Youth has 350,000 members. These constitute a big force. In addition, the influence of the Communists is growing in the trade unions, and it is to their credit that the criminal designs of Caballero to split the U.G.T. (General Workers' Union) in Spain had been smashed. In conclusion stress should be laid on the fact that this influence of the Communist Party is conditioned not only by its correct policy, but also by the tremendous growth of the authority of the USSR among the people of Spain, by the manifestation of the profound love with which the Spanish people surround Comrade Stalin, true disciples of whom are Comrades Jose Diaz and Pasionaria.

Having dealt with Spain, the speaker should show what is taking place on the other sector of the front of the anti-fascist struggle, in China. And here you must take as your starting point the latest and most important events. The Japanese occupied Nanking. This agitates the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, who expect that you will throw light on the perspectives of the further struggle of the Chinese people. You should explain that although the Japanese have occupied Nanking, the struggle still goes on. The Japanese based their calculations on having to deal a "short blow". They hoped that with the fall of Nanking, the Chinese government would be compelled to begin "peace" negotiations. But the Japanese miscalculated. The Chinese people are by no means preparing to stop the struggle.

On the contrary, the occupation of Nanking by the Japanese has still further rallied the forces of the Chinese people for a resolute struggle against the invaders. It should be shown that the further the Japanese penetrate into the interior of China, the greater are the difficulties they encounter. To maintain their hold on Northern China, the Japanese need an army of 600,000 men. To maintain their hold on Manchukuo, an additional 300,000 men are wanted, and on Korea another 50,000. In short, almost a million men are needed. It must be explained that great resources are required to maintain an army of a million men, whereas Japan's financial position is extreme-

ly serious. This should be reinforced by figures and data.

Further, it should be stressed that the war against the Japanese bandits has assumed a national character in China. It is a struggle both of the regular army and of the partisans, and herein lies the tremendous danger for the Japanese, who have to maintain a front extending 1,500 kilometers. Against them they have a rear up in arms. You should end this section of your speech about China by giving examples of the heroism of the Chinese soldiers, especially of the Eighth Army under the command of the Communist Chu-Teh. Clear and live examples of this heroism fill the audience with confidence in the inevitable victory of the Chinese people.

Finally, we come to the fourth point of your speech, the elections to the Supreme Soviet in the USSR and their international significance. The elections to the Supreme Soviet constitute a mighty and magnificent demonstration of the confidence of the peoples of the USSR in the Party of Lenin-Stalin, in the Soviet government and in the leader of the whole world, Comrade Stalin. How has this confidence been won? By the wise leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin and Stalin, by the leadership which secured the victory of socialism in the USSR.

The speaker should show that the victory of socialism in the USSR is the iron backbone of the fighting front of the working people throughout the world against fascism, war and capitalism. He should show that the tremendous election victory of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people is a victory for the working people of all countries, is a menacing warning to enemies engaged in preparing an onslaught on the land of the Soviets, the fatherland of the working people of the whole world.

He should show that this victory is an indictment against fascism and its foul, contemptible agents who tries to bring about the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. It is the triumph of socialist democracy which in deeds esposes the leaders of international Social-Democracy and their position on questions of the proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy. It is a call by the peoples of the land of victorious socialism to the oppressed and exploited of all capitalist countries for a bolder and more resolute struggle against the fascist barbarians and the warmongers.

After developing and explaining each of these points the speaker should end by summing up the basic conclusions of his report in brief powerful words which paint the perspectives of the final victory of the masses of the people over the forces of reaction and capitalism.

This approximately is how one should prepare and draw up a report on the international situation.

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EXPOSE BOTH THE RIGHT AND "LEFT" SLANDERS DIRECTED
AGAINST JOSEPH V. STALIN

INTRODUCTION

A year or so ago the Los Angeles Times carried a brief article concerning an incident at a Moscow movie theater. Old newsreels of the Great Patriotic War against Nazi Germany were being shown and the image of Stalin appeared on the screen. This was the first time film of him had been shown in the Soviet Union in more than ten years. The audience rose to their feet and gave a burst of spontaneous applause. The stubborn loyalty of the Soviet people (there are other examples) to the memory of Stalin, dead since 1953, seems very puzzling when we consider the image of Stalin that has been painted by the world bourgeoisie and the present leaders of the Soviet Union themselves.

A good example of the official imperialist 'line' on Stalin appeared last year in Life Magazine under the title 'Khrushchov Remembers.' The author (whether Khrushchov or some CIA agent - it's not important) rehashes the same collection of tales the exploiters and their lackeys have been dishing out about Stalin for the last 45 years. Stalin was insane, an egomaniac, a butcher, a drunk, a brute, a fool, a coward. And so on down the line.

Is it possible that J. V. Stalin, the leader of the world's first socialist state for thirty years, was insane? that the commander-in-chief of the Red Army, the force that crushed the Nazi monster, was a coward? that the leading theoretician on the all-important national question, was a fool? Well, the imperialists and their lackeys would like us to think so. Nearly twenty years have passed since Stalin died and they are attacking him more viciously than ever.

Why? We feel the answer lies in the history of the USSR and of the world communist movement, which in his day Stalin led. In this report we will point out the main periods of the Russian Revolution and the political, organizational and theoretical contributions Stalin made to it. In addition, we will single out and expose the main attacks against J. V. Stalin and show them in their historical perspective. (NOTE: Some of the most recent attacks against Stalin are dealt with in the essay on Sanmugathasan in the present issue, so we will not deal with these here.)

HISTORY

At the end of the nineteenth century the conditions of the Russian working class were extraordinarily bad. The nearly three million workers in the large mills, mines, railways and factories were being pushed to the limit. The workday was 12 to 15 hours and the wages were minimal. There were no laws protecting the workers, not even women and children. There was no accident, maternity or old-age insurance and housing conditions were rotten. In addition, trade unions were illegal and the employers stole up to half of the workers' wages by a system of collecting unjust fines. The workers did not take this treatment gracefully. As capitalism developed in Russia they became a great revolutionary force.

The workers' main ally was the vastly more numerous peasantry. The peasants were weighted down with high land rents and the obligation of doing forced, unpaid labor for the landowners. Almost half the peasant house-

holds owned no horses, and the occupants were forced to work a large part of the year for big landowners at miserable wages. As capitalist agriculture developed the peasantry was ruined to an unprecedented extent, and it was forced out of its age-old priest-ridden lethargy into the whirlpool of the developing revolution. If the working class could win the bulk of the peasantry over to its side, victory was assured.

Along with the workers and peasants, the artisans, small shopkeepers and the growing capitalist class all felt the crushing burden of the moribund, reactionary ruling system of Russia, the autocracy with the Tsar at the head. He, claiming a mandate from heaven, denied all political rights and freedoms to the people and served as 'the most powerful bulwark, not only of European, but...of Asiatic reaction.'

Finally, we must add that, as bad as things were in Russia at the turn of the century, they were much worse in the border regions and among the national minorities everywhere. Like the United States today, 'Tsarist Russia was a prison of nations.'² Whole nations, from the Arctic Circle to Central Asia, were held as colonies and their native peoples looked upon as inferior races. National discords, pogroms and massacres were used to terrorize and divide the people along national lines. But these policies of terror and oppression called into being their opposite, revolutionaries who became some of Russia's finest Bolsheviks, and who would soon help crush the Tsarist autocracy and establish the world's first socialist state. Joseph Djugashvili, Stalin, was one of these Bolsheviks.

EARLY YEARS

He was born in 1879 in Georgia, an oppressed nation in the southern part of Russia. His parents had been peasants, but his father later became a worker in a shoe factory. Stalin attended church schools, which were run like prisons and which aroused in him a strong sense of protest. He became exposed to liberal ideas and soon became connected with illegal groupings of Marxists. At 15 he became a revolutionary and was soon leading study groups. He became a member of the Tiflis branch of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), founded in 1898 and soon to be led by Lenin. He studied the works of Marx and Engels, and read Lenin's writings against the Narodniks (Populists, anti-Marxist peasant revolutionaries), the reformists and the Economists (worshippers of the trade union movement). He attended illegal workers' meetings, wrote leaflets and organized strikes, and was soon expelled from school for his activities. He worked at various jobs, never ceasing his revolutionary work.

At the beginning of the 1900s there was a general capitalist economic crisis throughout Europe and Russia, and the revolutionary workers' movement was on the upswing. The majority of Stalin's group, the Georgian Social-Democrats, however, were opportunist Legal Marxists who wanted to confine the party's activity to small study circles. The revolutionary minority, led by Stalin himself, followed Lenin's line and began leaflettings and mass agitation among the workers. By 1901 they were able to hold a large May Day rally in Tiflis, one of the first major demonstrations against the Tsar. Firmly supporting Lenin's line on building an all-Russian revolutionary party, Stalin helped establish a Georgian newspaper like Lenin's Iskra (the Spark). He was then sent to Batur where he helped organize huge workers' demonstrations in March, 1902, and also a branch of the Social-Democratic organization. He was arrested and exiled to Siberia. He escaped and returned to the Caucasus where he led the great strike of the Baku oil workers in 1904.

During this entire period of the formation of the strategy and tactics of the Russian revolution, Stalin fought for the revolutionary line. When the RSDLP split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, that is, Leninists and opportunists, Stalin was with the Leninists. With his help a strong Leninist organization grew up in the Caucasus which was a model of proletarian internationalism, conducting propaganda and agitation in many languages and uniting Armenians and Azerbaijanians, Russians and Georgians. Stalin described this period in the following way:

The proletarian army entered the arena. Since every army must have a vanguard, this army also had to have such a vanguard. Hence the appearance of a group of proletarian leaders - the RSDLP. As the vanguard of a definite army, this Party must, firstly, be armed with its own program, tactics and organizational principle; secondly, it must be a compact organization.³

THE 1905 REVOLUTION

By 1905 the working class and peasant movement had grown to the level of insurrection. The RSDLP was faced with the necessity of expanding its activities accordingly. One bold enterprise of the Caucasian Union of the Party was the establishment of the secret printing press at Avlabar. Books, pamphlets, the Party program, newspapers and leaflets were printed on it. They were done in three languages and in thousands of copies. Stalin toured the region, strengthening the organization and building support for the revolutionary tactics of the Bolsheviks, as opposed to the sell-out, vacillating tactics of the Mensheviks. In his writings and speeches he stressed the need to unite the spontaneous workers' movement with Marxism. He began to study and apply Marxist dialectics to the question of oppressed nations. As a member of a national minority he gained valuable knowledge which later enabled him to become an authority on the national question. Already in 1904 he attacked the Federalists who (like many present-day so-called 'revolutionaries' in the United States)

at a time when we need a single, flexible, centralized party, whose Central Committee should be able to rouse the workers of the whole of Russia at a moment's notice and lead them in a decisive onslaught upon the autocracy and the bourgeoisie, (offer us) a monstrous 'federal league' broken up into separate parties! Instead of a sharp weapon, they hand us a rusty one and assure us: With this you will more speedily wipe out your mortal enemies! That is where the Federalist Social-Democrats are leading us!⁴

Stalin supported Lenin's line on party-building, that the party must be a monolithic organization whose members must be responsible to its organizations and not simply pay lip-service to its program. In his article 'Proletarian Class, Proletarian Party' he wrote, 'What then is our Party? we ask. A chance conglomeration of individuals, or a compact organization of leaders?'⁵ Throughout their lives Lenin and Stalin were hated by the imperialists, revisionists and Trotskyites for their correct line on what a communist party must be. For the revisionists (during this period the Mensheviks) and the Trotskyites wanted to dilute the party with looseness and opportunism and to have it trail in the wake of the liberal bourgeoisie.

During the 1905 Revolution Stalin and the Caucasian Social-Democratic Union armed the proletariat and waged a hard and determined fight. But because conditions were not yet right, the Revolution ended in defeat.

STOLYPIN REACTION

With the defeat of the Revolution a period of extreme reaction set in. Stalin himself was arrested and exiled many times. The revolutionary forces were scattered and many so-called revolutionaries gave up, inventing theoretical and tactical disguises for their sell-out. Some suggested that the Party dissolve its illegal, underground apparatus and do legal work alone, within the strict confines of what the Tsar allowed. Others were in favor of stopping all legal work among the masses, and maintaining an underground structure completely isolated from the people. Still others wanted to disband the Party completely. Some of the most decadent began attacking the philosophical roots of Marxism, its dialectical materialist core. They went so far as to invent religions that were supposed to be 'consistent' with Marxism. Anything, in short, to be acceptable to the autocracy and bourgeoisie.

Lenin and Stalin understood that the working class had to retreat during this period, but not in a disorganized rout. As Stalin wrote, 'It is impossible to avoid utter rout in the event of defeat without knowing how to retreat properly and without confusion.'⁶ He, like Lenin, saw that, if properly handled, a retreat could be turned into a prelude to the next revolutionary outburst. He did not become disheartened. In 1907 he went to Baku, the largest industrial area in Transcaucasia. He organized the election campaign to the Third Duma (a sort of parliament), organized a collective agreement between the oil workers and the employers, and helped put together a mass political strike of workers in 1908. He directed publication of legal and illegal newspapers. He fought to preserve the Party and to unite its many forms of activity, and to guard its philosophical basis, Marxism.

The activity of Lenin, Stalin and other Bolsheviks during this period of retreat bore fruit. By the end of 1912 the Bolshevik wing of the RSDLP was strong enough to expel the Mensheviks from the Party for good. The Bolsheviks had illustrated in practice that they were the only organization that could lead the workers in all the diverse forms of revolutionary activity.

THE NEW UPSWING

In 1912 the Russian workers began to reawaken. During a strike in the Lena goldfields over 500 workers were killed or wounded by the Tsarist troops, and people all over Russia responded. 'A government which would offer the people nothing but the knout and the gallows could not endure.'⁷ There were mass strikes, meetings and demonstrations throughout the country. 400,000 workers took part in the 1912 May Day demonstrations. The liquidators and Trotskyites (who wanted to dissolve the Party) wanted to end the strike movement with a 'petition campaign.' But they and their insipid ideas were trampled by the growing militant movement. By 1914 one and a quarter million workers participated in May Day. The peasantry was also aroused to struggle against the landowners. Clearly a new revolution was coming.

Stalin was placed in charge of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. Between arrests he, Molotov and Sverdlov founded and edited the Bolshevik daily Pravda (Truth). He also visited Lenin who was living abroad, and while with him wrote Marxism and the National

Question, the definitive work on the subject. Stalin formulated the Marxist theory of what nations are and how they arise, and how Bolshevism must see the solution to the oppression of some nations by others not as an isolated 'thing-in-itself,' but as an organic part of the question of proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. He developed the principle of proletarian internationalism and the right of nations to self-determination. Lenin said that 'this article stands in the forefront' of Marxist literature on the national question.

In August, 1914, the imperialist World War One broke out. All over Europe opportunist leaders of socialist parties promptly sold out the proletariat by supporting 'their' imperialists - the ruling classes of Germany, France, Britain, Russia, etc. But the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, maintained a firm internationalist position, calling for brotherhood among the workers of the warring nations and a resolute struggle against the war. Stalin was in exile at this time, cut off from the outside world and his Party. Nonetheless he immediately took an internationalist, Leninist stand against the opportunists of all shades.

THE ROAD TO OCTOBER

The war heightened immeasurably the misery of the Russian workers and peasants, who were forced to fight and die in and support a war which the country could not afford, and which benefited only the capitalists and other war-profiteers. In February 1917 the Tsar and the rest of the rotten autocracy was overthrown. The proletariat, peasantry and soldiers, especially in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) were the main force behind this huge democratic upheaval. But they had not yet learned by their own experience that it was not enough to get rid of the autocracy alone, that they had to get rid of the bourgeoisie, including the liberals, as well. Hence it was the better organized and financed (by Anglo-French capital) bourgeoisie that took power, forming a Provisional Government. This was one organ of state power. But there was another, equally powerful center of power, the Soviets (councils) of Workers' and Soldiers' deputies, made up of armed people including workers and various petty-bourgeois. There was thus a situation of uneasy and temporary equilibrium between these two centers of power. Soon one had to win out over the other. The task of the bourgeoisie was to defeat either by armed force or by peaceful trickery the people's organizations, the Soviets. Or else the Soviets had to consolidate themselves, get rid of vacillators and traitors and all ideas of compromise with the Provisional Government, and crush the bourgeoisie, moving from the February bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. The Bolsheviks set out to accomplish the second alternative. They were helped in this task by the bourgeoisie themselves, who had come to power promising the people a speedy end to the war. But it soon became clear that the bourgeoisie had no intentions of ending the war. They were getting too rich off it. In addition, they were so tied to British and French imperialism that they would not be allowed, even if they'd wanted to, to stop fighting the Germans. The Russian workers, peasants and soldiers were again left holding the bag. The bourgeois Provisional Government repeatedly exposed its inherent weakness and treachery.

During the first democratic flush of the February Revolution Stalin was released from exile and returned to Petersburg. He was appointed to the editorial board of Pravda, to the Executive Committee of the Petersburg Soviet and a month later to the Central Committee of the Party. Within a

week he had set out in Pravda the Bolshevik positions on the burning questions of the day. On the question of the state of 'dual power' he said:

Workers, peasants, soldiers, unite everywhere in Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies as organs of alliance and power of the revolutionary forces of Russia!⁸

On the war:

unmasking the imperialists and opening the eyes of the masses to the real motives for the present war actually is declaring war on war and rendering the present war impossible.⁹

On arming the workers:

Our revolution too must have its own force - a workers' guard vitally bound up with the cause of the revolution.¹⁰

One month later at the Seventh (April) Conference of the RSDLP (Bolshevik) he presented the Party report on the national question:

Thus our views on the National Question can be reduced to the following proposition:

- a) Recognition of the right of nations to secession;
- b) Regional autonomy for nations remaining within the given state;
- c) Special legislation guaranteeing freedom of development for national minorities;
- d) A single, indivisible proletarian collective, a single party, for the proletarians of all nationalities of a given state.¹¹

In April, 1917, the Bolsheviks were joined by Lenin, returning from exile in Switzerland. Lenin personally guided the Party's work until he was forced into hiding by the police. Besides directing Pravda, Stalin led the Bolshevik campaign in Petersburg's municipal elections, and helped organize a 400,000-strong demonstration on June 18 in which the workers carried Bolshevik slogans. But the political situation remained uneasy because the Bolsheviks were not yet able decisively to influence the Soviets, who were under the petty-bourgeois, opportunist influence of the Mensheviks and other 'revolutionary' (but really counter-revolutionary) groupings. The weakness of the Soviets enabled the Provisional Government to consolidate its power. It began harassing the Bolsheviks, closing down their papers and arresting their leaders. The repressive policies of the bourgeoisie began to create a real swing away from the Government and its Menshevik agents by the masses. The Bolsheviks began gaining real support as the masses saw from their own experience that the Bolsheviks were correct in their policies and projections. In August the Bolsheviks held their Sixth Party Congress secretly in Petersburg (renamed Petrograd). Lenin was unable to attend because he was in hiding, and Stalin presented the report of the Central Committee and the report on the political situation. The Party decided it must begin preparing for an armed uprising. Certain Trotskyites, overwhelmed by the situation, opposed the decision, wanting to push towards the socialist revolution only after the proletarian revolution in Europe was victorious. Stalin answered them:

The possibility is not excluded that Russia will be the country that will lay the road to Socialism....We must discard the antiquated idea

that only Europe can show us the way. There is dogmatic Marxism and creative Marxism. I stand by the latter.¹²

Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Bolsheviks crushed the attempt by the Tsarist reactionary Kornilov to disband the Soviets. They also boycotted and opposed the 'Pre-parliament,' another piece of trickery by the bourgeoisie designed to hold off the uprising which all could see coming.

In October, after struggles against certain traitors like Zinoviev and Kamenev to postpone the uprising (Lenin called them scabs), the workers and soldiers of Petrograd seized power, almost bloodlessly, arrested the Provisional Government, and set up the Council of People's Commissars. At first almost quietly, the greatest political event in the history of mankind took place, the Russian October Revolution. For the first time ever political power was seized, not by a small class of exploiters, but by the masses of working people and other toilers. The world was split, irreconcilably, into two systems, the old, degenerate capitalist system, and the young, vigorous, unconquerable socialist system. Stalin was at the core of the practical leadership of the uprising.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR

World imperialism hated the new Russian socialist state from the word Go. Reactionaries the world over cried out, These devils are going to upset our apple cart! And this is precisely what the Bolshevik-led dictatorship of the proletariat set out to do. In its first few days the new government issued a decree for peace, for an end to the imperialist war which was strangling the world's masses. It turned over all Russian land to the tillers, the peasants, nationalized all mineral resources, forests and waters. The revolution, begun in Petrograd, rapidly spread to Moscow and the rest of the country after fierce fighting by the workers, peasants and soldiers. For the next four years the Russian masses were going to have to deal not simply with domestic counter-revolutionaries, but with the intervention of world imperialism. It is estimated that seven million Russians were slaughtered in the civil war carried on by Anglo-French-German-US capital and arms and men.

In January, 1918, an apparatus began to be created to deal with the brand-new world situation and the upsurge of revolution throughout Europe. This was the Third (Communist) International, long planned for by Lenin and other honest revolutionaries throughout Europe. Stalin arranged the first planning of the Comintern which he was later to lead. In February he, Lenin and Sverdlov defeated Trotsky, Bukharin and others on the Central Committee of the Party on the issue of peace with Germany. Lenin understood that the Russian army was completely falling apart and that the war had to stop at any cost. A period of rest was necessary for the Russian people in order to consolidate their new power and create a new, Red army capable of defending the country from the inevitable intervention of world imperialism. The situation at the moment was favorable to this rest period because the imperialists were still fighting among themselves and so could not direct their attention to crushing the Russian Revolution. Despite Trotsky's sabotaging of the German-Russian peace treaty (the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk), which led to more unfavorable concessions on the part of Russia than had been necessary, the Russian Revolution did gain a brief respite. Then all hell broke loose.

Stalin was again part of the core of leaders formed to defend the revolution. In June, 1918, he went to Tsaritsyn, cleared the city of whiteguards (the name for the counter-revolutionaries) and dispatched food supplies to the starving capitals of Petrograd and Moscow. Taking command from the clique of bourgeois 'experts' organized by Trotsky, he reorganized the scattered troops and, with the aid of Voroshilov's troops, saved Tsaritsyn from the counter-revolutionaries. South Russia with its grain and oil was thus preserved for the revolution.

In November Stalin was sent to the Ukraine to organize the front against the advancing German imperialist army. In December he took charge of the eastern front and stopped the foreign armies from linking up with the whiteguard general Kolchak. In May 1919 he helped defend Petrograd from Yudenich, who had reached its gates with the support of the British. In July he went to Smolensk on the Western front and organized a defense against Polish interventionists.

By September Denikin, another whiteguard, had launched a vast offensive against the disorganized Southern front. When Stalin arrived he removed Trotsky from command and scrapped his useless battle plan. He designed another which, unlike Trotsky's, relied heavily on the proletarian areas which were most sympathetic to the revolution. The Red Army defeated Denikin in the decisive battle of the civil war. By 1921 the principle forces of intervention had been defeated. Now the Soviet Republic could turn to reconstruction.

Stalin proved a brilliant military leader in the civil war because he applied the science of Marxism-Leninism, relied on the Russian people, and organized firm leadership wherever he went. Kalinin wrote:

Stalin was the only man the Central Committee kept sending from one front to another, to the point at which the Revolution was in the greatest peril.

RECONSTRUCTION AND THE DEATH OF LENIN

When the war ended the economy became the main battlefield. The country was decimated and famine-stricken from seven years of war. Lenin designed the 'New Economic Policy' for the purpose of getting production, particularly in agriculture, going again, and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, without which the revolution would be lost. All sorts of deviations began popping up in the party during this extremely difficult and complex period of NEP. For example, at a time when all energy had to be directed toward the immediate tasks of reconstructing the economy, the 'inexcusable luxury' of a discussion of the role of trade unions was forced on the Party by Trotsky and others, primarily Bukharin. Lenin saw that the main threat came from Trotsky and dealt a crushing blow to his rotten theories of 'tightening the screws' and 'shaking up the trade unions.' Stalin also attacked these errors, which smacked of the very authoritarianism and bureaucracy which Trotsky was later to accuse him - Stalin - of. Stalin wrote in Pravda,

It is evident that Trotsky fails to understand the differences between labor organizations and military organizations, that he fails to understand that in the period of the termination of the war and the revival of industry it became necessary, inevitable, to contrast

military with democratic (trade union) methods, and that, therefore, to transfer military methods into the trade unions is a mistake, is harmful.¹⁴

At the Tenth Party Congress (1921) Lenin put an end to the destructive carryings-on of Trotsky and Company by introducing a motion, which was passed, outlawing factions. The Trotskyites and revisionists who attack Stalin 'overlook' the fact that it was Lenin, not Stalin, who formulated the concept of the monolithic, strictly disciplined party, and thus dealt reaction a sharp smack in the face. Stalin merely defended Lenin's revolutionary line.

At the Eleventh Congress (1922), the success of NEP was noted. The country was recovering. Stalin was elected to the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. Lenin was often very ill during this period, and the burden of leading the Party fell increasingly on Stalin's shoulders. We should particularly note his enormously important role in settling the national question in practice. On December 30, 1922, at the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, he and Lenin introduced and had passed an historic motion dealing with the new, revolutionary relationship of the many nations comprising Russia, which now became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Stalin said in his report:

This day marks a turning point in the history of the Soviet government. It places a landmark between the old period, now past, when the Soviet Republics, although they acted in common, each followed its own path and was concerned primarily with its own preservation, and the new period, already begun, when an end is being put to the isolated existence of each of the Soviet Republics, when the republics are being amalgamated into a federal state in order successfully to cope with economic disruption and when the Soviet government is concerned not only with its preservation, but with developing into an important international power, capable of influencing the international situation and of modifying it in the interests of the toilers.¹⁵

For the first time in history a state comprising many nations came into existence on the basis of equality of nations and peoples, not on the basis of the plunder of some nations by others. The truth of this is testified to by the enormous economic, political and cultural strides made in the years following by all the people of Russia, not simply a privileged few.

In April 1923 the Party held its Twelfth Congress. It condemned those who wanted to use NEP as a road back to capitalism, not forward to full socialism. For example, Radek wanted to surrender whole vital industries to foreign capital. Bukharin wanted to abolish the state monopoly on foreign trade, which would enable the capitalists who still existed in the Soviet Union to do their own thing with foreign capitalists. Trotsky proposed closing down the country's largest factories on the grounds that they weren't profitable. The Congress rejected all this garbage. Stalin gave the organizational report and a report on the national question, pointing out that despite the solution of the problem of nations in practice, there still remained the deviations of Great-Russian chauvinism and narrow, local nationalism, which had to be consistently combatted inside and outside the Party.

Hardly had the Twelfth Congress ended when the arch-reactionary elements of French and British imperialism tried to organize a new crusade against the Soviet Union. But the Party under Stalin's leadership refused to be intimidated by these gangsters, who were soon forced to admit the USSR was a fait accompli. All the major European powers recognized the Soviet government by 1924, and tension was temporarily relaxed.

On January 21, 1924, Lenin, the leader of the world proletariat and oppressed peoples, died. Stalin, in the name of the Party, made his famous vow to honor Lenin by remaining faithful to his principles and by continuing his work.¹⁶

The Trotskyites took advantage of Lenin's death to launch an attack on the Party and on socialism. The Party and Stalin answered:

Trotskyism is taking action now in order to discredit Bolshevism and to undermine its foundations. It is the duty of the Party to bury Trotskyism as an ideological trend.

There is talk about repressive measures against the opposition and about the possibility of a split. This is nonsense, comrades. Our Party is strong and mighty. It will not allow any splits. As regards repressive measures, I am emphatically opposed to them. What we need now is not repressive measures but an extensive ideological struggle against renascent Trotskyism.¹⁷

One of Stalin's masterpieces, The Foundations of Leninism, was the result of this struggle against Trotskyism. He said:

Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.¹⁸

Trotskyism was defeated in an open, democratic debate in which all points of view were given full publicity. But the struggle between the proletarian and the bourgeois line in the Party did not end, it merely took new forms. Meanwhile the Party and country moved forward under Stalin's leadership. He said in 1924,

My dream for the workers of Dynamo, as for the workers of all Russia, is that our industry may forge ahead, that the number of proletarians in Russia may increase in the near future to 20-30 millions, that collective farming in the countryside may thrive and bring individual farming under its influence, that a highly developed industry and collective farming may finally weld the proletarians of the factories and the laborers of the soil into a single socialist army; that the victory in Russia may be crowned by the victory all over the world.¹⁹

In order for the Soviet Union to move forward and become really strong and independent, agriculture was not enough. It had to industrialize or be ruined. At the Fifteenth Congress in December 1925, the bourgeois line in the Party emerged as the Zinovievite 'New Opposition.' This line battled against the line of industrialization, saying that the USSR should remain agrarian - that is, at the mercy of the industrialized, machine-owning imperialist countries. Stalin explaining that 'the Party was now confronted with the problem of converting our country into an

industrial country, economically independent of capitalist countries.²⁰

Stalin and the Party skillfully avoided the two errors that endangered the Soviet state: the first, ⁸becoming an economic semi-colony of the imperialists; the second, opposite error, of needlessly going to war with them. Stalin showed that the Leninist line of 'peaceful coexistence' does not mean opportunism and surrender to imperialism. It is testimony to Stalin's genius and his revolutionary leadership that never, in these difficult days of reconstruction, did the Soviet Union beg anything from imperialism. Look at how different it is today, where the present social-imperialist leaders of the Soviet Union on the one hand are pushing for war, and on the other hand are forced to beg for investment capital from West Germany, Japan, the United States, etc. And these people say Stalin was a fool! They will be eternally damned by the world's people for their wretched greed and stupidity.

SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

With industry and agriculture at near the pre-war level, and the ideological obstacles for the moment swept aside, the Soviet Union got down to the immediate business of rapidly expanding industrialization. The Soviet people knew this was a matter of life and death, and put everything they had into it - motivation, thrift, voluntary unpaid labor, the guarding of public property, and a lot of plain, hard work. Their inspiration and leadership came from the Party, now called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik). Stalin outlined the principle tasks:

- Firstly...our policy should promote the progressive growth of production in the national economy as a whole;
- Secondly...ensure for industry the leading role in the whole of the national economy;
- Thirdly...the socialist sector of the national economy...should be insured ever-increasing relative importance (in relation to the private sector);
- Fourthly...the general development should ensure the economic independence of our country, that our country should not become an appendage of the capitalist system of world economy;
- Fifthly, that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be strengthened, and
- Sixthly, that the material and cultural conditions of the working class and of the rural poor should be steadily improved.²¹

On the basis of this program the USSR moved steadily forward. This filled the imperialists with alarm, and they retaliated by breaking off diplomatic relations (Britain), by assassinating Soviet representatives (Poland), etc. These attacks from outside were reflected inside the Soviet Union as well. Trotsky and Zinoviev got together and formed an anti-Party bloc. Again there was a full inner-Party discussion of their line as opposed to the line of Stalin and the majority of the Party. The anti-Party platform was defeated 724,000 to 4,000. On November 7, 1927, the Trotsky-Zinoviev/^{gang} undaunted by defeat, attempted to hold a protest demonstration (the date was the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution). The miserable handful of rats were swept off the street by millions of workers demonstrating in behalf of the Party and Stalin. On November 14, Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the Party for wrecking activities.

Having dealt with the Trotsky-Zinoviev clique, the Party set about comprehensively to plan an industrialization program for the whole country. It drew up the First Five-Year Plan on the basis of an immense amount of investigation among the Russian workers who, in each town, factory and district in the Soviet Union held discussions to decide how much could be done, and when. The Party, on the basis of this data, projected an investment of 64.6 billion rubles in industry, agriculture, electrical development and transportation in the period 1928-33. The bourgeoisie of all countries called the plan a joke, doomed to failure. The Soviet people accomplished the Plan in four years and three months, often building whole factories and projects not even included in the Plan. During this time not a single sphere of the national economy escaped Stalin's attention. On his initiative new industries were built, old ones reconstructed and reorganized, and new socialist construction projects begun like the Stalingrad tractor works, the Dneiper power station, the Turkestan-Siberian railway and the Moscow and Gorki auto factories. In January 1933 Stalin was able to say:

We did not have an iron and steel industry, the basis for the industrialization of the country. Now we have one. We did not have a tractor industry. Now we have one. We did not have an automobile industry. Now we have one. We did not have a machine-tool industry. Now we have one. We did not have a big and modern chemical industry. Now we have one. We did not have a real and big industry for the production of modern agricultural machinery. Now we have one. We did not have an aircraft industry. Now we have one. In output of electric power we were last on the list. Now we rank among the first.... We have brought about during the period of the First Five-Year Plan a doubling of the number of workers and other employees in large-scale industry compared with 1928, which represents an overfulfillment of the Plan by 57%; an increase in the national income - hence, an increase in the incomes of the workers and peasants - to 45,100 million rubles in 1932, which represents an increase of 85% over 1928.²²

All this was achieved during the worst years of the Great Depression in the capitalist countries, a severe crisis which put tens of millions out of work and wiped out decades of industrial progress. The thousands of workers and other progressive people from all over the world who visited the Soviet Union saw with their own eyes that not only are the exploiters and oppressors of the world not necessary to progress, but that they actually hamper the development of the productive forces, the development of society as a whole, and that the world would be much better off without them.

COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

This was the other, equally important, aspect of growth of the Soviet economy. Industrialization was not enough by itself. Lenin had pointed out that the small-scale, backward system of agriculture in Russia not only retarded the growth of the national economy, but provided a soil for the constant regeneration of capitalism. The October Revolution had distributed the land to the peasants, thus fulfilling their desperate need for land and winning their support. But this necessary measure was insufficient to provide a strong base for modern, advanced, scientific production. At the Fifteenth Party Congress (December, 1927), Stalin pointed to the relatively slow growth of agriculture in relation

to industry, and the need for eliminating the still-powerful capitalist elements, the rich peasants or kulaks, in the countryside.

The way out is to unite the small and dwarf peasant farms gradually but surely, not by pressure, but by example and persuasion, into large farms based on common cooperative collective cultivation of the land with the use of agricultural machines and tractors and scientific methods of intensive agriculture.²³

Stalin paid close attention to collectivization. In 1928, the kulaks, seeing the loss of their privileges under the new system, staged a 'grain strike' and tried to force the retreat of collectivization. When famine threatened, emergency measures were passed and these criminals were dealt with severely.

Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and others in the Party rose in defense of the kulaks. By their capitulationist line, called 'the Right deviation,' they tried to dull the entire struggle against capitalism in the Soviet Union. Stalin replied:

A victory of the right deviation in our party would mean a development of the conditions necessary for the restoration of capitalism in our country.²⁴

It is worth noting here that Stalin used the issue of the collectivization of agriculture to educate the Russian people about the immense importance of women in the building of socialism.

There has not been a single great movement of the oppressed in history in which working women have not played a part. Working women, who are the most oppressed of all the most oppressed, have never stood aloof, and could not stand aloof, from the great march of emancipation....The revolutionary movement of the working class, the most powerful of all the emancipatory movements of the oppressed masses, has attracted millions of working women to its standard.²⁵

The women question in the collective farms is a big question, comrades. I know that many of you underrate the women and even laugh at them. That is a mistake, comrades, a serious mistake... The women in the collective farms are a great force. To keep this force down would be criminal. It is our duty to bring the women in the collective farms forward and make use of this great force.²⁶

Collectivization proceeded well on the whole. However, many overeager communists did not understand that the peasants had to learn the benefits of collectivization through persuasion and through their own experience. Collectivization by decree in a bureaucratic manner would only cause harm. In 1930 Stalin published an article, 'Dizzy with Success,' on the danger of coercion. He warned that

the successes of our collective-farm policy are due, among other things, to the fact that it rests on the voluntary character of the collective farm movement and on the taking into account the diversity of conditions in the various regions.²⁷

The policy of showing by example worked. Advanced peasants and workers from the cities were mobilized in model collectives, and showed the

peasant masses in practice the superiority of large-scale, scientific collective agriculture over small-scale agriculture. In the early thirties millions of peasants joined the collectives. The leadership shown by the advanced workers who came from the cities to the countryside helped consolidate the worker-peasant alliance to an unprecedented degree, helped to break down the centuries-old antagonism between city folk and country folk that capitalism engenders everywhere. With the great successes in the collective-farm harvests during these years Lenin's dream of large-scale, socialist agriculture to complement large-scale, socialist industry was fulfilled by the Soviet people, led by their Party and its leader, Stalin.

BUILDING A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The First Five-Year Plan and collectivization of farming had solved the fundamental problem of the Russian Revolution - the laying of a base for a large-scale, modern and scientific national economy in which the productive forces could rapidly expand, unfettered by the old, backward economic and political relations which had characterized the old society. The Soviet people were now in a position really to move forward, toward communism, a completely classless society in which there would be an abundance of things, and in which work would be a source of great strength and pleasure for the people, not a painful source of misery, so that the motto of society would be, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'

A characteristic movement of this glorious period in the history of the Soviet Union was Stakhanovism. Stakhanov was a coal miner, an ordinary worker who through hard work and ingenuity developed a method of over-fulfilling his production quota many times over, thus revolutionizing the coal industry. Stalin and the Party immediately recognized the importance of what Stakhanov had done and publicized it widely. Others followed his example, and soon a great movement developed among rank and file workers, who smashed production records and developed new techniques in thousands of different types of work, often doing it against the advice of the hide-bound, conservative bourgeois 'experts' who had been carried over from the old society to the new. Stalin involved himself in and nurtured the Stakhanovite movement. Anna Louise Strong writes:

All kinds of people who made achievements in production - a milkmaid who broke the milking record or a scientist who broke the atom - would be invited to discuss it with Stalin and tell how and why it was done. 'He had his ears to the ground,' as American politicians put it. Russian peasants put it poetically. 'He listens even how the grass grows,' they said.²⁸

Addressing the Stakhanovites Stalin said,

The Stakhanov movement is a movement of working men and women which will go down in the history of our socialist construction as one of its most glorious pages...Develop the Stakhanov movement and spread it in all directions throughout all the regions and districts of the USSR.²⁹ Elsewhere he said, the Soviet Union in this era transformed 'labor from a disgraceful and painful burden...into a matter of honor, a matter of glory, a matter of valor and heroism.'³⁰

He also noted,

Our revolution is the only one which not only smashed the fetters of capitalism and brought the people freedom, but also succeeded in creating the material conditions of a prosperous life for the people.

In speaking about the gains made during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, he said,

The improvement in the standard of living of the workers and peasants during the period under review (1933-38):

- 1) the national income rose from 48.5 billion rubles in 1933 to 105 billion rubles in 1938....
- 4) the average annual wage for industrial workers, which amounted to 1513 rubles in 1933, rose to 3447 rubles in 1938...
- 7) State budget appropriations for social and cultural services rose from 5,839,900 rubles in 1933 to 35.2 billion rubles in 1938...³²

These advances were reflected in the cultural level of the people. Ten times as many newspapers, with ten times the circulation, were printed as before the revolution. In 1939 701 million books were published, more than in any other country in the world. Workers and peasants all over the Soviet Union saw plays and films. Shakespeare was a great favorite. For the first time culture belonged to the masses, not to a few privileged parasites standing above society. The working day was cut to seven hours, and in some especially heavy industry, to six. The writer Panferov put it this way:

The working class built a dam on the surging Dneiper and made its unruly waters serve man. It transformed the misty Urals into an industrial center and mastered the wild and distant Kuzbas. In remaking the country, the working class remade itself.³³

Industry was spread throughout the vast country, to Central Asia, to the Urals, to Siberia - to places which fifteen years before had been steeped in medieval poverty, to people who fifteen years before had not known what a 'worker' was, much less what 'factories' were. By industrializing the entire country the Soviet people brought prosperity and culture to all and created an indestructible fortress of advanced economy, self-sufficient and invincible in case of attack, which Stalin and the Party and people knew would come very soon from Nazi Germany and fascist Japan.

In light of the advance of Soviet society, primarily in light of the complete elimination of exploitation, of capitalism, a new constitution was adopted in 1936. It was known as the Stalin Constitution. The way it was written is characteristic of the type of society the Soviet Union was at this time:

For a year, the commission (of 31 historians, economists and political scientists, under Stalin's chairmanship) studied all historic forms - both of states and of voluntary societies - through which men have organized for joint aims. Then a proposed draft was tentatively approved in June, 1936, by the government and submitted

to the people in 60 million copies (!!) It was discussed in 527,000 meetings, attended by 36,000,000 people. For months, every newspaper was full of people's letters. Some 154,000 amendments - many, of course, duplicates, and many others more suitable for legal code rather than a constitution. Forty-three amendments were actually made by this popular initiative.^{33a}

The Constitution clearly laid out the socialist economic foundation of the society and the rights of its citizens. These included the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education, to maintenance in illness and old age. It set down the equality of the sexes and nationalities, the freedoms of speech, the press, assembly and organization. It also affirmed the right of asylum for foreigners persecuted for their scientific activities, their defense of the interests of the working class or their struggle for national liberation. This Constitution went far beyond the scope of the constitutions of even the freest capitalist societies because it was based on socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In many ways the period of socialist construction in the 30's was the Golden Age of the Soviet Union. Who has ever seen anything like it? One country, steeped in a tradition of backwardness, brutality and superstition, surrounded on all sides by the most intense hatred on the part of the imperialists of the world and all other degenerates and reactionaries - one country stood up and proclaimed itself the representative of the future, and, overcoming all obstacles, showed in practice that it did in fact represent the future. No wonder the Soviet Union, the Communist Party and Stalin, the leader of all this, were so hated by the dying, rotten, stinking forces of reaction. No wonder Stalin was, and still is, Public Enemy #1 in the eyes of the Rockefellers, Duponts and Co. We say, Fine, gentlemen - by your hatred of Stalin you do the working class a fine service by showing us what Stalin was, and what you yourselves are. We thank you kindly for this unpaid-for education you have given us.

It goes without saying that the hatred of the Soviet Union by world imperialism did not remain platonic or abstract. It was translated into attempts from without and within the country to undermine the Soviet proletarian dictatorship. For example, on December 1, 1934, Sergei Kirov, one of the finest Bolsheviks, loved by the Party and the people, was assassinated in Leningrad. An investigation ensued which uncovered a counter-revolutionary terrorist organization, of which Trotsky (then living in exile), Zinoviev and Kamenev were found to be the leaders. The ones the Soviet Union could get its hand on were dealt with accordingly. This episode served as a sharp reminder of the capitalist encirclement, heightened by the growth of fascism and the fascists' feverish preparations for war against the Soviet Union, their main enemy. The greatest vigilance on the part of the Party was necessary. The Party conducted a reregistration of members, and many agents of the growing fascist 'Fifth Column' (as it was later called) were found to be hiding behind party cards. Many were sabotaging socialist construction in industry and agriculture and were undermining the political work in the country. As usual, Stalin understood thoroughly what was happening. One of the most important characteristics of a leader is the ability to analyze what is happening, to sum up the needs of the historical moment, and to make correct concrete projections of what needs to be done at that moment. Stalin again and again showed that he possessed this ability to the highest degree. Seeing that the enormous growth of the socialist

economy had led many of even the best communists to underrate the importance of politics, of political leadership and political understanding, Stalin set about to rectify the political work of the Party and people. Before, the Party slogan had been 'Master technique.' This was necessary at the time (the late 20's and early and middle 30's) because most of the cadre and working class in general had lacked skill in management, administration and the technical aspects of production, and had been forced to rely on the old technicians, managers and 'bourgeois experts' bequeathed to socialism by the old society. But now (the Stakhanovite movement was an example) the Party had mastered technique and had begun to free itself from reliance on these representatives of the old order. It was time to place the emphasis on political analysis and education. The slogan changed to 'Master Bolshevism,' the science of Marxism-Leninism. Stalin said that 'the political work of our Party must be raised to the proper level, making the main task that of the political training and Bolshevik steeling of the Party, soviet and economic cadres.'³⁴ The struggle to 'master Bolshevism' bore fruit in the Second World War. The Soviet Union was the only country without a 'fifth column,' a gang of fascist traitors inside waiting to hand over power to the fascist invaders. This is because the Party and state, because of correct leadership, was able to purge itself in time of the vast majority of the traitors. (This will be discussed in more detail later in the report when we deal with the attacks on Stalin by the revisionists and Trotskyites).

At the same time as the Soviet Union was getting rid of the filth inside, it was preparing for war with the filth outside, fascism. We have seen that ever since the revolution the imperialists had warred upon or else threatened the Soviet Union. Stalin as far back as 1927 (during a period of relative peacefulness and stability) had said that an attack from the capitalist countries was 'inevitable.' Throughout the period of industrialization special attention was devoted to defense. The army was built up to be the largest and best equipped in the world. At the same time as the Soviet Union was struggling to preserve peace, it was preparing for the war it knew was bound to come very soon.

By the Eighteenth Party Congress (March 1939) Stalin was able to sum up the years of socialist construction. Industry had grown nine-fold compared to 1913. The Soviet Union's agricultural system was the world's largest and most highly mechanized. The material and cultural life of the people had improved beyond recognition. And all this had come about without exploitation and oppression, without inflation, depression and the rape of other countries. The resources of this magnificent civilization were so great that, in 1944, in the midst of the most vicious and widespread war in history, the Soviet state budget allotted more for educational purposes than for 'power of defense!'

WORLD LEADERSHIP

Throughout his life as a revolutionary, but particularly during the late 20's and 30's, Stalin was the leader not only of the Soviet Union but of the world revolution as well. Every communist party, every socialist country, every national liberation struggle owes a lot to the Third (Communist) International, conceived by Lenin and led by Stalin for twenty years. During the period of the growth of fascism and world war, revolutionary and democratic forces throughout the world looked to the 'Comintern' and Stalin for guidance and correct leadership. The Albanians describe Stalin's role in the Comintern this way:

He has been one of the most outstanding and authoritative personalities of the Third International. Following Lenin's death he held aloft the banner of Leninism in the Communist International and rendered a major contribution towards bolshevizing the communist workers' parties, toward training revolutionary cadres, towards elaborating a correct strategy and tactics of the international communist workers movements. If in October 1917 there was only one communist party of a new type with a membership of 400,000, in 1928 the number of parties had increased to 46 while that of the communists had increased to 1,860,000. In 1935 the number of parties had risen to 61, while that of the communists had risen to 3,141,000, whereas after the second world war there were about 70 parties with over 30 million members.³⁵

By pointing out the principle right and 'left' dangers in each party at critical times, Stalin saved many from errors, splits, and even from collapse. An example was the case of our own Communist Party of the United States. In May, 1929, the situation in the CPUSA (never a really bolshevized party, but a collection of factions) was so bad that Stalin and the Comintern called the leadership to Moscow. Among other things Stalin said:

Both groups (he was referring to the two main factions in the party) are guilty of the fundamental error of exaggerating the specific features of American capitalism (American Exceptionalism). You know that this exaggeration lies at the root of every opportunist error....³⁶
Factionalism is the fundamental evil in the American Communist Party.

Stalin explained to William Z. Foster and Co. that their position of American Exceptionalism had led them to the incorrect conclusion that no economic crisis would come in the US. Six months later came the Crash and the Depression. We should point out that it was Stalin's complete ruthlessness with opportunism, his complete dedication to principle, that was responsible for a lot of the attacks against him (after he was dead) by rats within the communist movement, people that he had criticized and exposed as opportunists. The CPUSA couldn't wait to jump on the anti-Stalin bandwagon created by Khrushchov's attack at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956. Could this have had something to do with the fact that Stalin had consistently exposed the leaders of the CPUSA as deviators, and that they, in turn, had gone against his Marxist-Leninist line in practice while praising him to the skies in words, praying in private for the day he would no longer be around to give them 'trouble?'

But to continue. One of Stalin's major gifts to the world revolution, serving to educate communists in all countries, was his History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), Short Course. It is a veritable encyclopedia of Marxism-Leninism, a handbook of revolution, 'a model of the integration of theory and practice,'³⁷ as Mao Tsetung said.

Stalin and the Comintern assumed greater and greater burdens of responsibility for the well-being of the world's people during the period of the rise of fascism (with the German Nazis in the lead) in the 30's. Who but the communist parties organized in the Comintern had the understanding, the principles, the unwavering faith in the revolution necessary to stand up to the fascist billionaires and their goons? Georgi Dimitrov, the great Bulgarian communist and head of the Comintern in the mid-30s, defined fascism as 'the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, most imperialist elements of finance capital.' How to fight it:

Form a united front to establish unity of action of the workers in

every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world...A powerful united front of the proletariat would exert tremendous influence on all other strata of the working people, on the peasantry, on the urban petty bourgeoisie, on the intelligentsia....And we want all this because only in this way will the working class at the head of all toilers, welded into a million-strong revolutionary army, led by the Comintern and possessed of so great a pilot as our leader Comrade Stalin, be able to fulfill its historic mission with certainty - to sweep fascism off the face of the earth and, together with it, capitalism.³⁸

The tactic of the united front was embodied also in the Soviet foreign policy. Stalin and other Bolsheviks consistently condemned the aggression of Germany, Italy and Japan, the main fascist powers. Litvinov, the excellent Bolshevik who represented the Soviet Union in the imperialist-dominated League of Nations (similar to the current-day United Nations), again and again explained that fascism meant world war, and again and again pressed for a policy of united action between the Soviet Union and the non-fascist imperialist countries like Britain, France and the US. After Italy attacked Ethiopia in 1935 he said:

It may now be considered an axiom that the passivity of the League during the Manchurian conflict (when Japan invaded China) had its consequences a few years later in the attack on Abyssinia (Ethiopia). The League's insufficient activity in the case of Abyssinia encouraged the Spanish experiment (that is, aid by Germany and Italy to Franco's fascist counter-revolutionary war against the Spanish Republic). The League's failure to take any measure in the aid of Spain encouraged the new attack on China. Thus, we have had four cases of aggression in the course of five years. We see how aggression, if unchecked, spreads from one country to another, assuming greater and greater dimensions each time. On the other hand, I firmly believe that a resolute policy of the League in one case of aggression would have spared us all the other cases....I can say on behalf of the government (of the Soviet Union), that on its part, it is ready as before to join in collective actions which, decided jointly with it, would have the purpose of arresting the further development of aggression and removing the accentuated danger of a new world shambles.³⁹

Had it been adopted, the Soviet Union's plan would have spared the world the unspeakable horror (how many people died? 20 million? 40 million?) of World War Two. But no, 'the "democratic powers" against whom in fact the war is directed...surrender their positions to the aggressors bit by bit.'⁴⁰ The leaders of Britain and France rejected the Soviet proposals. They saw the growing strength of the USSR and the world revolution. Also, the imperialists of the non-fascist countries were too deeply involved financially with the imperialists of the fascist countries to want to spoil a good thing if they didn't have to. They hoped to use fascism against socialism, to preserve their tottering empires. Stalin predicted that 'the big and dangerous game started by the supporters of the policy of nonintervention may end in serious fiasco for them.'⁴¹ And of course he was right. The 'noninterventionist powers' like Britain subsequently covered themselves with disgrace. This was because everybody saw that nonintervention in fact meant giving in to Hitler, Tojo and Mussolini, supporting them indirectly. For example, the Soviet Union was

the only country to carry out sanctions against Italy after her aggression against Ethiopia. Again, in 1938 Britain and the United States were supplying 78% of Japan's war materials used in her aggression against China, while the Soviet Union supplied China alone.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union during the pre-war period was principled and correct. It did not prevent the war, but it drew around the Soviet Union all the progressive and democratic forces in the world, and even self-interested but intelligent reactionaries like Winston Churchill. They understood the real strength of the Soviet Union. Stalin summed it up this way:

Those who try to attack our country will receive a crushing repulse to teach them in the future not to poke their pig snouts in our Soviet garden.⁴²

THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

The period before and during World War Two was a severe test for the people of the world in general and for the Soviet people in particular, for it was obvious that they would bear the brunt of the fascist attack. The aggressive fascists of Germany, Italy and Japan threatened to pit the entire capitalist world against them. But what happened, because of the wise Soviet foreign policy, was that it was the fascists that were isolated, and eventually crushed by the democratic forces of the world with the Soviet Union dealing by far the most crushing blow. In the wake of the defeat of fascism the world revolution surged forward, 700 million more people advancing to socialism in Eastern Europe and Asia.

In the late 30's the fascist powers signed an 'Anti-Comintern Pact', invaded China, Ethiopia, Spain and Czechoslovakia, and openly threatened the Soviet Union. The give-away of Czechoslovakia by Britain and France to Germany at Munich in 1938 was particularly bad. The leaders of these countries, supposedly allies of the USSR against aggression, gave up 27 Czech divisions, a strong fortification line, and the Skoda armaments plants in an effort to lure the Nazis eastward to attack the Russians. Despite appeals from Moscow and from the workers of Britain and France, it was clear that there was at present no hope of forming a triple-alliance against Hitler. Seeing that there was no possibility of dealing with Hitler outside her borders, the Soviet Union saw that she would have to deal with him inside her borders. But this would take preparation beyond what was already being done, and time. Under Stalin's direction a 'Non-Aggression Pact' was signed with the Nazis. History had proved the correctness of this despite the snipings of the Trotskyites and other scum who squeak about 'Stalin's treachery' and so forth. The Non-Aggression Pact forced Hitler to postpone his invasion of the Soviet Union and to turn westward toward France and Britain, whose imperialists so richly deserved the fate that Hitler handed them, war. It gave the Russians time to arm themselves with the most advanced weapons, and to move whole industries from the West to the East, to protect them from the coming invasion. Anna Louise Strong writes about the period following the signing of the pact:

Americans still speak of Stalin as 'Hitler's accomplice' in cynically dividing Poland. But Winston Churchill said in a radio broadcast October 1 (1939): 'The Soviets have stopped the Nazis in Eastern

Poland; I only wish they were doing it as our allies.' Bernard Shaw, in the London Times, gave 'three cheers for Stalin,' who had given Hitler 'his first set-back.' Even Prime Minister Chamberlain sourly told the House of Commons, October 26: 'It has been necessary for the Red Army to occupy part of Poland as protection against Germany.'⁴³

On June 22, 1941, Hitler struck the Soviet Union in a surprise attack. Thousands of planes and tanks and a nine million man army recruited from all over Europe ('The greatest military march in world history,' Hitler boasted) struck the Russians, who, most predicted, would not last 'six weeks.'

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR appointed Joseph Stalin People's Commissar of Defense. At a time when many people were prone to panic Stalin (whom the scum call 'a coward') wrote:

The war will not be decided by such a secondary factor as suddenness, but by such constantly operating factors as the strength of the rear, the morale of the army, the quantity and quality of the divisions, the armament of the army, the organizational abilities of the army commanders...The Red Army's strength lies above all in the fact that it is not waging a predatory, imperialist war, but a patriotic war, a war of liberation, a just war.⁴⁴

For weeks and months the Soviet forces and people retreated, but not in that awful, chaotic retreat that signifies panic and rout. They took everything they could carry, from grain to whole factories, taken apart and transported piece by piece to the East. Under the famous 'scorched earth policy' they destroyed what they couldn't carry, leaving nothing for the Nazis, destroying even the pride of the First-Five Year Plan, the Dneiper Dam, rather than have it fall into the Nazis' clutches. Those that stayed behind began guerrilla warfare and sabotage of the German rear. In these days of painful retreat Stalin did two things. First, he welded the Soviet people into a huge, monolithic, unbeatable force. Second, he turned world opinion solidly against the Nazis and for the Soviet Union, welding a solid united front including even such bourgeois as Roosevelt, Churchill, De Gaulle, etc.

The Soviet Army and people stood fast at Leningrad and Moscow, Stalin remaining in the latter city throughout the long seige. The attackers, whose famous 'blitzkrieg' fell to pieces when faced with Marxist-Leninist warfare, realized too late that they faced a kind of war they couldn't win. The turning point came in Stalingrad in February, 1943. Day after day two thousand German planes and two thousand tanks struck this one city.

The Germans cut Stalingrad in half, in a dozen pieces. More than once Hitler announced that he had taken it. He had truly taken most of it but not the people. 'There is no land beyond the Volga,' went the word in Stalingrad. They fought from street to street, from house to house, from room to room. They used rifles, grenades, knives, kitchen chairs, boiling water. The Tank Factory continued to make tanks and drove them against the enemy right from the factory yard. 'Not a building is left intact,' said a German report. Then the people fought from cellars and caves. 'Every pile of bricks can be made a fortress if there is courage enough,' went the word. 'Every hillock gained gains time,' Stalin wired them. The people of Stalin-

grad fought thus one hundred and eighty-two days. Then, fresh reserves, organized and trained in Siberia, drove over the plains and took the city in a great pincer movement. Over 300,000 Germans were caught in that trap. They surrendered February 2, 1943.⁴⁵

The Soviet troops pushed westward and reached Berlin in May, 1945, placing the red flag over Hitler's Reichstag. At the end of the war the Red Army was stronger than at the beginning, having gained a profound understanding of war through practice and the Marxist-Leninist science of Stalin and the Communist Party.

RECONSTRUCTING A NEW WORLD

Most people do not understand the role that the Soviet Union played in defeating Hitler. It is estimated that she did six times as much fighting as the other Allied powers combined.^{45a} She suffered twenty million killed and wounded. Millions lost their homes, thousands of villages and towns were completely destroyed. But at the same time, a powerful bloc of socialist People's Democracies emerged in Eastern Europe and Asia, war-torn but hopeful about the future. (It is worth noting also that all the Nazis and fascists, collaborators and other traitors, as the war was ending, took refuge not with the Russians but with the Allies. We would ask those people who accuse Stalin of being sympathetic to fascism, Why was this?) The world hoped that the leaders of the US, Britain and France would continue their cooperation with the Soviet Union. But even before the war ended there were unmistakable signs that the imperialists would continue to be imperialists, and would continue to threaten the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Of course the United States, emerging relatively unharmed and even richer from the war, led the wolfpack of reactionaries. It fell to Stalin to continue to lead the anti-imperialist forces of the world in the very dangerous, complicated post-war period, the 'cold war.'

First, immediate steps had to be taken to rebuild the decimated Soviet Union. The Dneiper Dam was being rebuilt even before the Nazis were completely expelled from Russian soil. A new Five-Year Plan was drawn up and old industries were rebuilt, more modern and powerful than before. The Stalingrad Tractor factory, destroyed in 1943, three months later was producing tanks, and by November 1945 had produced (reconverted to peacetime needs) its 3,000th tractor. By October, 1946, 83% of the Red Army had been demobilized and the energies of the people shifted from war to peace. The US had promised \$6 billion for reconstruction, but when the USSR refused to become docile tools of US imperialism the loan was cancelled. Again the Soviet people led by Stalin had to do it themselves. Many rotten elements inside the Party said, Let's take it easy now. Stalin said, Build. By 1950 socialist industry outstripped the prewar level by 50%. Agriculture had completely recovered. While the capitalist countries faced spiraling prices and another crisis, the Soviet Union abolished rationing in 1947 and decreased prices in 1948 and 1949. Under Stalin's leadership the economy recovered and moved forward.

Stalin demanded 'special attention...devoted to...the extensive organization of scientific research institutes of every kind capable of giving the fullest scope to our scientific forces.'⁴⁶ He refused to be intimidated by the US monopoly of the atom bomb after 1945, and their waving it around. The Soviet Union produced its own nuclear energy devoted, unlike that of the imperialists, to peaceful uses and defense. Sputnik resulted from the scientific advances made during this period.

At the same time as the Soviet Union was reconstructing herself, she was aiding the new socialist countries. Stalin took the heart of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, seriously. Enver Hoxha, leader of the Albanian people, tells us that 'In 1945 when our people were threatened with starvation, Stalin took the ships loaded with grain destined for the Soviet people, who also were in dire need of food at this time, and sent the grain at once to the Albanian people.' Such internationalist aid was also freely given to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, the Democratic Republic of Germany, the Mongolian Republic, the Democratic Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the People's Republic of China.

Despite the existence at the time of the socialist bloc, it would be wrong to think that the bloc was monolithic, with a single will. On the contrary. A fierce ideological struggle between Marxism-Leninism and imperialist-financed and imperialist-inspired revisionism existed. While there were such single-willed leaders as Stalin, Mao Tsetung, Enver Hoxha, Ho Chi Minh and Kim Il Sung, there were also such sell-out rats as Tito, some, like him, openly proclaiming themselves traitors, and others, like the present leadership of the Soviet Union, staying in hiding till the proper moment when they could emerge and make counter-revolution. We can see the two lines in two events that happened at about the same time. One was the victory of the Chinese Revolution led by Mao Tsetung, which liberated one-fourth of humanity. In describing this victory Mao says that it could not have happened without 'a disciplined Party equipped with the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...The CPSU is our best teacher from whom we must learn.'⁴⁷ The other event was the defection of Tito's gang in Yugoslavia from communism to imperialism. Tito had for a number of years (since the middle of the war) been plotting with the imperialists to invade Yugoslavia's neighboring countries (like Albania) and set up a fortress of imperialism and oppression under the fake name of 'national communism.' Stalin, for the CPSU, had written a number of letters to Tito criticizing his actions at every step. When it became clear what Tito was, he was expelled from the socialist bloc and its leading center, the Information Bureau or Cominform. The CPSU's principled stand on Tito's betrayal was a victory against all the revisionist and opportunist doctrines which were popping up about 'different types' of communism. These doctrines consciously confused the correct idea that each country must take into account its specific situation when building socialism with the incorrect (and traitorous) idea that Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Lenin-Stalin line of the equality of all nations, can be 'changed' to suit small cliques of gangsters disguised as communists. Stalin was at the time and later on viciously attacked for his stand on Yugoslavia by the Soviet revisionists, who, the minute they got the chance, hopped into bed with Tito and enlarged his betrayal a thousand times.

But the people of the world who were actually doing the fighting against imperialism - the Chinese, the Koreans, the Vietnamese, etc - remained faithful to Stalin. Stalin never let them down. When the United States disguised by the UN flag attacked the Democratic Republic of Korea, the Soviet Union gave aid and moral support. Stalin said that the unjust, imperialist war in Korea 'can only end in defeat for the interventionists.'⁴⁸ And this is what happened. The US was stopped cold and proved completely unable to fulfill the imperialist dream of attacking the Soviet Union and China and setting off World War Three.

The year before he died (1952) Stalin published his last major work, Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR. It would be impossible to exaggerate the brilliance of this book, which the revisionists of the world are so afraid of that they refuse to print. Stalin reaffirms the objective character of the laws of socialist development, which man can understand and control but not change by a mere act of will. Stalin thus firmly refutes the various idealist distortions of Marxism (see the essay on Sanmugathan in this issue for more on this). He also charts the course for the abolition of the essential distinctions between town and country and between manual and mental labor which socialism inherits from capitalism. In the realm of international affairs Stalin projects what will happen in the future:

'It would be mistaken to think...that these countries (West Germany, Britain, France, Japan, Italy) will tolerate the domination and oppression of the US endlessly, that they will not endeavor to tear loose from American bondage. (And,) A Movement for the preservation of peace will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a particular war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace...That, of course, will be good. Even very good. But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars...to eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism.'⁴⁹ Stalin thus refutes the American Exceptionalists who think that 'ultraimperialism' (without rivalries and wars between states) can exist on the basis of US power and money. He also refutes the opportunists who try to turn the struggle for socialism and revolution into a struggle for 'peace' in the abstract on the basis of deals with the imperialists.

In the realm of economy, Stalin refutes various erroneous ideas shared by many in the Soviet Union. For example, he explains how the act of selling state-owned Tractor Stations to the collective farms would be a step backward towards capitalism. This is what the revisionists did after Stalin's death, and it turned out that he was right. Capitalism returned to the Soviet Union in the wake of the very policies Stalin consistently warned and fought against. These policies have led the country to disaster.

STALIN'S DEATH AND THE GROWTH OF REVISIONISM

Stalin died in February, 1953. Not since Lenin's death had the Soviet people and the people of the world felt such a great loss. A five-minute silence was observed throughout the world. The imperialists and their lackeys, especially of the US, heaped abuse on him, often vulgar. By now we think we can understand why.

A fierce battle took place in the CPSU between those loyal to Stalin and Marxism-Leninism (they were led by Molotov and Malenkov) and those loyal to revisionism and imperialism (they were led by Khrushchov). For three years Khrushchov proceeded to arrest, expel and murder the finest Bolsheviks like Beria. He usurped one post after another and consolidated his power, building a gang of capitalist-roaders who rule the Soviet Union today, the 'new tsars.' At the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 he issued a statement in secret attacking Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He staged an armed coup against the Stalin-supporters on the Central Committee, and proceeded to ruin the Soviet Union and badly damage the international communist movement. His and his successors' economic policies, leading to their having to beg for capital from former Nazis, Japanese militarists, Italian fascists and US imperialists, is a direct

slap in the face of the Lenin-Stalin policy of independence from imperialism. The degeneration of the USSR into a new prison-house of nations, a vast empire of colonies, the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the aggression against China, are all a direct slap in the face of the Lenin-Stalin policy of proletarian internationalism. And so on down the line.

Although many weak-principled and weak-kneed 'communists' promptly caved in before Khrushchov's 'revelations' (our own CPUSA was part of the vanguard of this collapse), the real communists waged a heroic fight in behalf of Stalin and Marxism-Leninism. The Labor Party of Albania, the Communist Party of China, and some other really militant, fighting parties led the fight. They were not fooled by Khrushchov's 'revelations' because they knew from years of experience and struggle what Stalin was. They defended (and continue to defend) Stalin because they understand Stalin cannot be separated from the glorious history of the CPSU (B), the Soviet Union, the world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Mao Tsetung, Stalin's successor as leader of the world revolution, wrote,

Congratulating Stalin means supporting him and his cause, supporting the victory of socialism and the way forward for mankind which he points, it means supporting a dear friend. For the great majority of mankind today are suffering, and mankind can free itself only by the road pointed out by Stalin, and with his help.⁵⁰

ATTACKS ON STALIN

Throughout his political career and particularly since his death, the most monstrous and vicious attacks have been made against J. V. Stalin. The same slanders about Stalin the butcher, the madman, the egomaniac, the drunk, etc - about Stalin leading the ill-fated Soviet people from one disaster to another - these same slanders have been made in turn by the imperialists, the revisionists, the social-imperialists and the Trotskyites, who are all united on at least one thing: their hatred of Stalin, their intense desire to discredit him and his work. Beneath this common aim, of course, lies the desire of the imperialists and their lackeys to undermine the history of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and to discredit the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that (their fondest dream) 'it will never happen again.' Objectively their attacks on Stalin serve and have always served as attacks upon the dictatorship. Their 'open war against J. V. Stalin' is actually 'a fight against his immortal work, it's a war against Marxism-Leninism.'⁵¹ In discussing Comrade Stalin we have to be absolutely clear from the beginning that his role as a leader cannot be separated from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, and elsewhere to boot. In discussing the leadership of Comrade Stalin we do not talk about his so-called quote 'mistakes' unquote, but instead look at the main periods of the revolution (before and after the seizure of power), what at each period had to be done to guarantee the successful completion of such period and the leap to the next period, what programs and policies were put forth and what programs and policies existed in opposition to these (that is, what political actions and trends were revolutionary, which were counter-revolutionary); and finally, whether Stalin's political leadership reflected the needs of the workers and peasants in each period. We feel that this is the only really serious, correct and materialist approach to the question of Stalin.

The bulk of the attacks against the person of Stalin, as opposed to criticisms of his and his Party's policies and actions, were initially devised and circulated by Trotsky. They began around the time of Lenin's death and increased in proportion as the Soviet Union successfully built socialism, and in proportion as Trotsky became more and more an open counter-revolutionary spy and mouthpiece of the fascists. These Trotskyite attacks were subsequently picked up and constantly reiterated by the bourgeois press and the Soviet revisionists, notably Khrushchov.

What were and still are the main attacks against Stalin the person?

The first attack of major proportion (we add this qualification because it goes without saying that Stalin, as well as Marx, Engels and Lenin, were all attacked by the bourgeoisie throughout their lives) is that Stalin killed off anybody who didn't agree with him. This attack finds its main center around the famous 'Purge Trials' of 1934 and 1937, which we discussed above. This 'explanation' of the Trials in particular (Stalin the butcher and madman, afraid of all opposition) was penned by Leon Trotsky, friend of William Randolph Hearst and one of the ring-leaders of the counter-revolutionary activities exposed in the Trials. In order to understand the whys and wherefores of Trotsky's role a little better, we must point out a few historical facts.

We have already seen that the general line laid down at the Fourteenth Party Congress in 1925 was to fight for the socialist industrialization of the country, since this 'would ensure its economic independence, strengthen its power of defense and create the conditions for the victory of socialism in the USSR.'⁵² The line hit the various opposition elements like a thunderbolt, all the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites, and Kamenevites who had put forth plans of their own. The Trotskyites had their theory of the permanent revolution (the Russian Revolution is doomed without revolution in Europe). The Bukharinites had their theory of the peaceful growing of the bourgeoisie into socialism (that is, let the kulaks do whatever they want, etc). Zinoviev and Kamenev had their theory of keeping the USSR an agrarian country, importing machinery and industrial goods from capitalist countries (and thus being at their mercy). The Congress condemned all these capitulationist 'theories' and voted for a resolution making the line of the Party binding on all Party members. The oppositionists except for the Trotskyites voted for the resolution, but only because they had been driven to the wall. Their actions belied their words.

What were their actions? 'At the end of 1932 the Trotskyite and Zinovievite groupings united and formed a common center.'⁵³

Lacking all support in the working class and the toiling masses of the people of the USSR, having lost all their ideological possessions, having no political program and imbued with bitter hatred toward the Socialist victories of our country, the leaders of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite counter-revolutionary bloc, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, sank definitively into the swamp of whiteguardism, joined forces and merged with the most inveterate enemies of the Soviet Power, and became the organizing force of the last remnants of the exploiting classes which had been routed in the USSR.⁵⁴

Before pointing out what the counter-revolutionaries actually did we must ask, Why? That is, What are the main features and the social base of Trotskyism?

'Trotskyism,' said M. J. Olgin, 'is not a one-man affair. It is not a peculiarity of an individual. Trotskyism is a social phenomenon...It is the expression of the attitude of a certain class, namely, the petty-bourgeoisie.'⁵⁵ Lenin had already long before defined Trotskyism as a petty-bourgeois deviation from Marxism, as an expression of 'left' opportunism - of capitulation to the class enemy under a cloak of revolutionary phrasemongering. 'What a swine this Trotsky is - left phrases, and a big bloc with the right against the Zimmerwald Left!' is how Lenin characterized Trotsky in a letter written in March, 1917.⁵⁶ Developing Lenin's analysis of Trotskyism years later, Stalin defined its main features as, firstly, 'the theory of "permanent" (uninterrupted) revolution.' That is, socialism cannot be built in the Soviet Union alone, there must be revolution throughout Europe as well. Secondly, 'Trotskyism is distrust of the Bolshevik Party principle, of the monolithic character of the Party, of its hostility towards opportunist elements. In the sphere of organization, Trotskyism is the theory that revolutionaries and opportunists can co-exist and form groups and coteries within a single party.' And thirdly, 'Trotskyism is distrust of the leaders of Bolshevism, an attempt to discredit, to defame them.'⁵⁷

The main features of Trotskyism are characteristic of its social base, the petty-bourgeoisie, with its individualistic outlook, its tendency to vacillate between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, to distrust anything standing outside the realm of its small-shopkeeper mentality. Petty-bourgeois as individuals, of course, are quite capable of becoming revolutionaries and Bolsheviks if they accept the necessity of remolding themselves and becoming proletarian. But the petty-bourgeoisie as a class is irreconcilably split in its outlook. Its outlook cannot be revolutionary. People such as Trotsky who manifest the outlook of the petty-bourgeoisie as a class, and who try to lead the revolution, inevitably, if they don't change their ways, turn into counter-revolutionaries, running out on the proletariat and seeking refuge with the imperialists, to whom they try to make the revolution 'acceptable' by turning it into its opposite. If we understand the mentality of the Trotskys, the Zinovievs, the Kamanevs, etc, we can understand their fear and hatred of the proletarian dictatorship and the fact that they happily used the most dispicable means to try to destroy it.

For example, the murder of Kirov in 1934. The subsequent investigations began to uncover the widespread counter-revolutionary activities carried on by the Trotsky-Zinoviev Center, financed by world fascism and imperialism. The Trials which resulted from the investigations, we should note, were open to the 'Soviet and foreign press, the foreign diplomatic corps and a changing stream of representatives from factories and government offices.'⁵⁹

The investigations revealed that as far back as 1918, Bukharin, Trotsky, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries (a grouping from one of the petty-bourgeois anti-Bolshevik parties), Zinoviev and others had plotted to frustrate the Brest-Litovsk Peace (see above), to overthrow the Soviet Government, and to murder Lenin, Stalin, Sverdlov, Voroshilov and other leaders. They had made connections with German and Japanese fascists and British intelligence, and had carried on treasonable activities in the interests of foreign states hostile to the USSR. 'Trotsky considered that the main chance of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites (including the Rights or Bukharinites besides the other groupings we have mentioned)

coming to power depended upon the defeat of the USSR in a war with Germany and Japan and that he proposed after this defeat to surrender the Ukraine to Germany and the Far East to Japan.⁶⁰ The chief instigator and ringleader of this gang of assassins was Judas Trotsky,⁶¹ as Lenin had called him. They engaged in wrecking and diversionist activities in order to paralyze the defense industry, the economic life of the country and various industrial, transport, agricultural and distributing enterprises. They agreed to open up the front to the Germans when the war started.

It is not difficult to believe the validity of these findings when you consider the character of the men who were engaged in the plot, Trotsky first and foremost - men whose characters were a rotten mixture of petty-bourgeois defeatism and petty-bourgeois egotism and delusions of grandeur. If they had to give up half the Soviet Union to the Germans and Japanese, okay. At least they (Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev etc) would be able to dominate the remaining half and fix it in their own image, not that of the hated Stalin. So they thought. But they were found out and crushed. This was the main significance of the Purge Trials.

The question is raised: Were the purges really necessary?...In the West, fascism was growing like a dark and menacing cloud, and the fascists had openly declared that they were planning to attack the Soviet Union...In 1936-37 the war danger was particularly great. On the very threshold of war in which the imperialists attempted to pit Hitler Germany against the Soviet Union - was it or was it not necessary to purge the rear of all vacillating and dangerous elements?⁶²

So it does not surprise us that we will hear the imperialists and their lackeys, the revisionists and Trotskyites and some so-called 'communists' speak of 'the reign of terror' under Stalin's leadership, of Stalin the butcher and madman. The purges hit right at the heart of the imperialists' plans to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship and they rid the Soviet Union of the Hitler Fifth Column. The Soviet people could never have defeated the fascist aggressors during World War Two if these traitors (including people like Tukhachevsky, one of the highest military leaders) had remained around to sabotage the struggle.

Were mistakes made? Were innocent people unjustly punished? Stalin himself says,

It cannot be said that the purge was not accompanied by some grave mistakes. There were unfortunately more mistakes than might have been expected. Undoubtedly, we shall have no more need to resort to the method of mass purges any more. Nevertheless, the purge of 1933-36 was unavoidable and on the whole its results were beneficial.^{62a}

This is the whole point. The purges were part of a revolution involving tens of millions of people. To expect absolute purity, to expect the revolution to be made without a single mistake, with kid gloves, is an absurdity. If absolute purity (we're not talking about theoretical principles, which of course must remain pure, but of actual concrete events and actions) - if absolute purity and the absence of errors is to be a prerequisite for the socialist revolution, it will never take place. Of course this is what the bourgeoisie (and how many tens of millions have died during the rise of capitalism?) desires above all else. And so do their lackeys, standing in abject fear of progress which, like anything else worthwhile, costs much.

It is obvious to us, in short, that it is nothing but fear which makes the petty-bourgeois cry out against the 'iron hand' of the Soviet Government in dealing with the enemies and traitors to the people we have been discussing. The petty-bourgeois are afraid of a strong proletarian state, afraid of a strong proletarian party; they are unwilling, in the last analysis, to see the proletariat exercise revolutionary power. The petty-bourgeois 'revolutionaries' talk about democracy, but they fail to see that democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and under imperialism are two very different things. Proletarian democracy is democracy not for a small clique of parasites to use in manipulating the masses, but for the masses themselves, the majority, the creators of all the wealth of society. This new democracy will stop at nothing to guarantee the well-being of the majority over the overthrown exploiters. Proletarian democracy most emphatically does not mean democracy for the traitors, the wreckers, the scum, the overthrown exploiters and their goons, any more than bourgeois democracy means democracy for the working class. Cry out all you want, Mr Petty-bourgeois, but the fact will remain that you will have to give up certain of your privileges - all your privileges, in fact - when the time comes, and become one of 'the common herd,' the working class - that is, the greatest class in history.

Was it Stalin who invented this notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of proletarian democracy? Nearly one hundred years ago Engels said, in reference to the species of petty-bourgeois whom we have been discussing,

Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon - authoritarian means, if such there be at all; and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries.⁶³

And Lenin said, speaking of the dictatorship of the proletariat,

It is the most stubborn, the most acute, the most merciless struggle of the new class against the more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance has grown tenfold after it has been overthrown. The dictatorship is a stubborn struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the powers and traditions of the old society.⁶⁴

Ruthlessness toward the exploiters and their agents, both during and after the seizure of power by the proletariat - this is one of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It has to be. Of course the exploiters and their agents will attack this principle in both theory and practice. Of course they will attack someone like Stalin, who was totally and selflessly dedicated to the cause of the workers, who was fierce, unrelenting and ruthless in his opposition to all class enemies. Just when has it ever been in the interests of the imperialists to say anything good about the dictatorship of the proletariat?

It is with this understanding in mind that we see that Stalin led the Party, the government and the Soviet people in surmounting all difficulties in building and defending the USSR. To speak of the era that he led as one in which one man eliminated his enemies is to speak and think like

a mole (or an ostrich). For in reality it was an era that the greatest representative of the working class of his time led the entire class, and the entire peasantry and revolutionary intelligentsia, and the people of the world, in fighting for the interests of the working class and all mankind. Had the world ever seen anything like it? Millions, tens and hundreds of millions of people acting for the first time in human history in a conscious way, with a sense of purpose, using the science of Marxism-Leninism to articulate their aims and tactics. Who led this movement? Stalin. And the leaders who survived him - Mao Tsetung, Enver Hoxha, Ho Chi Minh, Kim Il Sung - have known the value of Stalin's legacy. And of course this legacy has inspired terror in the reactionaries.

And this brings us to the second attack on the person of Stalin, the attack by the revisionists. And we want to point out before we get into them that Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Kosygin and Co, recognizing their essential brotherhood with the Trotskyites, have made heroes of the wreckers of the thirties, releasing those still alive from jail and 'resurrecting' the Bukharins, Zinovievs and their lot. All this they have done by attacking what the Soviet Union stood for in the 30s under the pretext of combatting 'Stalin's terror.' Thus has international imperialism again found (as it did in the Tsar's time) fertile ground in the vast land east of Poland.

In his 'secret report' at the Twentieth Party Congress (which very quickly, somehow, found its way to the US State Department, which gleefully published it), Khrushchov launched a far-ranging and vicious attack on Stalin and the so-called 'cult of the individual' which he had supposedly created and fostered. The Albanians, in their pamphlet 'The Dangerous Maneuvers of N. Khrushchov's Group,' explained what was behind this:

By launching the most monstrous slanders against Stalin and by calling the period of his leadership a 'period in which terror, crimes, injustices, persecutions, concentration camps and so on, reigned supreme,' the revisionists assail in fact the dictatorship of the proletariat, try to describe it as a regime of terror, as a denial of democracy, as an order which must be done away with as soon as possible.⁶⁵

Khrushchov and his gang repeatedly stated that to defend Stalin is to defend 'the order' existing in Stalin's time; that to uphold Stalin is to uphold the ideology of that period; that to support Stalin is to support 'those forms and methods of management that thrived' during that period, as well as the foreign policy of the USSR, the relations between the CPSU and other communist parties, and so forth. Yes, this is true, we agree. Upon examination of the situation we find ourselves proud to identify with and defend the victories of the USSR during the period of Stalin's leadership.

The Albanians in the same pamphlet explains further that the fight of the revisionists against the 'cult' serves

as a smokescreen behind which to hide, to justify and to spread throughout the international communist movement their anti-Marxist, opportunist, and treacherous line - their line of the so-called 'peaceful coexistence,' 'peaceful competition,' 'peaceful transition,' and 'humane, democratic and liberal socialism'... This is in fact the line of capitulation to the imperialists and union with them, the line of checking and stifling the liberation and revolutionary movements of peoples, the line of bourgeois, liberal degeneration of socialism.⁶⁶

Along with their so-called 'criticism' of Stalin's so-called 'cult of the individual,' the revisionists led by Khrushchov announced that Stalin's main deviation from Marxism-Leninism in theory was his doctrine of 'the sharpening of the class struggle' with the advance of socialism. They attacked Stalin's thesis that, as socialism is built and as the masses of workers and peasants and revolutionary intellectuals become more consolidated and educated, the more the handful of reactionaries inside the country resort to extreme violence, terror, sabotage and murder - ie, the more the class struggle sharpens. Of course the relation of this supposed 'deviation' of Stalin from Marxism and his 'cult of personality' is obvious, or so the revisionists claim: Stalin's egomania ('the cult') manifested itself more and more in paranoia ('the sharpening of the class struggle'). We think we have already pretty thoroughly discussed the historical reality of the period the revisionists are referring to, so we can deal with these two specific attacks briefly.

First, the 'cult of the individual.' It is important to understand that the attempt to discredit the role of the masses as the makers of history, and the principles of collective leadership - that is, to uphold the cult of the individual - is wrong and anti-Marxist. Did Stalin do this? We quote from a letter he wrote to a comrade:

You speak of your loyalty to me...I would advise you to do away with the principle of loyalty to separate individuals. This is not Bolshevik-like. Be loyal to the working-class, to its Party, to its state. This is necessary and good.

This is where Stalin stood on the question of individuals. It was not his fault that during his lifetime sycophants like Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Kosygin and so on made it a point to drool over him in public, just as they betrayed him later on. It was people like them, not him, who created whatever 'cult of the individual' there was.

But just as we must avoid the error of underestimating the role of the masses and the collective in the revolution, we must also avoid the opposite error of thinking that great individuals do not exist and do not count in making revolution. Can anybody deny the importance of the communist parties and the extreme importance of extremely strong and talented leadership, trained in years of struggle? Do leaders like Stalin, Mao, Hoxha, Dimitrov, Ho, Kim and Lenin grow on trees? Of course not, they are extremely rare, and when they arise we should cultivate and cherish them. The bourgeoisie understands the importance of leadership in the proletarian movement and does everything it can to discredit our leaders and turn the workers against them. As early as 1903 Lenin characterized as 'demagogic' the attempts of people hostile to communism to do this: They say,

'Fine democrats you are indeed! Yours is a working-class movement only in name; in actual fact the same clique is always in evidence, the same Bebel and the same Liebknecht (Lenin was speaking of the German Social-Democratic Party), year in and year out, and that goes on for decades. Your supposedly elected workers' deputies are more permanent than the officials appointed by the Emperor!' But the Germans only smile with contempt at these demagogic attempts to set the 'masses' against the 'leaders,' to arouse bad and ambitious instincts in the former, and to rob the movement of its solidity and stability by undermining the confidence of the masses in their 'dozen wise men.'

Political thinking is sufficiently developed among the Germans, and they have accumulated sufficient political experience to understand that without the 'dozen' tried and talented leaders (and talented men are not born by the hundreds), professionally trained, schooled by long experience, and working in perfect harmony, no class in modern society can wage a determined struggle.⁷⁰

Stalin was such a leader, and its no wonder that the Soviet masses and conscious people all over the world loved him. To call these feelings on the part of the masses manifestations of 'the cult of the individual' is to insult and attack the masses while claiming to defend their interests. As Lenin said, it is demagogy. The masses' answer to this is, No thank you. We will keep our Stalins, Maos and Hoxhas, and you Khrushchovs who claim to speak for us can go to hell.

As for the second point, Stalin's so-called deviation of 'the sharpening of the class struggle as communism gets closer,' let's ask ourselves what the opposite (namely, Bukharin's thesis of 'the dying out of class struggle') would have meant to the Soviet Union. It would have meant complete freedom for the rich peasants, the kulaks, to exploit and oppress the poor peasants. It would have meant complete freedom for Nazi spies, declassd kulaks, bourgeois 'experts,' Trotskyites and all the rest to engage in sabotage and wrecking, and open up the Soviet Union to conquest by the Nazis and other imperialists. Isn't this true? And isn't it true that this is precisely what did happen in the Soviet Union when the Khrushchov gang repudiated Stalin's so-called deviation?! Hasn't the revisionists' adaptation of the Bukharinite line allowed the ex-Nazi West German revanchists, the Japanese militarists and the imperialist vultures everywhere to do peacefully what the Soviet people, at the cost of twenty million casualties, did not permit them to do thirty years ago under Stalin's leadership - that is, reopen the Soviet Union to monopoly capital?

We would only add that the claim that Stalin invented the thesis of the sharpening of class struggle under socialism is a lie. True, he developed and defended it, particularly in his great work Mastering Bolshevism.⁶⁸ But was it he or Lenin who talked of the fact that the bourgeoisie's resistance grows 'tenfold after it has been overthrown?'⁶⁴ Numerous passages in Marx, Engels and Lenin testify to the fact that all the great teachers were aware of the fact. And doesn't the 'sharpening' make sense when you picture the growing or 'sharpening' desperation of the broken exploiters as, day to day, they see the masses building socialism, becoming more highly educated and politically mature? The correctness of the theory is beyond doubt, just as it is beyond doubt that it and Stalin were attacked for no other reason than to lay the groundwork for capitalist restoration. But enough on this point. We think it's pretty clear.

Before summing up we must ask one final question, namely, How were the Khrushchov gang, the revisionists, able to seize power in the Soviet Union? What was their social base?

We will answer the second part first. The revisionists were based in the bureaucracy of the very state apparatus needed for working class rule. Stalin, as leader of the Party and state was in the front ranks of those who were struggling to cut off the heads of the bureaucracy that arose out of the concrete, historical situation in the Soviet Union. But 'Stalin's death untied the hands of the bureaucracy.'⁷¹ Then, 'Being it-

self the material embodiment of the centralization of power and its excessive shortcomings, bureaucracy did everything possible to attribute to Stalin these shortcomings and turn away from itself the attention of the working class.⁷² Within these conditions Khrushchov and his gang moved - laying the basis for making and consolidating their military coup at the top of the state machine.

How were they able to do this? We will not know all the details until the proletariat has reconquered power in the Soviet Union and the records of the entire period under discussion (which the 'frank and open' revisionists keep under lock and key and let no one look at, for some reason) are examined in detail. However, we can point to several facts. One is the war, in which hundreds of thousands of the best, most energetic and loyal communists were slaughtered so that the Soviet Union could remain free. A great proportion of the best died, and many of the worst, the hidden rats, were able to create for themselves soft jobs far from the fighting, to remain safe. There is no question that the Party was weakened by the war, and that the revisionists were given room to move about in. We can see that these people were around in force by reading Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, in which it is necessary for Stalin to refute truly absurd and stupid deviations which must have been very widespread. Another point is the strength with which the United States emerged from the war, its ability to consolidate (through the Marshal Plan etc) a reactionary Europe which was reflected in widespread opportunism among the European communist parties, class collaboration on a grand scale. Stalin did not give into this imperialist pressure one inch. But it was more than easy for Khrushchov and Co to do so, to appeal for a 'lessening of tensions' and so forth, and thus to gain worldwide support from the imperialist powers for his counter-revolutionary activities within the Soviet Union.

But above all we must remember one thing. The Khrushchov gang did not come to power openly proclaiming their program of anti-Stalinism and capitalist restoration. It took them years of sneaking about, changing policies imperceptibly, getting rid of good cadre and replacing them with bad, and just plain lying before they came out in the open. When they finally did they found quickly that they had to resort more and more to open fascism and terror against the genuine communists and workers. The more they have done so the more they have isolated themselves and their policies from the masses of Soviet people who are intimately connected by a million threads to the real communists. 'The end of the opportunists, however, may come soon. The lack of all active support on the part of the communists makes possible their (the revisionists') overthrow by the healthy forces that remain true to the people, forces that exist within the very leading environment of the Soviet state.'⁷³

Such is the base of Soviet revisionism. Such is its instability.

CONCLUSION

Lenin and Stalin were the leaders of the Bolshevik Party that led the Russian working class and peasantry to make the world's first socialist revolution. Lenin and Stalin led the Soviet people in defeating armed intervention and in building the basis for socialist society. After Lenin's death Stalin led the Soviet people in actually building socialism. During the 30's, when future imperialist aggression was apparent and when the petty-bourgeois counter-revolutionaries saw the success of socialist construction and tried to sabotage it and plot with the fascists, Stalin and

the Party quickly put a stop to the growth of the 'Fifth Column.' A few years later they put a stop to the first four columns, the nine-million man 'invincible' Nazi war-machine that had all of Europe, five hundred million people, as its rear area. Under Comrade Stalin's leadership the Soviet Union was rebuilt in an incredibly short time and advanced beyond its pre-war level - at the same time as, under the leadership of Stalin, it was freely aiding the new socialist countries that emerged from the war.

For thirty years, in short, Comrade Stalin led the Soviet Union and the international communist movement. What were his theoretical 'mistakes' that the revisionists, Trotskyites and some so-called 'communists' are so noisy about proclaiming to the world? Sorry, we genuine communists in the United States; under the international leadership of Mao Tsetung, Enver Hoxha and other real communists, will defend the immortal work of Stalin not only from the open attacks of the imperialists and their open lackeys (the Trots and revisionists), but from Stalin's so-called 'supporters' as well. Yes, a strange new breed has lately appeared on the world communist scene, and here at home as well. You might call him the 'Stalinist-Trotskyite,' who 'defends' Stalin in words but actually spends most of his time elaborating on his many 'mistakes.' Why doesn't this new breed get right to the point and go around talking about Marx's 'mistakes.' First, because he doesn't dare. Second, because the principles of communism in this historical period stand, and rightfully so, on the real-life achievements of the world communist movement in general, and on the construction of the first socialist state, the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership, in particular. This is proper. But it's also why, concretely, you cannot attack the dictatorship of the proletariat without attacking Stalin, and vice versa.

Finally, we would like to throw out this question to all the imperialists, revisionists and Trotskyites. And we would like all our comrades and friends to think about it as well, because it's the key to understanding the whole question of Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The question is, What was the social base of Stalin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? How was it that Stalin was able to command the allegiance of the Soviet people for thirty years, and to this day, in fact? Did Stalin, like Hitler (to whom the imperialists, Trotskyites and revisionists are so fond of equating him), have the backing of international finance capital, of Henry Ford, the Duponts, the Morgans, the Krupps and Thiessens, the Rothschilds and the Pope? Did Stalin get billions of dollars plus moral support from world imperialism? Or, if he didn't, did he find his social base among the reactionary classes of Russia itself, the Tsarist autocracy, the bourgeoisie, the kulaks, the Cossacks, the 'experts' and other strata left over from the old society? If not from these people (who could not and whose survivors cannot mention Stalin's name without turning pale and becoming ill), where did Stalin get his authority? From his own person alone? But his biographers say that he (like Lenin) was not a very tall man. Where did Stalin, then, get the authority to lead an entirely new society, one which the masses of Soviet people could not possibly have supported out of inertia, or acquiesced in simply because it was there, since inertia, all will admit, was the one thing that most certainly did not characterize the Stalin period. Why is it that the Soviet people, who had deserted en masse during World War One from a Front that was incomparably less painful, less deathly, less costly in terms of human suffering, than the Front of World War Two - why was it that the Soviet people defended the Soviet Union in

the Great Patriotic War with the blood of twenty million men and women whose Commander-in-Chief was Stalin? A strange fact if you assume that Stalin stood alone, opposed to a hostile or else indifferent Soviet people, ruled by 'fear.'

Where was Stalin's and the CPSU's social base if not among the vast majority of the Soviet workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals, schooled, first, in hundreds of years of Tsarist autocracy and oppression and then in three rapid violent revolutions and two world wars, to the point where they knew what they wanted and how to get it? A great deal of their education the masses gained through the objective movement of history. But a great deal more they learned through the thoroughly revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism as taught and practiced by Comrades Lenin, Stalin and the other great Bolsheviks. This is why the Soviet people and revolutionary people all over the world love Stalin. The sooner certain petty-bourgeois radicals get this through their heads the sooner they will, perhaps, stop playing at revolution and revolutionary theory.

We would like to finish by quoting from a book published in 1959 called Inside the Khrushchov Era, by Giuseppe Boffa, an Italian revisionist. Boffa has occasion to speak of a conversation he had with Molotov in 1956, around the time of the Twentieth Party Congress. Boffa says,

Molotov was obstinate by nature and I think he was probably incapable of disassociating himself, not from the myth of Stalin, but from his own concerts, which had been so valuable in the past, but which, in the changed conditions of the USSR, had become dead and harmful. I don't believe Molotov had always been dogmatic and sectarian, but I have no doubt he had become both in these last few years. I heard him utter, in private, a most disconcerting judgement. He had been reminiscing over his early years in revolutionary activity and then said, 'Of course today there are many Communists, but are they real Communists? There are liberal Communists, pacifist Communists, reforming Communists, and then there are the real Communists.'⁷⁴

The author finds these words of Molotov 'disconcerting' and 'inexplicable.' Just so. Won't a mole be 'disconcerted' by the light of day? Could it possibly 'explain' the sun?

P. B.
D. G.
A. D.
G. D.
J. A.

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A GREAT FRIENDSHIP

by Mao Tse-Tung

(EDITOR'S NOTE: We are re-printing, as a sort of appendix, this fine tribute paid by Mao Tse-Tung to Stalin at the time of the latter's death. The reader will see for himself that this is no empty spate of "obligatory" rhetoric, as were many of the eulogies delivered by the revisionists who immediately began slandering Stalin when he could no longer defend himself. Mao and Stalin are inseparable, theoretically, politically, ideologically, and organizationally.)

The greatest genius of our times, Comrade Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, great teacher of the world Communist movement and comrade-in-arms of the immortal Lenin, has departed from us forever.

Comrade Stalin's theoretical and practical work is an invaluable contribution to our era. Comrade Stalin represents an entire new epoch. Thanks to his work the Soviet people and the working people of all countries have changed the entire international situation. This means that the cause of justice, people's democracy and Socialism has triumphed on a vast scale, on a territory covering one-third of the globe, inhabited by over 800 million people. Day by day the impact of this victory is extending to every corner of the earth.

Comrade Stalin's death evoked the incomparable grief of the working people of the whole world; it deeply touched the hearts of honest people all over the world. This shows that the cause of Comrade Stalin and his ideas have gripped the broad masses of the people throughout the world and have become an invincible force. This force is leading the already triumphant peoples from victory to victory and it will at the same time enable all those who are still groaning under the yoke of the old, vice-ridden, capitalist world boldly to storm the enemies of the people.

After Lenin's death the Soviet people, under Comrade Stalin's leadership, built a bright and radiant socialist society in the first socialist state in the world---a state which he founded together with the great Lenin in the period of the October Revolution.

The victory of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is a victory not of the Soviet people alone, it is the common victory of the peoples of the world. Firstly, the reality of this victory has proved the absolute correctness of Marxism-Leninism, has concretely taught the working people of the world how to advance to a happy life. Secondly, this victory enabled mankind to smash the fascist beast in the Second World War. It is impossible to imagine that victory could have been achieved in the war against fascism without the triumph of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. The victory of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the victory in the anti-fascist war have a direct bearing on the destinies of mankind, and the glory of these victories rightly belongs to the great Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin, in comprehensive and classical manner, developed Marxist-Leninist theory; he opened up a new stage in the development of Marxism. Comrade Stalin creatively developed Lenin's theory of the uneven devel-

opment of capitalism and the theory of the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country, taken singly; Comrade Stalin made a creative contribution to the theory of the construction of Communism in the U.S.S.R.; he discovered and substantiated the basic economic law of modern capitalism and the basic economic law of Socialism; he contributed to the theory of revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies. Comrade Stalin also creatively developed the Leninist theory of the building of the Party. All this further rallied the workers of the whole world and all oppressed classes and peoples in consequence of which the struggle of the working class and all oppressed peoples for their liberation and happiness, and the successes achieved in this struggle, assumed unprecedented proportions.

All the works of Comrade Stalin are an immortal contribution to Marxism. His Foundations of Leninism, History of the C.P.S.U.(B), Short Course and his last great work, Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. are an encyclopedia of Marxism-Leninism, a generalization of the experience of the world Communist movement in the last hundred years. His speech at the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a precious bequest to all Communists in all countries of the world.

We, Chinese Communists, as is the case with Communists the world over, find the ways to our victories in the great works of Comrade Stalin.

After Lenin's death Comrade Stalin was always the central figure of the world Communist movement. Rallied around him we constantly received advice from him, constantly drew ideological strength from his works. Comrade Stalin had the warmest feelings for the oppressed peoples of the East. "Do not forget the East," was the great appeal proclaimed by Comrade Stalin after the October Revolution.

It is common knowledge that Comrade Stalin ardently loved the Chinese people and considered that the forces of the Chinese revolution were immeasurable. He displayed the greatest wisdom in matters pertaining to the Chinese Revolution. Following the teaching of Lenin and Stalin, and drawing on the support of the great Soviet state and all revolutionary forces in all countries, the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese people achieved a historic victory several years ago.

Today we have lost a great teacher and most sincere friend---Comrade Stalin. This is a great bereavement. It is impossible to find words to express our grief at this bereavement.

It is our task to turn this grief into a force. Sacredly preserving the memory of our great teacher Stalin, the Communist Party of China and the Communist people, together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, will infinitely strengthen the great friendship illumined by the name of Stalin. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people will even more perseveringly study Stalin's teaching, Soviet science and technique in order to build their state.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the Party reared by Lenin and Stalin, the most progressive, most experienced and the best theoretically equipped Party in the world; this Party was and is a model for us; it will remain a model for us in the future too. We profoundly believe that the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government headed by Comrade Malenkov will certainly be able to continue the cause of Comrade Stalin, to advance and brilliantly develop the great cause of Communism.

There can be no doubt that the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union will become still more united and more powerful.

For over thirty years the teaching of Comrade Stalin and the example of socialist construction in the Soviet Union facilitated mankind's advance with giant strides. Today the Soviet Union has attained such heights, the Chinese People's Revolution has won such a great victory, the People's Democracies have won such great successes in their development, the movement of the peoples of the world against oppression and aggression has assumed such sweep and our front of friendship and solidarity has grown so strong that we have every ground to state that we are not afraid of any imperialist aggression. We shall rout any imperialist aggression; all base provocations will end in failure.

The great friendship of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union is unshakeable because it is based on the great principles of internationalism of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. The friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples and those of the People's Democracies, the friendship between the peace-loving democratic and just peoples of the whole world is also based on these great principles of internationalism and therefore it, too, is unshakeable.

It is clear that the forces born out of this friendship are unlimited, inexhaustible and truly invincible.

Let all imperialist aggressors and war-makers tremble at our great friendship!

Long live the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin!

May the unfading name of the Great Stalin live throughout the ages!

(Reprinted from For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy, March 13, 1953.)

(Editor's Note: We are re-printing, chapter by chapter, a classic work on Trotskyism, written in 1935 and originally published by the Workers Library Publishers. M. J. Olgin was a member of the CPUSA during this period. Part 1 comprised the Introductory and Chap. 1, Trotsky's Career.)

II

The Social Basis of Trotskyism

We have related in some detail the history of Trotsky's political life, but Trotskyism is not a one-man affair. It is not a peculiarity of an individual. Trotskyism is a social phenomenon. The fact that Trotsky happened to be in the revolution adds a certain prestige to his utterances in the eyes of the unwary. In this, as in many other instances, the personal element cannot be ignored. But even if Trotsky did not exist, the brand of opposition to the revolution which he represents would find its expression. Trotskyism is being reborn on every stage of the revolutionary movement because it is the expression of the attitude of a certain class, the petty bourgeoisie.

Of this class Karl Marx once said that it is "transitional class in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously blunted". The petty bourgeoisie finds itself between the proletariat and the large-scale bourgeoisie. It strives to rise to the position of the large-scale bourgeoisie, but the latter, using the power of concentrated and centralized capital, continuously drives it down to the position of the proletariat. The petty bourgeoisie, subjectively, wishes to become rich, to attain to the heights of capitalist economic power; objectively, however, his interests lie with the struggle against capitalism because capitalism removes the ground from under his feet and because only under a Socialist system will the petty bourgeois of today become a free member of society, unafraid of the future, since under Socialism he will be transformed into one engaged in useful productive labor. The petty bourgeoisie as a class, therefore, is wavering. The interests of two classes, said Marx are "simultaneously blunted" in it. That means that the petty bourgeoisie cannot be as consistently counter-revolutionary as the big bourgeoisie, but it cannot be as consistently with the revolution, as is the proletariat. The petty bourgeoisie is afraid of the big bourgeoisie but is also afraid of the revolution. Some sections of the petty bourgeoisie are attracted to the revolution which represents their future interests, but they shrink before the sharp line of revolutionary struggle. Fundamentally they would like to have class peace, because nothing is more dear to the heart of the petty bourgeoisie than social peace. However, they feel that social peace means their own doom. Therefore, when the proletariat develops a strong revolutionary movement, many petty-bourgeois elements are irresistibly drawn to the revolutionary camp, only in turn to denounce its "extremes", and to don "extreme Left" masks itself. They are also finding fault with the Revolution and its leaders. Not being truly revolutionary, being able only to be led by the Revolution, they often develop an immense

conceit. They think of themselves as the "only" and "real" revolutionists. They denounce the real revolutionist as "dogmatic" and "narrow".

Trotsky's approach to the revolution is that of the petty bourgeoisie.

The fact that he is neither a shopkeeper nor a petty artisan must not deter those unfamiliar with the Marxian interpretation of social movements. It must not be supposed, says Marx, that those who prepresent the petty bourgeoisie "are all shopkeepers, or enthusiastic champions of the small-shopkeeper class".

"Culturally and by individual status they may be the polar opposites of members of the shopkeeping class. What has made them become the political representatives of the petty bourgeoisie is this. Intellectually, they have failed to transcend the limitations which are, materially, imposed upon the petty bourgeois by the conditions of petty-bourgeois existence. Consequently they are, in the theoretical field, impelled towards the same aspirations and solutions as those towards which, in practical life, the petty bourgeois are impelled by material interests and by their social position. Speaking generally, such is always the relationship between the political and literary representatives of a class and the class they represent." (Karl Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, English Edition, pp. 58-59.)

What has been the influence of the petty bourgeoisie in the Russian Revolution?

As early as 1908, Lenin, speaking about the revisionism of Marxism, explained its danger in the following way:

"In every capitalist country there always stand, side by side with the proletariat, broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie, small owners. ...It is perfectly natural that the petty-bourgeois world conception should break through, over and over again, in the ranks of the broad workers' parties. It is perfectly natural that it should be so, and it always will be so even up to the vicissitudes of the proletarian revolution, for it would be a deep error to think that a 'full' proletarianization of the majority of the population is necessary for the realization of such a revolution. What we are now experiencing often only in the realm of ideas: arguments against the theoretical amendments to Marx,---what now breaks through in practice only as regards separate particular questions of the labor movement, like the tactical disagreements with the revisionists and the split with them on this basis,---the entire working class will yet have to experience in incomparably greater proportions when the proletarian revolution will sharpen all controversial questions, concentrate all disagreements on points having the most direct bearing upon defining the conduct of the masses, force, in the heat of struggle, to separate the enemies from the friends, to throw out the bad allies in order to deal the enemy decisive blows." (V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XII, Russian Edition, p. 189.)

With the clear-sightedness of a genius, Lenin foresaw the coming struggle of the proletarian revolution with its "bad allies" hailing from the petty bourgeoisie.

What is the role of such bad allies? Twenty years later Stalin explained this:

"Since the proletariat does not live in a vacuum, but in actual and real life itself with all its variety, the bourgeois elements which are reborn on the basis of petty production surround the proletariat on every side by a petty-bourgeois element, permeate the proletariat with it, demoralize it with it, call forth continually inside of the proletariat recurrences of petty-bourgeois lack of character, scatteredness, individualism, transitions from enthusiasm to melancholy' (Lenin, Vol XXV, p. 190) and thus bring into the proletariat and its Party certain vacillations, certain waverings.

"Here is the root and the foundation of every kind of vacillations and deviations from the Leninist line in the ranks of our Party." (J. Stalin, Problems of Leninism, Tenth Russian Edition, p. 234.)

More specifically, Stalin explains this in his Foundations of Leninism.

"All these petty-bourgeois groups somehow or other penetrate into the Party into which they introduce an element of hesitancy and opportunism, of disintegration and lack of self-confidence. Factionalism and splits, disorganization and the undermining of the Party from within are principally due to them. Fighting imperialism with such 'allies' in one's rear is as bad as being caught between two fires, coming both from the front and rear. Therefore, no quarter should be given in fighting such elements, and their relentless expulsion from the Party is a condition precedent for the successful struggle against imperialism." (Joseph Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, English edition, p. 121.)

The understanding of Trotskyism as representing the influence of the petty bourgeoisie on certain elements of the proletariat and of the Communist Party was repeatedly expressed in the resolutions of the Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Thus the Thirteenth Congress (1924) declared:

"In the person of the present 'opposition' we face not only an attempt to revise Bolshevism, not only a direct moving away from Leninism, but also a clearly expressed petty-bourgeois deviation. There is not the slightest doubt that this 'opposition' objectively reflects the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie on the positions of the Party of the proletariat and its policies."

Again in 1927, at the Fifteenth Congress, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union thus characterized the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Kamenev opposition:

"The denial of the possibility of a victorious building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and consequently the denial of the Socialist character

of state industry; the denial of the Socialist roads of development in the village under conditions of the proletarian dictatorship and of the policy of union of the proletariat with the fundamental masses of the peasantry on the basis of Socialist construction; finally, the actual denial of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. (Thermidor) and the attitude of capitulation and defeatism connected with it,---all this ideological orientation has transformed the Trotsky opposition into an instrument of petty-bourgeois democracy within the U.S.S.R. and into an auxiliary troop of international Social-Democracy outside of its frontiers."

Trotsky as an individual is only a representative of a certain social class. He is a petty-bourgeois intellectual. He started with opposition to the Revolution and the Communist Party, and he has finished with heading the counter-revolution. True to type, he was drawn to the revolutionary movement of the working class but he never believed in the ability of the revolutionary forces to carry through the Revolution to a successful conclusion and he always hated the very essence of a proletarian party. He hates the tedious day-by-day activities of building and perfecting a workers' organization. He hates discipline when applied to himself. But he loves discipline when he applies it to others. When he was War Commissar, he was ruthless towards subordinates. When he was out-voted a thousand to one in the Bolshevik Party, he refused to submit.

During the most revolutionary period of his life he was always full of misgivings. Whenever the Revolution was confronted with a difficulty, he fell into a panic. When patience and endurance were required, he demanded spectacular action. When temporary retreat was the order of the day, he advocated senseless bravado which would have wrecked the Revolution. When the Revolution was gathering momentum for a new advance, he lamented the "collapse" of the Revolution. When a new victory was achieved, he decried it as a defeat.

In this, as in his unwillingness to admit errors, to apply self-criticism to himself, he only expressed his class.

What characterized his opposition when he still was a mere oppositionist was a lack of understanding of the moving forces of the Revolution and a purely rational approach to the solution of problems, an approach that had no relation whatever to the realities of life. What characterizes him now when he is leading the vanguard of counter-revolution is his deliberate invention of ways and means to damage the Revolution, the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist movement throughout the world. This has become his sole aim, the only reason for his existence.

He had a dream once in his life. He believed himself to be able to take the place of Lenin in the Bolshevik Party. Lenin's Party could not have been led by a man who never was a Bolshevik and always fought Lenin. But he failed to understand this obvious truth. Because he had dramatized himself into believing that he was the driving force of the Revolution he did not deem it possible for him to take a minor post. Because he was a petty-bourgeois intellectual he could not place the interests of the Party above his own personal ambition. He therefore had to dramatize himself into the

great intransigent. From this position he slid down to the hideous gutter in which he finds himself today.

The history of his last ten years is the history of continuous downfall. From a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party down to an opposition within the Communist Party, down to a damager expelled from the Soviet Union, down to one supplying the world bourgeoisie with lies about the Soviet Union, down to one who organizes the forces of disruption against the Communist Party and the Communist International, down to one who becomes the inspirer of plots aiming at the assassination of the leaders of the Revolution---aiming at the very heart of the Revolution.

Verily, no man has ever fallen so low.

He had a dream once. He has a dream now. To see the Soviet Union wrecked, to see the Bolshevik Party destroyed, to see the leaders of Bolshevism assassinated, to see the world Communist movement crushed, to see the Communist International wiped off the earth,---how that would gladden his heart! How he gloats over this vision! Of course, he does not say his accursed task to win recruits to counter-revolution by means of radical phrases. He is a master phrase-counterfeiter. But it is to make his dream come true that he directs all his actions.

In this he is a brother-in-arms to Matthew Woll and Randolph Hearst, to Abramovich and Hamilton Fish. Birds of a feather.

III

Trotskyism Defined

What is Trotskyism?

More than ten years ago, when Trotsky still enjoyed the privilege of membership in the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., Stalin found in Trotskyism "three peculiarities which place it in irreconcilable contradiction to Leninism".

Before we proceed we must say a word about the method applied here in discussing Trotskyism. The question is treated from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism. It is assumed that Leninism has proved itself correct both as the theory and as the practice of revolution. It is therefore taken for granted that opposition to Leninism is incorrect.

Now, we are fully aware of the fact that many a reader may disagree with the Leninist point of view. He may be opposed to the proletarian revolution, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the socialist system. Such a reader may find solace in Trotsky's attacks upon Leninism. But then he must admit that he seeks in Trotsky not a confirmation but a repudiation of the Leninist solution of the social problem. With a man of this kind, who draws from the muddy stream of Trotsky's denunciations convenient arguments against Sovietism and against the Communist of his country, we have no argument on these pages. The only thing a person of this stripe is requested to do is to acknowledge that he uses the Trotsky ammunition against

everything that Marx, Engels, and Lenin stood for and against everything Stalin, together with the Communist International, stand for today.

Quite different it is with those who profess to be in favor of the proletarian revolution, who admit the necessity of organizing the working class for the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Soviet power, and who recognize in Lenin the master-builder of the Bolshevik Party and the world-historic leader of the proletarian revolution. The following argument aims to show that you cannot be for the proletarian revolution and for Trotskyism; that if you accept Trotsky's arguments you depart from Lenin; that Trotsky's professions of Leninism are only a smoke screen behind which his disbelief in the proletariat and his mistrust of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party and its methods of struggle are hidden; that Trotskyism is in reality a weapon against the proletarian revolution,---but one that is painted red in order to delude workers with a radical trend.

We may assume that those who are in earnest about the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment---on the principles laid down by the Russian Revolution---of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the now capitalist countries, including the United States, agree to the following fundamental propositions:

(a) That a Bolshevik (Communist) Party is the first prerequisite for a successful revolution;

(b) That there can be only one Bolshevik Party and not many in every country, and that the unity of such a party, its cohesion and therefore its striking power are of surpassing importance;

(c) That the backbone of the socialist revolution is the urban proletariat;

(d) That the Communist Party can accomplish the proletarian revolution only when it leads the entire working class, or at least a majority of it, in an armed uprising against the capitalist State;

(e) That the success of the revolution depends to a large extent upon the ability of the Party and the proletariat to ally themselves with great masses of the other exploited and oppressed groups and classes of the population, in the first place the exploited farmers, the lower middle class of the cities, the oppressed intellectuals, etc.;

(f) That confidence between Party leadership and Party membership is one of the major conditions for success and that mistrust of Bolshevik leadership, when unfounded, is undermining the revolution.

(g) That there can be only one Communist International which leads the Communist Parties of the world.

(h) That one cannot be a real revolutionist and fight the Soviet Union, since the Soviet Union is the greatest achievement of the world proletariat and the example of building Socialism.

But to return to Stalin's definition. It must be remembered that Stalin made it at the time when Trotskyism was just beginning to raise its head. The tract, Trotskyism or Leninism, in which the definition is contained, was published in November, 1924. It is amazing how clearly Stalin saw both the meaning and the future development of Trotskyism at a time when Trotsky still loomed as one of the great heroes of the revolution.

The "peculiarities" of Trotskyism, according to Stalin, are:

First, Trotskyism is a theory of the so-called "permanent revolution", which is but another name for the theory that it is impossible to build socialism in the Soviet Union.

Second, Trotskyism means lack of confidence in the Bolshevik Party allegiance, in its unity, in its hostility towards opportunist elements, which leads to the theory of the "co-habitation of revolutionaries and opportunists, of their groups and grouplets within the fold of a single party".

Third, Trotskyism means distrust in the leaders of Bolshevism, an attempt at discrediting them, at besmirching them.

With a prophetic understanding Stalin points out the dangers of Trotskyism.

"Wherein lies the danger of the new Trotskyism? In that Trotskyism, according to its entire inner content, has every chance of becoming the center and the rallying point of non-proletarian elements which are trying to weaken, to disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Trotskyism now comes forward in order to uncrown Bolshevism, to undermine its foundations." (The October Revolution, p. 94)

Redefining Trotskyism six years later (June, 1930), Stalin had only to elaborate on the "peculiarities" just mentioned. The activities of the Trotskyites fitted well Stalin's original characterization. What he foresaw in 1924 as a possibility and a trend, had become an established practice.

"What is the essence of Trotskyism?" Stalin asks in 1931, and he finds it consisting in the following:

"The essence of Trotskyism consists, first of all, in the denial of the possibility of building Socialism in the U.S.S.R. with the forces of the working class and the peasantry of our country. What does this mean? It means that if, in the near future, help does not come in the form of a victorious world revolution, we shall have to capitulate to the bourgeoisie and clear the road for a bourgeois-democratic republic. Consequently, we have here the bourgeois repudiation of the possibility of building socialism in our country, masked by 'revolutionary' phrasemongering about the victory of the world revolution.

"The essence of Trotskyism consists, secondly, in denying the possibility of drawing the basic masses of the peasantry into Socialist construction in the countryside. What does this mean? It means that the working class is not strong enough to lead the peasantry after it

in the task of shunting the individual peasant farms on to collective rails and that, if in the near future the victory of the world revolution does not come to the aid of the working class, the peasantry will restore the old bourgeois system. Consequently, we have here the bourgeois denial of the strength and opportunities of the proletarian dictatorship for leading the peasantry to Socialism, covered with the mask of 'revolutionary' phrases about the victory of the world revolution.

"The essence of Trotskyism consists, lastly, in the denial of the necessity of iron discipline in the Party, in the recognition of the freedom of factional groupings in the Party, in the recognition of the necessity of constituting a Trotskyist party. For Trotskyism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union must be not a united and single militant Party, but a collection of groups and factions, each with its own central organization, press and so forth. And what does this mean? It means that following the freedom of political groupings in the Party must come the freedom of political parties in the country, i.e., bourgeois democracy. Consequently, we have here the recognition of the freedom of factional groupings in the Party, leading directly to the toleration of political parties in the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and all covered up with phrases about 'internal Party democracy' and 'improving the regime' within the Party." (Joseph Stalin, Leninism, Vol. II, English Edition, pp. 391-393.)

The denial of the possibility of building Socialism in the U.S.S.R. can only discourage the Soviet workers, destroy their confidence, dampen their enthusiasm. The denial of the possibility of building Socialism in the countryside can only discourage the poor and middle peasants, weaken their struggle against the kulaks, undermine their confidence in the urban proletariat and its Party as leaders of the revolution and builders of Socialism. The denial of the necessity of iron discipline in the Party can only encourage breaches of discipline and thus weaken the strongest weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is for this reason that Stalin branded it (in 1930) as "an anti-proletarian, anti-Soviet, counter-revolutionary group, which painstakingly informs the bourgeoisie of the affairs of our Party." (Ibid., p. 391.)

Today Trotskyism no more confines itself to "informing" the bourgeoisie. Today Trotskyism is the center and the rallying point for the enemies of the Soviet Union, of the proletarian revolution in capitalist countries, of the Communist International. Trotskyism is trying not only to disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, but also to disintegrate the forces that make for the dictatorship of the proletariat the world over.

* * *

Our exposition will follow the "peculiarities" of Trotskyism in the order enumerated by Stalin. We shall have to add a number of chapters dealing with the recent exploits of the Trotskyites both in the United States and abroad.

TO BE CONTINUED

Comrades and Friends, please answer these questions and send them in:

1. What do you think of the articles? What good points and bad points did you find in them?

2. Do you like the idea of PROLETARIAT reprinting hard-to-get articles? What would you like to see reprinted in the future?

3. What would you like to see new articles written about? what subjects do you consider particularly worthwhile?

4. How can PROLETARIAT be improved? What can you do to help?