

IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM

FOR A NEW LENINIST INTERNATIONAL

SPAIN:

The Work of the Popular Front
Government

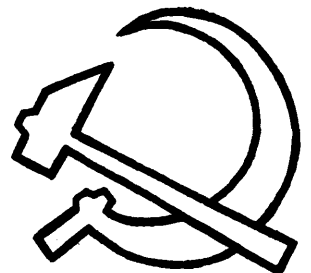
By HARRY MILLEN

The Political Background of the
Spanish Betrayal

By GEORGE MARLEN



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The Work of the Popular Front Government

by Harry Millon

THE SURRENDER OF BARCELONA

THE SPANISH BOURGEOISIE under the leadership of General Franco have, with the assistance of the capitalists of the whole world and of the traitors in the ranks of the working class, succeeded in crushing the masses of Spain.

In order to understand how the defeat of the Spanish toilers was made possible it is necessary to understand the nature and the role of the Loyalist Government and its attitude toward Franco.

The shocking surprise of the surrender of Barcelona and the startling details accompanying the news of this surrender were carried by the world press to millions of anxious and astounded workers:

"BARCELONA TAKEN WITHOUT A FIGHT"

"Franco's legions march into the city without firing a shot." (N.Y. Times January 27, 1939.)

"Barcelona fell to Franco's encircling troops without a shot being fired within its gates." (Herald Tribune, January 27, 1939.)

"The great metropolis was reported to have fallen at the last without serious fighting." (N. Y. Post, January 25, 1939.)

Every day and every hour brought additional and more striking and vivid reports. City after city fell to Franco without a fight. Clearly a debacle was in the making. Apathy, resentment and astonishment prevailed. Uppermost in the minds of the workers was a questioning wonder at the suddenness of the complete collapse, at the utter surrender of the government, at the ease and rapidity with which the fascist tide rolled on:

".....the people discussed mainly the astonishing rapidity with which the Rebels had reached striking distance..." (N. Y. Times, January 24, 1939.)

The masses of Barcelona and the surrounding country did not expect this rapid advance of the fascists and the failure on the part of the government to defend the city. On the contrary the great astonishment of the people was justifiable after what had been instilled in their minds by the Loyalist "defenders." Before the Barcelona masses had been abandoned in this unexpected surrender they had been given every indication that the city would be defended. The glowing promises of the leaders did not prepare them for the despair to follow:

"The taking of Barcelona will not be an easy matter," the government had broadcast. 'The population of Barcelona is ready, and the city will be defended inch by inch, street by street, house by house.'" (N.Y. Times, Jan. 26, 1939. (Emphasis.)

To instill into the population a sense of security and as proof of their intention to defend the city "inch by inch" the government had taken measures to mobilize the population and throw up fortifications in the city:

"The Government mobilized Barcelona's entire population for military and civilian defenses, declared martial law, and threw up fortifications in the city for house to house defense..." (New York Post January 25, 1939.)

No suspicion or uneasiness was felt in the city because of the powerful fortification that surrounded it. On the outskirts of the city, running along the natural line of mountain defenses was a string of first class fortifications. About a year previous to the surrender of the city the "defenders" had begun preparations of these fortifications in case of need. By the time France had crossed the Ebro River there had been completed for the defense of Barcelona the strongest line of fortifications in the entire war:

"The government's main defense lines are some miles to the east. Barcelona reports said the lines were the strongest yet built during the conflict.

"It was said the fortifications had been under construction for more than a year. Work started on them, the reports said, before the Insurgents launched their first campaign against Catalonia." (N.Y. Times, Jan. 26, 1939.)

Can one wonder at the great astonishment of the workers as Franco with remarkable ease, marched through these formidable fortifications. As a final touch of irony, the government had plastered the entire city with the slogan "NO PASSARAN!" —the government then fled and Franco entered. Up to

the very last moment the myth of "defense" had been kept up by the government. Not only among the people of Barcelona was this spread, but through the foreign correspondents the outside world was also given the false impression of an intended defense to the bitter end:

"But this capital is going to go down struggling to the end if it goes at all." (Herbert L. Mathews, N.Y. Times, Jan. 26, 1939.)

However shocking the surprise of the Barcelona surrender was to the outside world and to the Barcelona masses, it was no surprise at all to the Loyalist Government. During all the declarations about the house to house "preparations" of the "defense", the Spanish Foreign Minister, del Vayo, was in France and in conference with Georges Bonnet, Foreign Minister of France. There del Vayo admitted, two days before the surrender, that Franco was going to get Barcelona:

"PARIS, Jan. 24.— The Spanish Foreign Minister, Julio Alvarez del Vayo, in a conference today with the French Foreign Minister, Georges Bonnet, admitted the Loyalist Government expected the early loss of Barcelona." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 25, 1939.)

This same Julio Alvarez del Vayo, three days later, on returning to Catalonia, after his expectations had become a gruesome fact, pretended to be fazed at the catastrophe. Vincent Sheean, who was with him at the time, describes the incident:

"Senor Alvarez del Vayo seemed dazed by the extent of the catastrophe, which he had not expected." (N.Y. Times, Jan. 28, 1939.)

The handing over of Barcelona to the Fascists, and especially the circumstances surrounding it naturally could not pass without an explanation from the leaders of the debacle. The "explanation" was not long in coming. The fact that no attempt was made to hold Barcelona was explained by the leaders as part of a plan to "prevent

weakening the remainder of the government forces" and "to save from isolation some important war material":

"An attempt to hold Barcelona would have meant risking separating the army into two parts and subjecting the city to a major bombardment. It was explained such an eventuality would have weakened considerably the government's remaining forces." (N.Y. Times, Jan. 27, 1939.)

"It was explained that any attempt to hold the city would have risked isolation of some of the best troops and most important war material." (Herald Tribune, January 27, 1939.) (Our emphasis - L.L.)

The audacity of the Loyalist leaders in this incredible "explanation" is almost beyond grasp. In the face of the immensity of the tragedy of the Barcelona surrender one is struck with the unbounded cynicism of this explanation. Barcelona is not some minor advantage at the front that can be sacrificed in order to rally after a short retreat. Barcelona is the backbone of the whole of Catalonia and even of entire Spain. Barcelona is itself the most important war material: the heart of industrial Spain and the center of the war industry; the largest and most modern city of Spain; the chief seaport on the Mediterranean; the key to all the roads and communications. In addition it contained at the time of the surrender a population of over 2,000,000 people, including the most advanced, the most militant and the largest section of the Spanish proletariat.

Try as one may, it is impossible to conceive how the abandonment to Franco of this most important of all objectives in the whole of Spain could possibly avoid weakening the remainder of the Loyalist forces. On the contrary, it only could and did deal these forces a mortal blow. There were very few observers who agreed with the government as to the effect of such a strategy, or were satisfied with the "explanation". Vincent Sheean wrote as follows to the New York Times (January 28, 1939):

"As an extremely sympathetic observer who has never heretofore mentioned defeat, I tell the plain truth, which is that this disaster is irreparable."

Herbert L. Mathews, expressing his views on the meaning of the fall of Barcelona, was just as definite in his opinion of the vital importance of holding Barcelona:

"If Barcelona falls the main-spring of the Republican machine is broken." (New York Times, January 26, 1939.)

But the leaders responsible for this surrender minimized the importance of Barcelona in the scheme of the war, in an effort to play down the seriousness of their criminal act. Even if one is prone to take the government's "explanation" at its face value, even if one is inclined to accept the leaders' judgment in military strategy, yet out of all the declarations, claims and counter-claims one fact remains: the largest city in Spain, the heart of Spain's munition industries, was handed over to the Fascists without a struggle and intact. Even the very elementary military precautions of destroying armament centers valuable to the enemy were not taken:

"The Loyalists had done little destruction before abandoning the city." (Herald Tribune, Jan. 27, 1939.)

The criminal abandonment of Barcelona did not deter the Socialist Premier Negrin from continuing unabated his promises of other defenses to come. Immediately after turning Barcelona over to Franco the engineers of the surrender proclaimed that the army was now in a position to fight effectively:

"Premier Juan Negrin said in a speech to the nation last night that the Loyalist army had been reorganized and reinforced by new men from Central Spain, and was prepared to fight 'to the death'.

"The republican army can now effectively face the enemy assault," he said. "Fresh army units have been brought up from the central zone." (N.Y. Post, Jan. 28, 1939.)

Everyone felt and understood the fatal blow the surrender of Barcelona had dealt to the Loyalist army. Immediately upon the surrender of Barcelona the French and British imperialists set in motion machinery to bring about recognition of Franco as the legal government in Spain. Yet the leaders of the surrender went on promising the workers that they would bring about the defeat of Franco:

"Nevertheless Loyalist leaders, notably Senor Negrin, General Jose Miaja, and Colonel Segismundo Casado feel confident of final victory." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 29, 1939)

While the smokescreen speeches about new defenses and about final victory were being made, chiefly for the consumption of Madrid-Valencia section of Spain, dispatches reaching the outside world told something of the true state of affairs in Catalonia. Again the mythical Loyalist defense was being swept aside by "..an Insurgent army sweeping northward through Catalonia almost without opposition" (New York Times, Jan. 29, 1939 — Our emphasis). The pretense of a new defense line in Catalonia was kept up by Negrin even in the chambers of the Cortes, then holding a meeting in the cellars of Figueras:

"The Premier told the Deputies a new line of defense was being erected in Northern Catalonia which should check the Insurgent advance." (New York Times, February 3, 1939.)

But the cold reality was soon to prove that Negrin's "defense lines" were nothing but empty words and empty promises, for at that very time the Fascists were moving on unhampered:

"The rebels were advancing on every front. There was no indication that they could be stopped short of the frontier, and catastrophe threatened the Loyalist army in Catalonia." (World-Telegram, Feb. 4, 1939.)

It is quite evident that Negrin's promises were nothing but falsehoods, in complete contradiction with reality.

But these were not simple, vain boastings on his part, nor were they calculated merely to spread cheer to the workers in this hour of their misery. Negrin's promises of defense and assumed optimism had their cold political purpose.

Negrin realized that the turning over of Barcelona to Franco without a fight might arouse the resentment of the workers. The prime necessity for the People's Front government just then was to forestall any attempts on the part of the workers and soldiers from taking command of the defense in their own hands.

Signs of such movements on local scales were many and multiplying rapidly. At one point Negrin was shouted down by the masses angered at the debacle. Workers, breaking from the control of their treacherous leaders, arose against the local authorities in several towns. Resentful militiamen refused to obey their officers while one commander was even imprisoned by them. Fleeing Loyalist commanders had to run the gauntlet of resentful Catalan guards to escape over the French border:

"Premier Negrin was shouted down when he attempted to address a crowd at La Junquera..... General Quintana, an important republican leader, was imprisoned..... Bloody incidents were feared in the famished refugee crowded town.

"Colonel Henrique Gallan, former Loyalist commander in Puigcerda, and four other soldiers fought their way into France when Loyalist border guards tried to stop them." (World-Telegram, February 4, 1939.)

But since defeated and greatly confused soldiers were unable to break out of the shell of treachery that surrounded them, the spontaneous revolts remained localized and for the time petered out. Negrin's deceitful proclamation of a "new defense" had its chloroforming effect. The glowing promises of Negrin's were broadcast with special pains, for the government took every means to see that the news about the "new defense line" reached

the ears of the masses and especially of the soldiers:

"The Premier's words of confid-

ence were carried to the civilian population and the troops by makeshift newspapers and by the medieval means of public criers." (N. Y. Post, February 2, 1939.)

SURRENDER OF TARRAGONA

FRANCO'S unopposed entry into Barcelona created a sensation and bitterness among workers everywhere. There were other losses before this, which were also followed by immediate promises of the government to continue with a new "defense", yet no such reaction had gripped the workers before. It is only the immensity of the present loss and the suddenness of the debacle that have magnified these characteristics in the late events. Yet the terrible fate of the workers of Barcelona was heralded in advance — there were many indications of foul play previous to the immediate surrender. In the rapidly moving events since the Barcelona days, it should not be forgotten that this was not the first sell-out perpetrated by the "government of victory". Overshadowed by the crime of the surrender of Barcelona and the subsequent events, and already fading in the memory of a good many workers is the Tarragona betrayal of only two weeks before. The earlier case of the treacherous surrender of Tarragona was so strikingly parallel, as to have been in reality but a dress rehearsal for the criminal Barcelona surrender. Here also the government reported its intentions to make a strong stand in the d e f e n s e of Tarragona:

"The government reported it was entrenching for a strong stand in the Tarragona sector." (N.Y. Times, January 15, 1939.)

But swiftly following on the heels of that reassuring report came word of the true state of affairs which naturally were in complete contradiction to the hypocritical claims made by the government. The surprising news came that a major city of Catalonia had been given up by the Loyalist government without a fight:

"TARRAGONA FALLS WITHOUT FIGHTING"

"Scarcely firing a shot, the Spanish Insurgents swept through lower Catalonia yesterday and captured the seaport of Tarragona." (New York Times, Jan. 16, 1939.)

It might appear now, after the tremendous success Franco met in Catalonia, that the surrender of Tarragona, the second largest city and seaport in Catalonia and itself a major industrial centre, Franco then regarded as his most important victory in the entire war to that time. We gather that from the report of Wm. P. Carney, N.Y. Times correspondent. He then wrote that the fall of Tarragona to Franco was:

"What might be considered Generalissimo Francisco Franco's most important victorious day, not only in the present drive in Catalonia, but in the whole war so far....." (New York Times, Jan. 16, 1939.)

An important feature of this Fascist victory was that key positions leading to Tarragona were "captured" with an ease and rapidity beyond the expectations of the Fascists themselves:

"...Montblanch, a key to Tarragona, as well as Cervera, on the Lerida-Barcelona road was captured sooner than had been expected." (Wm. P. Carney, N.Y. Times, Jan. 18, 1939.)

Had not the entire Catalonian debacle followed so closely on the heels of the Tarragona surrender, the Tarragona incident would have in itself been a major betrayal. The amazement that the well-protected Tarragona had been given over to Franco without a fight was limited mainly to the foreign military observers in that sector. They openly expressed their

complete surprise at the hasty abandonment of this extremely important city:

"Military observers were amazed at the speed of the government troops' withdrawal throughout Lower Catalonia virtually without firing a shot except for rear guard actions to cover the retreat. They suggested that the government might be retiring to a 'surprise' defense line just inside the border of Barcelona province.

"These sources see little immediate danger to the capital itself. They said the orderly withdrawal of

the government forces indicated that it might be part of a long-laid plan to make the most determined stand along the natural lines of mountain defenses near the provincial border." (New York Times January 16, 1939.)

Here we have another clear indication that from the military point of view, the rapid retreats were beyond justification. How well the Loyalist leaders of treacherous surrender have utilized the "natural lines of mountain defenses" is now part of the gruesome history of the Catalonian betrayal.

LACK OF ARMS

EVERY thinking worker upon recovering from the first shock of the incredulous events in Catalonia was immediately confronted with the natural question "W H Y ?" Why the sudden retreat? Why was there no defense of Tarragona, of Barcelona, of Catalonia? The Loyalist leaders explained that there was a lack of arms constantly, before the surrender, during and especially after the surrender. Excepting this explanation from the People's Front Government, the press correspondents reported that the great catastrophe was due solely to the lack of Loyalist arms with which to equip the fighters. The New York Times correspondent, Herbert L. Mathews, reported particularly the lack of machine guns. Another correspondent, interviewing workers who fled the abandoned city, was given the information that bullets were so scarce that they had to be actually rationed out:

"The need was machine guns; in fact, failure to defend Barcelona in the end can be ascribed primarily to the lack of these weapons." (Herbert L. Mathews, N.Y. Times, Feb. 4, 1939. Our emphasis - LL)

"The last rations of bullets had been five per day per rifle on the southern edge of the city." (Vincent Shean, N.Y. Times, Jan. 28, 1939.)

But as soon as the dust of the rapid events began to settle, indications appeared that seemed to belie the claims of the Loyalist government together with the impression that these correspondents had spread. Reports gradually began to seep in pointing to the fact that the Loyalist government had in its possession vast quantities of arms at the time the undefended cities were abandoned to Franco. In Barcelona proper where bullets had to be "rationed" to the workers, the Fascists came into possession not only of the vast industries that manufacture these arms, but large stores of arms ready for use. A New York Post dispatch is printed with the announcement "that huge quantities of war materials were captured with Barcelona" (January 28th). The New York Times correspondent with Franco forces, Wm. P. Carney, mentions that vast stores of arms in Barcelona fell into Franco's hands:

"...victory over Republicans in Catalonia is held all the more significant because of the vast stores of armaments, munitions and food they abandoned in their retreat from Barcelona." (Wm. P. Carney, New York Times, January 29th, 1939. Our emphasis - L.L.)

Associated Press reports confirm this

when speaking of the conditions in Barcelona after its surrender:

"There (Barcelona) great factories and stores of war supplies were in Insurgent hands." (New York Times, January 29th, 1939 - Our emphasis - L.L.)

Details began to reach the outside world as to amounts and varieties of arms. Among the stores uncovered were the very machine guns the supposed lack of which was mainly responsible for the failure to defend Barcelona. According to the New York Times, January 29th, about 1,000 machine guns were found abandoned to the Fascists.

As the shattered Loyalist army rolled back and the Fascist advanced, more munitions constantly fell into the hands of Franco. Practically every town that surrendered to Franco added its contribution to the mounting total of munitions, guns, planes and equipment:

"In Barcelona as well as in subsequently captured towns General Franco's recuperation service continues to discover daily more stocks of abandoned war material. Eighteen new planes and sixty nine new motors were found in an aircraft factory at Vich. Huge munition deposits fell into General Franco's hands in the villages of Ripolet and Sadanela." (New York Times, February 4th, 1939.)

The Loyalist government had these arms when Franco was approaching. Why were they not distributed among the workers at the fronts to the last? Or failing to distribute why were they left to Franco by the Loyalist commanders undestroyed? Nor were these vast stores of arms obligingly left to Franco, the only munitions in Catalonia at the time of the criminal surrenders. The retreating Loyalist army dragged with it over the French border other large amounts of light and heavy artillery, arms, tanks and planes. Many fighting planes had been there but were not used in the defense of Tarragona and Barcelona. Scores of planes crossed the French border at different points

to be confiscated and later to be turned over to Franco, as the legal ruler of Spain. Other planes were left to Franco and a great number flew over to Central Spain without giving battle to the unpushing Fascists:

"PERPIGNAN, France, Feb.6.— At least sixty Loyalist fighting planes today landed at French airports." (World-Telegram, February 6, 1939.)

"Some government planes landed in France, but most of what remained of the government air force was reported to have flown to the central Spanish zone, embracing Valencia and Madrid." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 6, 1939.)

Finally the stream of war materials rolling toward the French border assumed such enormous proportions that it became the cause of astonishment and special comment. The New York Times, which only a few days before, basing itself upon the "information" secured from the Loyalist leaders, had editorialized the lack of planes, tanks and guns, was able to headline a direct wireless message (Feb. 8, 1939):

"ARMS IN PROFUSION SENT OVER BORDER"

The article went on to list such varied items and in such large quantities that the reporter himself emphasized the apparent falsehood of those who had so loudly shouted about the lack of arms:

"That the Catalonian army did not lack the wherewithall to fight is indicated by the large quantities of arms, including ninety field pieces of artillery, machine guns, trench mortars, anti-tank guns, rifles, revolvers, hand grenades and airplanes that have been surrendered to the French authorities by Loyalist soldiers who have crossed the border.....

Most of the Artillery crossed at Bourg-Madame this morning. It included motorized units drawn by big six-wheeled trucks of American make carrying gun crews and towing cannon of 75 and 105 millimeters.

"Other artillery sections entered France at Le Parthus and Perpignan, and numerous machine guns are among the arms surrendered.....

"Enormous piles of rifles and arms were stacked at the frontier. A detachment of fifty motor-cycle sidecars and complete mechanical equipment for an airfield reached Cerbere." (N.Y. Times, Feb. 8, 1939.)

And to cap the climax in this fakery of "lack of arms" there was this most significant of all news. Standing on the tracks waiting permission to pull into France were 200 freight cars packed with arms and munitions:

"According to reports to the French authorities, 200 freight cars standing on the tracks at Cerbere contain arms and munitions, which will be inspected by French experts before their transfer is permitted." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 8th, 1939.)

One is impressed not only by the enormous amount of arms in 200 freight cars but by the fact that they were standing there loaded within a week of the Barcelona surrender. Why was this vast amount of war material in freight cars? If it had previously been shipped in from the outside, then obviously it remained unloaded at the very moment when the arms were most needed by the workers in the defense of the city. And if these arms were produced in Catalonia, then it is clear that they had been boxed in advance for

just such a retreat as had been planned. In either case, this additional vast amount of arms and munitions was in Catalonia when Barcelona was surrendered for "lack of arms."

The striking fact in this question of arms is not the exact ration of this or that type of artillery possessed by the two armies; but that the Loyalist government had a profusion of arms which it kept crated up in box cars or stored away in warehouses during the "defense" of Tarragona and of Barcelona and the rest of Catalonia. Planes, with which it did not once challenge seriously the Franco bombardments. Munitions industries which it turned over to Franco intact. The damning truth is that while there were huge stores of munitions in Barcelona and other towns, the soldiers were being deliberately rationed 5 bullets per day. There were formidable fortifications around Barcelona but the Loyalist commanders ordered the workers to give them up without defense.

There is not a shadow of doubt that the decisive factor in the occupation of Barcelona and entire Catalonia by the bloody Fascists was not the lack of arms in the Loyalist army, but the sabotage of arms by the Azanas, Negrins, Miajas and other cold-blooded assassins of the Spanish toiling masses. For a government of treachery and betrayal no amount of arms would be sufficient to win.

THE EXPULSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

THE attempt of the Spanish bourgeoisie in July 1936 to establish a fascist rule aroused a spirit of resistance not only in the Spanish proletariat but amongst the toilers throughout the world. Thousands of militant workers rushed to Spain from various countries to lend a helping hand to their embattled class brothers. The International Brigades, numbering thousands of workers, formed a leading spirit of the "Loyalist" Army. It was

precisely immediately prior to Franco's drive against Catalonia that the "Loyalist" government expelled the last of the International Brigades from its army:

".....at Geneva the League was suddenly told by Leftist Premier Juan Negrin that he will speed up and continue his recent evacuation of foreign volunteers from leftist Spain until not a single member of

the famed International Brigade remains." (Times Magazine, October 17, 1938.)

Negrin pretended that he was merely complying with the "non-intervention" agreement to rid both sides of international troops. But Negrin knew well that the "withdrawal" of foreign troops from the Fascist army was a farce and a fraud. In a message to the departing Internationals, the non-intervention plans were cynically attacked (which he was here carrying out beyond expectations) and the Italian withdrawals were characterized as a farce:

"The withdrawals of 10,000 Italians was repeatedly characterized as a farce, an ironic pantomime and a fraud." (The New York Times, Oct. 30, 1938.)

As far as the outcome of the Loyalist "defense" was concerned, where defense is only a stepping stone to the next retreat and surrender, the retention of the International fighters at the front certainly would not have made any fundamental difference. But from a purely strategic point of view of rapid surrender of Catalonia it made an enormous difference. These fighters were accredited to be among the best and most seasoned campaigners. They rushed into many breaches to stop Franco. They themselves had certainly not asked to be released from duty; the request as a matter of fact, nay the insistence, came from the heads of the government. "'This painful (!) duty we now ask of them,' Negrin had said." (Times Magazine, October 17, 1938.)

The Internationals had been a bone in the throat of both Franco and the People's Front Government. With the war ever closer to the end they were becoming a political embarrassment and would prove a dangerous leak of information and opinion if kept on to the very last betrayal. The Loyalist Government showed in the over-eagerness ^{of} some of its withdrawals that it was ^{not} motivated by respect for the "non-intervention" scheme, but by a real desire to be rid of the In-

ternationals. In some sections of Spain the International fighters were mustered out of service so hurriedly that no provisions were ~~even~~ made to remove them from Spain. For weeks they were abandoned in Central Spain until passage was provided by the gift of an American millionaire, and were finally mustered over the French border barely escaping the Franco avalanche as it rolled over Catalonia.

"The 'Lost Legion' of foreign volunteers who formerly fought on the side of the Spanish Government were rushed from Barcelona toward the French border today. (The next day Franco was in Barcelona.) They got the designation 'Lost Legion' because they were isolated for weeks in Central Spain after having been mustered out of the government army." (N.Y. Times, Jan. 25, 1939.)

Others of the Internationals were not so fortunate in being provided for and in the rush to get out of Franco's uncoming tide. Disoriented, bewildered, they were caught at the French border and met the resistance of French officials who barred their way into France:

"Some of the Internationals left behind, incidentally, are making pathetic efforts to get through, but so far the French refuse to let them in." (Herbert L. Mathews, N.Y. Times, Jan. 29, 1939.)

Some of these misled fighters decided to drop their International affiliation and re-enlist as individuals to defend Barcelona. But the treacherous People's Front Government, carrying out its ghastly sabotage and surrender, would not have these men in any capacity:

"Several of these men (International Brigaders) said they had offered to re-enlist as individuals to help save Barcelona but that their offer had been turned down." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 26, 1939.)

The withdrawal of the International Brigaders created a little stir at the time. It was naturally not connected in the popular mind with the

betrayals of the past nor with the betrayals to come. The implications of the withdrawals were drowned in rousing welcomes to the heroes on their return from the war "for democracy."

Meanwhile the confidential reports of the Loyalist Government itself disclosed that Franco was receiving additional Italian troops:

"BARCELONA — According to reports here, eight Italian divisions are among the 150,000 men the Rebels are hurling at the government lines on the Ebro front. Confi-

dential reports declare that Italy is sending more troops to Spain." (N.Y. Times, Sept. 7, 1938.)

Franco was strengthening the Ebro front with thousands of newly arrived Italians. But the Loyalist Government consciously and deliberately was weakening "its" army by removing volunteers at the most crucial moment in the war — on the eve of the attack against the all-important city of Barcelona. Herein lies the key to the basic attitude and role of the Loyalist People's Front Government.

THE EARLIER BETRAYALS

THE clear indications of sabotage of the war by the People's Front Government leaders thrown up by the rapid events of the Catalonian debacle, as we have stated, existed from the beginning of the war. Sabotage of defense, of troops, and of arms was rife in the entire war. Even where a defense took place first, surrender always followed, a surrender riddled with treachery.

We are not going to record now the military history of the Spanish war step by step, betrayal by betrayal. But in the light of the glaring events of the deliberate surrenders of Tarragona, of Barcelona and of the entire Catalonia, it is important to recall briefly the similar indications of past surrenders even where a strong defense had first taken place.

The defense of the Basque front was left by the Loyalist Government entirely in the hands of the treacherous Basque Nationalist bourgeoisie. Trouble brewed constantly between the militant Asturian workers and the Basque bourgeoisie. When in the midst of the Franco offensives the Basque President Antonio Aguirre crossed the French border to where Franco had established his representatives, the mistrust and suspicion of the workers grew rife:

"A rift between the ultra red Asturian miners and the pinkish

Basque Nationalists widened into a chasm when the Asturians thought they had reason to suspect that the Basques were inclined to dicker for a separate peace with the Rebels." (N.Y. Times, March 3, 1937.)

That the Basque bourgeoisie did not arrange a separate peace is due entirely to the watchfulness of the workers and the fear of the Basque Nationalists to arouse the spectre of Red revolt. But in their "defense" of the front the Nationalists gave many indications of surrendering to Franco. Characteristic of the role of the Basque Nationalist army is an incident that took place on the eve of the abandonment of the most important city of the Basque country. It showed the strong desire of the workers to defend to the end and the clear sabotage of the Nationalists:

"The city (Bilbao) was in complete control of a few hundred Asturians in the early morning, when they started blowing up bridges... (to keep out the fascist army). That was too much for a battalion of Basque militiamen.

"The battalion moved against the Asturians, herded them on the outskirts of the city and by dawn had cleared out the last group of dynamiters. The militiamen then flew a white flag from the telephone building and awaited the insurgent invasion." (N.Y. Times, June 20, 1937.)

Before its sellout to Franco, the Basque Loyalist government had promised a fight to the finish against Franco:

"Previously the Basque Government under President Jose Antonio Aguirre had declared its intentions to fight to the finish against the Insurgent armies.... (New York Times June 18, 1938.)

The Bilbao territory was protected by enormously powerful defenses:

".....officers who saw the World War said these defenses were more elaborate and stronger than anything they had ever seen..." (Wm. P. Carney, N.Y. Times, June 18, 1937.)

The troops of Franco were permitted by the Basque Loyalist Government to walk through these defenses into Bilbao without meeting any resistance. The iron ring around Bilbao was quietly occupied by the fascist troops to whom it was abandoned intact.

After the fall of Bilbao — which is to the Basque country what Barcelona is to Catalonia — the same campaign of treason, now made wholly familiar by the events in Catalonia, was set to work to cover the sabotage and the blow of defeat. The importance of the loss of Bilbao was minimized, there were promises of new defenses, etc.etc.

"The importance of Bilbao's fall was minimized in government circles. It was said that preparations to take the offensive were well under way...." (N.Y. Times, June 20, 1937)

*

Before Bilbao there was San Sebastian:

"The Spanish government administration in San Sebastian has offered to surrender the city....

"The new overtures were made without the knowledge of the Anarchists and other extremists.

"It is rumored that there is fighting in the Spanish resort city between Basque Nationalists

who do not wish to see it destroyed as Irun was, and extremists of the left, who intend to hold against all odds." (New York Times, Sept. 8, 1936.)

*

After Bilbao there was Santander.

At Santander the treachery of the Basque Loyalist leaders knew no bounds. Their pretensions to organize a defense of the city looked almost convincing. Munitions factories were run on a twenty-four-hour basis. Steps were taken to organize and entrench the army. The treacherous army commanders promised to defend the city to the very death:

"SANTANDER, Spain, June 26.— Basque army leaders entrenching their 55,000 men..... said they would hold until they were destroyed.

"Santander munitions factories are working day and night." (N. Y. Times, June 27, 1937.)

Moreover with the memory of the treacherous surrender of Bilbao still fresh in the minds of the workers, these hypocritical leaders of surrender, to allay any suspicion, threatened severe punishment to anyone who so much as whispered about a surrender, even to the extent of officially declaring "that any man who says 'surrender' must answer to a military tribunal" (N.Y. Times, June 27, 1937). But at the same time it was quite evident that only the workers were seriously and honestly interested in defending the city from the Fascists. The Basques were quietly surrendering to Franco during all these protestations of "defense":

"Although Asturian and Santander Marxists and Anarchists seem disposed to continue fighting, the Basque Separatists....entire battalions are surrendering without resistance." (N.Y. Times, June 29, 1937.)

*

The sabotage of the war materials in the possession of the Loyalist gov-

ernment was in evidence from the very earliest phase of the civil war.

When the Fascist cutthroats, fleeing from the enraged workers, hid in the stronghold of reaction - the ALCAZAR of Toledo - the Loyalist Government forbade the workers to dynamite it and refused the use of planes or artillery in order to force the Francoites out of the fortress. Prieto, at that time Loyalist Minister of Air and Marine, justified this criminal action and gave the following specious reasons for not employing the means at hand to rout the Fascists:

"The Government forces, he continued, 'have not been used up to now to their full efficiency, as would have been done in case of a foreign invasion. I take as a typical example that of Toledo, where a group of rebel officers is entrenched. It would have been very easy for one of our bombing planes to blow up the Alcazar, but our enemies are Spaniards, as we are, and this palace is one of our most precious art treasures.'" (N.Y. Times, August 4, 1936. Our emphasis - L.L.)

In light of the Popular Front Government's consistent policy of sabotaging of war materials and of betraying section after section of territory to Franco, it is clear that the Popular Front Government's primary concern was to save the Fascists in the Alcazar and not the art treasures.

The Fascists who were fighting to secure possession of all Spanish territory were no doubt great Spanish patriots. But they made no false pretenses of preserving art treasures when the life of Spanish capitalism was at stake. Fascist General Mola was then preparing to blow San Sebastian to pieces unless it surrendered:

"A Rebel ultimatum from General Emilio Mola declaring that his men would 'blow the city to pieces' unless it surrendered." (N.Y. Times, September 12, 1936.)

At the beginning of the civil war, the Popular Front Government was greatly superior to the Fascists in aeroplanes and could have crushed the revolt as soon as it started by bombing the fascists out of existence. But the Popular Front Government refused to use the planes on the flimsy pretext that it lacked confidence in the aviators of the Spanish army who remained with the Popular Front forces:

"Were it not for this lack of confidence, military tacticians point out, whole squadrons of planes could be thrown against enemy strongholds to end the revolt." (N.Y. Times August 18, 1936. Our emphasis -L.L.)

Even if this incredible excuse is accepted for the moment there still remains this fact to be explained away: numerous aviators flocked to Loyalist Spain from all over the world to aid the workers in their battle against Franco. The Popular Front Government could not very well plead "lack of confidence" in these class-conscious fliers, and so it paraded a new excuse for not using its air fleet against the Fascists:

"Many Russians, Polish and Mexican fliers have offered their services, it was said, but the government professes reluctance to employ them because international complications might result." (N. Y. Times, August 18, 1936. Our emphasis - L.L.)

This fairy tale about "international complications" is perhaps one of the most fantastic of all the lies used by the Popular Front Government to cover up its cooperation with Franco. The thousands of International Brigaders fighting in the Loyalist army - the Popular Front Government could not expel them at the beginning of the war for such an act would have given its criminal game away entirely - also were a source of "international complications." "Logically", the International Brigaders should also have been bottled up unused as was the air fleet. But the militancy of the workers at the start of the war was too

much for the Popular Front Government to crush completely. Consequently, the Popular Front Government had to be a little "illogical". The International Brigade, whose presence was well known to the workers, had to be accepted by the Government into the army, but the foreign fliers whose existence was not so well known to the workers, were kept grounded — for Franco's benefit.

* * * * *

The crimes of the People's Front leaders on the military field alone is sufficient to stamp them as treacherous leaders selling out the workers. But a war is not only a military conflict but a political conflict as well. The interrelation between treachery of the leadership of the People's Front Loyalist Government and the political interests of all the forces involved is discussed in the following pages.

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(Vol. II, #1 — January, 1939)

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* * * *

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The Political Background of the Spanish Betrayal

By George Marlen

THE GREAT LEADERS of the working class, Marx, Engels and Lenin, hammered out the principles of scientific Socialism through a long and painstaking study of all problems of the struggle of the proletariat against its enemies. They showed in their analysis that certain policies advance the cause of the workingclass, whereas other policies which may appear on the surface quite correct, lead to strengthening of the enemies, to crushing defeats of the workers and to throwing the masses back in their historic march to freedom. Every class conscious worker, particularly the one who is supporting or is a member of an organization which has exercised a leading or at least an influential part in the Spanish and international events is duty-bound to make an inquiry into the policies pursued by his organization. Moreover, it is his elementary obligation also to examine the political position of every other tendency within the workingclass.

It is not necessary to stress overmuch the deepening gravity of the situation. A bloody nightmare of Fascism is steadily overtaking one country after another. There is only one force that can halt the advance of capitalist reaction. This force is the workingclass, leading the peasants

and oppressed races and nationalities. History furnishes a conclusive proof of this. The Russian workingclass armed with the Leninist policy smashed the fascist attempt of the Russian bourgeoisie in 1917 by overthrowing the capitalist-democratic government of the "Socialist" Kerensky and established a workers republic.

Those who have studied the works of Marx and Engels know that these founders of scientific Socialism have laid the theoretical basis for the proletariat to overthrow the decaying bourgeois order. Those who are familiar with Leninist teachings, particularly on the question of imperialism, know that Lenin indicated that humanity had already actually entered the period of world revolution, while the successful overthrow of the capitalist and feudal oppressors of the Russian workers pointed the road to victory for other workers to follow. International capitalism is writhing in the ever-sharpening political, economic and war crisis. But the most revolutionary class of all time, instead of, as under the leadership of Lenin, successfully arising to smash the rotten structure of capitalism, is, under the present leadership, being ground into dust by the bloody heel of the imperialists in one country after another.

THE ROLE OF THE COMINTERN

TODAY the most powerful organization which claims to follow the Leninist policy is the Communist International guided by Stalin. It is an undisputed fact that since Stalin and his collaborators assumed the leadership in the Communist International (1922), the world workingclass has not only failed to establish another Soviet Republic, but has actually suffered the most frightful defeats in all the history of capitalism.

The policy that was pursued by the Communist Party of Spain and was generally followed by the Spanish masses was officially presented to the world proletariat in more or less completed form at the 7th Congress of the Comintern, in July 1935.

The Comintern told the workers that in a situation of severe crisis, an upsurge of the masses and the rise of the danger of Fascism it would be necessary to form a People's Front Government. Such government, the Comintern stated, would not be a proletarian dictatorship:

"If with such an uprising of the mass movement it will prove possible and necessary, in the interests of the proletariat, to create a proletarian united front government, or an anti-fascist people's front government, which is not yet a government of the proletarian dictatorship, but one which undertakes to put into effect decisive measures against fascism and reaction, the Communist Party must see to it that such a government is formed." ("Resolution of the 7th Congress," Daily Worker, Sept. 14, 1935. My emphasis - f.M.)

Lenin explained that there can be only one of the two powers in society: either the power of the capitalists, or the power of the workers:

"Only two forces, in fact, exist: the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whoever has not learnt this

from Marx, whoever has not learnt this from the works of all the great Socialists, has never been a Socialist, has never understood socialism, and has only called himself a Socialist." (V.I. Lenin, Selected Works, English Edition, Vol. VIII, p. 170.)

"Those who have read Marx and have failed to understand that in capitalist society, at every acute moment, at every serious conflict of classes, only the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible have understood nothing about the economic or the political doctrines of Marx." (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, English Edition, Vol. X, p. 37.)

The "People's Front Government" therefore, not being a proletarian dictatorship was and could be only a bourgeois dictatorship. History, as Lenin teaches, holds no middle course between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois dictatorship. The 7th Congress, under the deceptive slogan, "People's Front Government", caused the workers to support bourgeois dictatorship in its "democratic" form.

The Comintern declared that the choice for the toiling masses must now be not proletarian dictatorship but bourgeois democracy as opposed to Fascism:

"Now the toiling masses in a number of capitalist countries are faced with the necessity of making a definite choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism." (Dimitroff's report at the 7th Congress of the Comintern, page 108.)

It is clear that this is in complete contradiction with Lenin's thesis:

"The epoch of bourgeois-democratic parliamentarism has ended. A

new chapter of world history, the epoch of proletarian dictatorship has begun.....' " (The Communist, September 1934, p. 903.)

It is not that the leaders of the Comintern are not familiar with Lenin's thesis on bourgeois democracy. For prior to the 7th Congress, when a different policy was being pursued, these leaders gave evidence of such knowledge:

"Fascism organically grows out of bourgeois democracy....It is impossible to fight Fascism without fighting against all forms of bourgeois dictatorship, against all its reactionary measures which pave the way to the Fascist dictatorship. All this means firstly that the fight against Fascism calls for the systematic exposure of the deception of Social-democracy which conceals the counter-revolutionary character of the bourgeois dictatorship with phrases about 'democracy'" (D. Z. Manuilsky, Inprecorr, June 10, 1931, pp. 548-549.)

If Lenin's thesis that this is the era of proletarian revolution and that to choose the middle road means to roll down to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and landlords, and if the statements previously made by the leaders of the Comintern to the effect that Fascism grows out of democracy are true, then there can be no doubts concerning the nature of the Comintern's line of the 7th Congress. The Comintern laid down for the international proletariat, including the Spanish workers, a policy of supporting a form of capitalist rule which would give rise to Fascism.

This position, which was never held by the Communist International under Lenin, was soon transported from paper into life. In February 1936 the 7th Congress line was injected among the increasingly revolutionary toiling masses of Spain by leading them to support the bourgeois-democratic People's Front Government. This was supposedly the means of stopping Fascism in Spain.

But the People's Front Government maintained virtually intact the entire oppressive machinery of the Monarchy: the bureaucracy, the old army with its monarchist and fascist generals, including General Franco, and even the gang of anti-workingclass cutthroats, the Spanish Foreign Legion. Several months after the Popular Front Government was formed, the Comintern magazine, Inprecorr, admitted the following:

"During the two years rule of Lerroux and Gil Robles a fascist bureaucracy was built up — and it is not dead yet. The Director of the Treasury is none other than Primo de Rivera.....the President of the Committee for Culture is still the man who proposed a vote of congratulation to the Civil Guard, after October, upon their 'heroism' in Asturias. The Republican Ministers are surrounded by their old officialdom, which paralyzes their efforts. Within the offices of the administration lurk countless enemies.....

"And the question of the Army: almost every officer is either a fascist or (more often) a monarchist." ("Secrets of Spain," Inprecorr, July 4, 1936, p. 831.)

The information appearing in the Inprecorr of July 25, 1936, a few days after Franco began his uprising, showed plainly to any person whose eyes were open that the People's Front Government was a screen for the Fascist preparations:—

"It is necessary to call attention to a serious circumstance. It must be said in the first place that if the republican governments of Azanas and Quiroga had adopted ruthless and drastic measures against the fascist league, against the Spanish Phalanx, against the Renovation Espagnole, the National action of the Youth; if they had really purged the administrative apparatus and the army, there is no doubt that it need not have come to a civil war. From the point of view of the interests of the Repub-

lic it was a mistake to appoint General Franco, the leader of the conspiracy of February 1936, military governor of the Canary Islands; to appoint General Batet, who bloodily suppressed the October movement in Catalonia, military commander of Burgos. The republican government tolerated the agitation of the fascist officers, and now we see the results." (Inprecorr, July 25, 1936, p. 900.)

All the preparations for the fascist uprising were being made during Lerrox-Robles regime. Naturally this semi-fascist government did nothing to hinder and everything to foster these preparations. But when the People's Front Government came into power the fascist preparations were intensified, yet in the months between the elections (February 1936) and the actual uprising (July 1936) this government, created through the initiative of the Comintern, also did nothing to hinder these preparations for a fascist coup. The leader of the Spanish Communist Party, Diaz, unguardedly made this admission in the French organ of the Socialist Party:

"Then came the putsch of July 18th, which surprised no one. Preparations had already been completed before the elections, particularly during the time that Gil Robles was Minister of War. They were reinforced and intensified after the elections." (Le Populaire, Sept. 8, 1936. Our emphasis.)

In fact the heads of the Popular Front Government feigned surprise when Franco's uprising was launched. There were naive people around the government, no doubt sincere in their democratic illusions, who imagined that the Government would really fight Fascism. They informed the Government that a big Fascist Putsch was in preparation.

"It appears that the government, although they had been informed that a big fascist plot was being prepared, were at first taken by surprise." (Inprecorr, July 25, 1936. My emphasis - G.M.)

But the Communist Party of Spain urged the workers to place their confidence in the Popular Front Government. No criticism, no exposure was tolerated by the Communist Party. Only four weeks before the Franco uprising when many people were in the possession of information that Fascism was preparing to strike, the Communist Party organ, Mundo Obrero, told the workers that to discredit the treacherous Popular Front Government would be detrimental to the interests of the workers:

".....However, we consider that anything tending to break the ranks of the popular masses, to discredit the Government in their eyes, is suicidal." (Mundo Obrero, June 17, 1936.)

It is noteworthy that the moment Franco staged his uprising, in almost every important center of Spain, it was not the Government troops or the Republican Civil Guards that virtually smashed the Fascists but the workers themselves who acted over the head of the sabotaging Popular Front Government.

"The key to an understanding of events in Spain is the fact that, in the four great cities of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Malaga, where the rebellion was suppressed, the suppression was accomplished not by government troops or by the Civil Guards, but by armed workers." (Walter Duranty, The New York Times, Sept. 17, 1936.)

Had the workers been allowed to sweep on they would have finished the Fascist uprising. But they were persuaded by their leaders, supporters of the Popular Front government, that the task of fighting Fascism must be entrusted to the Popular Front Government. The Communist Party leadership was in the forefront in the work of advocating strict loyalty to the bourgeois democratic cabinet and later to Largo Caballero, insisting that in the country there must be one authority, the sabotaging Popular Front Government:

"The Communist slogan of a single authority — the government — has been put into practice by abstract loyalty first to the bourgeois democratic cabinet and now to the Largo Caballero government...." (G. Marion, Daily Worker, December 10, 1936.)

The Government continued its policy of preventing the workers from stopping Fascism. There was ample opportunity presenting itself, more than once, to put an end to Franco's uprising; but the Government from the start of the war avoided taking advantage of this opportunity. Thousands of Asturian miners armed with dynamite were held back for some time from attacking the Fascist stronghold in Oviedo (N.Y. Times, August 17, 1936). Premier Giral refused to order the bombardment of the Alcazar. However, as days rolled on, the People's Front Government faced a danger from the aroused workers who expected an organized attempt to put down Franco. To cover up its policy of preventing the Franco defeat and carry out the diabolical scheme of wiping out in blood the advanced section of the Spanish workingclass, huge armies were raised, arms were produced in profusion and imported from abroad. The impression thus was created that victory for the workers was a foregone conclusion. International imperialism worked hand in glove with this scheme. Creating the impression that they wished a speedy termination of the war the imperialists placed an embargo upon arms for both Loyalists and Franco. The embargo permitted the imperialists to extract extra profits for arms shipped to Spain in form of contraband. At the same time the British, French, German and Italian imperialists were maneuvering throughout the war for economic and political deals with Franco.

The Comintern concealed these developments and raised a cry that it was due to the blockade of arms that the workers were losing in Spain. While doing this they hid the fact that Stalin's Government in the Soviet Union actually participated together with the imperialists in the "blockade" of arms to Spain:

"SOVIET BANS ARMS FOR SPAIN"

"The Commissariat of Foreign Trade issued tonight an order prohibiting the shipment of munitions to Spain. The decree forbade the export, re-export or transit to Spain of all kinds of arms, munitions, war material, airplanes and warships. It was effective as of last Friday." (The N.Y. Times, Aug. 31, 1936.)

This news item was never denied by the Stalinist press.

Meantime the line of the 7th Congress was applied in France. There was established a Popular Front Government with solid support of the Comintern. This government, the workers were told, was also to be a weapon to help stop the march of Fascism. But peculiarly enough the action of this supposed weapon against Fascism was directed in the interests not of the workers in the Loyalist territory but actually in the interests of Franco. And this action "strangely" enough was given support by the French Communist Party.

It was known that thousands of enthusiastic workers and intellectuals were ready to give their lives to stop Franco, and were rushing to Spain, primarily through France. The French Chamber of Deputies carrying out the policy of French imperialism of siding with Franco voted to grant the French People's Front Government power to halt enlistment of volunteers to Spain. It is a matter of record that all the deputies, not only the Fascists and the Social Democrats, but also the "Communists," voted for the measure:

"By a UNANIMOUS vote of 591, the Chamber of Deputies this afternoon granted Premier Blum's government the powers it asked to take any measures it might consider necessary to prevent recruiting or transit of volunteers in French territory for service in either of the combatant forces in Spain.

"The government's bill passed by the Chamber would punish French volunteers at the discretion of judges and impose fines of 10,000

francs and prison sentences of six months or a year on persons involved in the enlistment of volunteers for Spain's war." (N.Y. Times, Jan. 16, 1937. My capitals and emphasis — G.M.)

The whole world was aware that non-intervention was a farce, that while obstacles were being placed in the path of anti-Franco volunteers to Spain, troops of Mussolini by the tens of thousands were being sent to Franco. But the policy of the Comintern among the Italian workers was no less "strange" than in Spain or in France:

"Let us reach our hands to each other, children of the Italian nation, Fascists and Communists, Catholics and Socialists, people of all opinions, and let us march side by side to enforce the right of existence of the citizens of a civilized country, as ours is. We have the same ambition — to make Italy strong, free and happy." ("Reconciliation of the Italian People for the Salvation of Italy," Inprecorr, August 22, 1936, p. 1026.)

Every conceivable illusion was planted in the heads of the Spanish proletariat by the Stalinist Comintern. In Lenin's day the League of Nations was declared to be an organization of imperialist bandits. When the Third International was founded, Lenin warned the masses against the League of Nations:

"Under the name of 'League of Nations' the joy of social-patriots and social-opportunists, the great Powers, especially France, simply intend to redivide the world, according to their greed and insatiable appetite. The League of Nations is a new Holy Alliance of capitalists against proletarians and revolution. And the newly formed Communist International was perfectly right in pointing out the dangerousness of this weapon in the hands of the social-traitors, who strive to split the proletarian forces and help the imperialistic counter-revolutionaries." (The Communist International, No. 1, p. 71.)

Now the League of Nations, which proved conclusively its hypocritical and imperialist nature, silently supporting the robber wars, in the cases of Manchukuo, Ethiopia, was painted by the Stalinist Comintern in extremely favorable colors:

"The Italian and German intervention endangers the peace of the world, and the League should act to forestall such peril to peace. The demand should go up everywhere that the League of Nations accede to Spain's demand for a hearing. A League of Nations Assembly meeting now would be another important obstacle in the path of the fascist war aggressors." (Daily Worker, editorial, December 2, 1936.)

The entire policy of the Stalinist Comintern was a policy of anti-Leninism, a policy of poisoning the masses with illusions, definitely playing into the hands of Spanish and international imperialism.

*

Whereas the present policy of People's Front Government is a line to the Right of Lenin's policies, the immediately preceding line (1928-1934) was running to the Left of the Leninist line. Under the Rightist line the Comintern has been forming coalitions and non-aggressive blocs with liberals and the petty-bourgeois-democratic Second International. The leaders of the Comintern during the present Rightist line even speak of organic unity of the Socialist and Communist parties. But during the Leftist period of 1928-1934 Social Democracy was declared to be Social Fascist and even Fascist:

"When we speak of the Socialists as social fascists, we are not merely abusing them, we are giving the scientific description... Socialists in words, fascists in deeds! That is what Social fascism means." (Earl Browder, "The Meaning of Social-Fascism," pp. 14-15.)

It was even stated in the official organ of the Comintern that Social Democracy is actual Fascism!

"Indeed, social-fascism by no means needs to be developed into 'pure' fascism. It already IS actual fascism." (The Communist International, Vol.VII, No.2-3, p.101. Capitals in the original.)

The tactics pursued during the Leftist line usually led to the disruption of the workingclass through putschist risings and bloody scraps with workers' organizations other than the Stalinist, and with the police. For example: in 1931, in the midst of this Leftist period the Spanish Communist Party, then a handful of people, 800 members in entire Spain (D.Ž.Manuilsky, Daily Worker, March 13, 1939), compared with its present size, made attempts to overthrow the Catalonian Republic: "Our comrades tried to seize the palace of the Catalonian Government in Barcelona" (The Spanish Communist Party and the Revolutionary Situation," The Communist International, July 1, 1931, p. 327).

*

The Rightist policy (1934-1939) just as the Leftist Third Period policy (1928-1934) are not a new phenomena in the practice of the Communist International since it came under the domination of Stalin, With Lenin removed from active political work by illness, a sort of a narrow People's Front Government policy was laid down by the Comintern directed by Stalin and his collaborators, including Trotsky, in 1922-23. That policy was the one of the so-called Workers Government. To Lenin a workers, or a workers and farmers government was synonymous with proletarian dictatorship, led by the Communist Party. In other words — Soviet power. Lenin said "Soviet power assists the toilers' struggles with the landlords and capitalists, that is why Soviet power is called workers and peasants power:....." And Lenin indicated that there could be no middle ground between a genuine workers government and the power of the oppressors: "...there is no middle. There is no choice: either the power of the workers and peasants or the power of the capitalists and landlords!" (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol.XVI, p. 303-317).

In his greetings to the Italian, French and German Communists, Lenin stated categorically "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only means of defense of the toilers against the oppression of capitalism" (Lenin, "Greetings to the Italian, French and German Communists," Ibid. Vol.XVI, p. 334.)

Against the distortion of this position, against those who told the workers to support "democracy" Lenin carried on a merciless struggle. In his thesis on bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship, Lenin stated:

"What the Socialists completely fail to understand and what shows their theoretical shortsightedness, their dependence on bourgeois prejudices, their political treachery to the proletariat, is, that in capitalist society, with the sharpening of the class struggle which lies at its foundations, there can be no middle ground between dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and dictatorship of the proletariat. Any dream of a third possibility is a reactionary lamentation of a petty-bourgeois." (Lenin, "Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship," Thesis adopted by the First World Congress of the Communist International, 1919.)

But the policy of the Workers Government laid down by the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, in December 1922, in Lenin's absence, adopted the following anti-Leninist position:

"Under certain circumstances the Communists must be prepared to form a government jointly with the non-Communist workers' parties and organizations.....the Communists are prepared, under certain conditions and with certain guarantees, to support a non-Communist workers' government." (Resolutions and Thesis of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, p. 32-33.)

This opportunist thesis was translated into life in Saxony and Thuringia in the Fall of 1923. Leaders of the Communist Party of Germany formed a coalition with the treacherous Ger-

man Social Democrats and established with them what was then called a Workers Government. The leaders of the Communist International, Stalin, Trotsky and the rest, know very well that Social Democracy was then as it is today a vicious petty-bourgeois-democratic enemy of the working class and a faithful agency of the capitalist system. Only a few years before, in the Manifesto of the Second Congress, in 1920, which was signed by Lenin, and of course read by all the top leaders of the Comintern there was something definite about Social Democracy:

"Historical treason committed by the international social democracy has no equal in the history of oppression and struggle. Most horribly this became obvious in Germany."

Yet, the leaders of the German Communist Party directed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International joined with the treasonable Socialists. The so-called Workers Government was formed not on the basis of the overthrow of the capitalist State, as in Russia in October 1917 but on the basis of accepting the capitalist constitution. Here is the statement of the Social Democratic head of the Thuringian Government:

"Asked about the Communists in the Coalition Government Her Froelich said the Communists had surprised him by unequivocally accepting a parliamentary and constitutional government." (N.Y. Times, October 22, 1923, p. 2.)

This meant that the Communist Party of Germany was out to support a capitalist State of the German ruling classes, instead of organizing Soviets and leading the masses towards putting up a genuine workers government. The Communist International gave the workers a choice not of proletarian dictatorship as against capitalist dictatorship, but "Left" bourgeois democracy as "against" "Right" bourgeois democracy. The action of the leaders of the German Communist Party in 1923 was in complete accord with the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted only a few months earlier. The resolu-

tion stated: "The Workers Government can be established on the basis of EXISTING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS....." (Communist International #25, 1923, p. 110.) The intention was to prevent a new proletarian revolution. Through the Rightist trap called Workers Government the Stalinist leaders of the Comintern prevented the establishment of a genuine workers State in Germany and confined the German proletariat within the clutches of capitalist slavery. As Lenin quite correctly had indicated concerning people who uphold bourgeois democracy: "Bourgeois democracy can be backed only by those who support capitalist slavery" (Lenin, Anniversary of the Third International, Vol. 17, p. 43. Russian Edition.)

Utilizing the fact that the German workingclass was chained by Communist Party and Socialist Party leaders to the capitalist State, the German generals smashed the most militant section of the German proletariat which was organized in and around the Communist Party. The disappointment of the advanced workers throughout the world was bitter. Many workers began to doubt the correctness of the Comintern policy in Germany. Then, suddenly, the Comintern leadership made a sharp turn to the Left. Without Soviets, without such ideological and organizational preparations as Lenin made prior to the seizure of power by the masses in Russia, a handful of Communist workers, three hundred in all, staged an uprising in Hamburg, in the latter part of October 1923. Naturally, this Leftist adventure was met with the full armed force of the capitalist State and the uprising was wiped out in blood. This putsch was simply a maneuver to conceal the ultra-Right policy of support of bourgeois State termed Workers Government and prepare to go over to the new zigzag. Almost immediately the Hamburg Putsch was followed by a Leftist line. Social Democracy with which the leaders of the Comintern were working hand in glove directly, was now made a scape goat, even to the extent of declaring that it was Fascist. Thus Stalin laid down a thesis that Fascism rests on the active support of Social Democracy:

"Fascism is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, an organization that rests on the active support of Social-Democracy. Social Democracy is objectively the moderate wing of Fascism. There exists no reason for supposing that the fighting organization of the bourgeoisie can achieve decisive success in their struggles or in their leadership of the country without the active support of Social Democracy." (Communist International, #6, 1924.)

These Leftist theories, completely distorted the correct Leninist explanation of Social Democracy as being not a Fascist, or a sort of a White Guardist, but a petty bourgeois democratic movement, functioning on the basis of parliamentarism and bourgeois-democratic form of Capitalist State, allied with the imperialist bourgeoisie. The Leftist theory of Social Democracy merging with or being a wing of Fascism introduced by the Stalinist Comintern was supplemented with Leftist Putschist tactics. Thus in Revel, Esthonia, on December 1, 1924, two hundred and twenty seven of thoroughly confused, but very militant Communist workers were led into an adventurist attempt to overthrow the government. The attempt, of course, was crushed by the government forces.

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After the brief Leftist zigzag of 1924, which was accompanied with Rightist trimmings, such as the formation of the so-called Peasant International and the entry of the Chinese Communist Party into the bourgeois Kuomintang, the Stalinist Comintern once again laid down a Rightist line (1924-1928). There was established collaboration between the leaders of the Comintern and some leading members of Social Democracy, particularly the agents of British imperialism. The heads of the Russian trade unions formed an alliance with the heads of the British trade unions, the treacherous Purcells and Citrines. In China, the Communist Party was subordinated to the Kuomintang, whose General Chiang Kai-shek was accepted as a fraternal member of

the Communist International. The results were not long in forthcoming. In May 1926, "comrade" Purcell knifed the General Strike in England, and in the Spring of 1927 "comrade" Chiang Kai-shek attacked the Communist workers in Shanghai. The most advanced workers in many countries were again dismayed. Then, a few months later, at the end of 1927, the Rightist line was finished off by a Leftist Putsch in Canton, China. Naturally, the Canton proletariat was butchered in the streets of the city, and the Chinese Revolution of 1926-27 was at an end.

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The Canton "Soviet" served as a starting point for the second Leftist line, which ran from 1928 to 1934. This Second Leftist line was known as the Third Period. Stalin's thesis that Social Democracy and Fascism are twins was dusted off and brought into full play. The leaders of the Comintern issued calls for the "capture of the streets" in the cities of the capitalist countries. Socialist workers were called Social Fascists, and at the instruction of the Communist Party leadership were attacked by Communist workers. The Social-Democratic Party, counting almost a million workers in its ranks, was declared to be a police force assisting Fascism:

"The present role of the Social democratic party of Germany is that of auxiliary police to fascism." (Ernst Thaelmann, *The Communist*, March 1931, p. 222.)

The result was Hitler. The blame for the rise of Fascism was placed primarily upon the shoulders of criminal Social Democracy. As late as April 1933 the leaders of the Comintern told the Workers that Social Democracy is the moderate wing of Fascism:

"How correct are the words of Comrade Stalin that 'Social democracy is the moderate wing of fascism.'" (*The Communist*, editorial, April 1933.)

After Hitler's coming to power in 1933, and the establishment of Fascism

in Austria in 1934, which was accompanied by the disruption of the "Social-Fascist" Madison Square Garden meeting by Hathaway and other Stalinists, the Stalinist Comintern dropped its second Leftist zigzag (1928-1934) and introduced by degrees at first a mixed policy, followed by the present Rightist zigzag. The theory of Social Fascism and Stalin's thesis that Social Democracy is a twin of Fascism was again temporarily shelved. The workers were told that they must not pursue any attempts to unmask the Social Democratic leaders:

".....We must reject sharply all attempts in our ranks to treat the united front as a formal arrangement, as a recruiting device for the Communist party, as an opportunity to unmask the Social Democratic leaders." (W. Pieck, Daily Worker, January 7, 1936.)

The People's Front Rightist trap Governments were set up. Fundamentally the People's Front Government is simply an expanded form of the old "Workers Government" trap, employed by the Stalinist Comintern in 1923. The Workers Government was a coalition of the Stalinist leaders with the Social Democracy. The People's Front Government was widened to include the Left bourgeois Republicans, and a few other Left tendencies such as the Anarchists, definitely and irrevocably opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The People's Front Government worked to perfection in beheading the proletarian revolution in Spain as the Workers government had worked in Germany in 1923. There can be absolutely no doubt that the present (Third) Rightist zigzag (1934-1939) will be finished off as was the first (Hamburg 1923) and the second Rightist zigzag (Canton 1927) with Leftist Putschism, and the Spanish Revolution will be brought to a terrible end.* There can be little doubt that following upon this a mixed line and gradually a colossal Leftist swing will be introduced by the Stalinist Comintern. The old manipulators of the "Third Period," such as Manuilsky

will come to the fore. Social Democracy will be declared once again to be Fascist, adventurist bloody scraps with the police will be the order of the day. In America and other capitalist countries the Rightist ideology will be discarded peacefully, and the most fiery Leftist confusion will take its place.

The present Rightist zigzag ran far to the Right of the 1922-1923, and of the Second Rightist zigzag of 1924-1928. The "Third Period" Leftism was far to the Left of the Leftist zigzag of 1924. It is absolutely certain that the new Leftist zigzag, a glimpse of which can be discerned on the horizon, will be terrific. Organized bands of Stalinist assassins will be roaming the streets in search of victims who dare to open their mouths against the bloody usurper Stalin and his bureaucratic system.

So far Stalinism has led the world proletariat through five opportunist zigzags Three Rightist and two Leftist. It goes without saying that if no Leninist movement arises in time to expose and thus stop Stalinism, this terrible opportunist force will lead the world proletariat through a sixth and perhaps final zigzag. It goes without saying that every one of these opportunist zigzags which brings rightful tragedies to the world toiling masses is declared to be correct, truly Leninist. The policy of the Workers Government of coalition with social Democracy, and then of the Hamburg putsch was stated to be correct. In the magazine, The Communist International, Zinoviev, then Chairman of the Comintern, wrote: "The orientation taken by the Comintern at the close of 1923 remains fundamentally correct" (Fifth Anniversary of the Comintern, The Communist International #1, p.106.)

The Rightist policy in China, which led to the destruction of the Chinese Revolution, was declared to be the only correct line (Stalin, Pravda, April 21, 1927). The Leftist line, with its theory of Social Democracy being the twin of Fascism, to confuse

* Note: This portion of the article was written before the establishment of the Miaja-Casado-Besteiro Rightmost link of the Loyalist Government, which completed the job of turning over Spain to Fascism. The utterly hopeless, last-minute Stalinist-instigated Leftist action of some Stalinist and other workers who in sheer desperation attempted to hold up the heavy curtain falling upon their tragedy, fully confirms our prognosis.

the proletariat with respect to the political nature of both Social Democracy and Fascism — the line which beheaded the proletarian revolution in Germany in 1930-1933, was emphatically stated to be correct before and after Hitler's ascent to power:

"The Central Committee expresses its full agreement with the stand of the E.C.C.I. on the situation in Germany, and the perspectives for a new revolutionary upsurge of the German proletariat against fascism under the leadership of the heroic German Communist Party. The German Communist Party, led by Comrade Thaelmann, correctly worked both before and since the ascent of Hitler to power to tear the masses from the treacherous leadership of the German Social-democracy, the main social support for Fascism, and to win the majority of the working class and the toiling masses for the revolutionary seizure of power for proletarian dictatorship for a Soviet Germany. This position, the touchstone in determining a real Bolshevik attitude, must be widely popularized in the struggle against the social-fascists and renegades." (Resolution of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A., Jan. 16, 1934, The Communist, February 1934, p. 178.)

The present ultra-Rightist line, by means of which Stalinism, assisted by other opportunists, beheaded the proletarian revolution in Spain and held it back in France was declared to be correct. "It takes no microscope to discover the correctness of the position of Communist Parties of France and Spain" (Daily Worker, Aug. 10, 1936).

Let no one be so naive as to imagine that the Stalinist leaders prior to their betrayal of the Spanish masses did not know that fundamentally bourgeois democracy and Fascism offer no distinction in their service to preserve capitalist dictatorship. They did. "The Fascist dictatorship offers no basic distinction from Bourgeois democracy" (Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany on the Decisions of the 11th

Plenum, May 1931). With open eyes as to what they were about, the Stalinist leaders led the Spanish masses to destruction in order to preserve the omnipotence of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the first workers State.

The treacherous, pro-capitalist nature of the Socialists, not only of the Right but also of the Left variety was well known to them.

"The so-called Left leaders of Social Democracy were characterized by the VIII Plenum as the most dangerous enemies in the labor movement. This characterization has been completely confirmed." (Resolutions Sixth Congress of the C.I.)

There was only one incorrect statement in the above: it is not Social Democracy but Stalinism is the most dangerous enemy in the labor movement.

They knew that the Spanish Socialists were indirectly working for fascism. As late as September 1935, when the Rightist zigzag had not yet assumed its extreme limits, Manuilsky wrote:

"The Spanish Socialists, as is well known, joined the coalition government which passed an anti-strike law, restricted the rights of the trade unions, introduced the so-called Protection of Public Order Act under which Social Democratic workers who took part in the October battles are now being tried; they did everything to lull the vigilance of the workers towards the monarchist and Fascist elements." (The Work of the 7th Congress, p.45.)

And still later the Stalinists poured sweet but deadly poison into the ears of the workers about "the brave Spanish Socialist Party, and its leader, Premier Caballero" (Daily Worker, March 1, 1937).

The Stalinist leaders who know Lenin by heart, are fully conscious of the fact that capitalist democracy is not the enemy of Fascism, is not the destroyer of Fascism, but a form of rule of the capitalists which readily

gives way to Fascism when it is a question of preserving the capitalist system:

"What are the ideas, the misconceptions, with which the social fascists confuse and disarm the workers?

"First, is the idea that fascism is the opposite of capitalist democracy, and this democracy is therefore the means of combating and defeating fascism. This false idea serves a double purpose. By means of counterposing 'democracy against dictatorship' it tries to hide the fact that the capitalist 'democracy' is only a form of the capitalist dictatorship; it tries to identify in the worker mind the fascist dictatorship with the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, and thus cause the worker to reject the road of revolution. At the same time, this slogan is used to hide the fact that capitalist democracy is not the enemy, but the mother of fascism; that it is not the destroyer but the creator of fascism. It uses the truth that fascism destroy democracy, to propagate the falsehood that democracy will also destroy fascism." (Earl Browder, Report to the Eighth Convention, "Communism in the United States," p. 28. My emphasis.—G.M.)

Just as during the Rightist period, during the Leftist period of the Stalinist policies, some fragments of truth can be found in the publications of Stalin's Comintern. The following is an absolutely correct statement which can be applied to everyone claiming to uphold Leninism:

".....HE WHO DOES NOT DECIDE IN FAVOR OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT CONSCIOUSLY PROMOTES THE CAUSE OF FASCISM." (Inprecorr, December 15, 1933, p. 1242.)

No amount of lying and hypocritical howling can erase the fact that the Stalinist leaders know precisely that in the present era, when the capitalist system is in decay, bourgeois democracy inevitably gives rise to Fascism unless the proletariat overthrows the

capitalist system and establishes proletarian dictatorship. A British Stalinist, Dutt, stated the following:

"Fascism can be fought. Fascism can be fought and defeated. But Fascism can only be fought and defeated if it is fought without illusions and with clear understanding of the issues. The causes of Fascism lie deep-rooted in existing society. Capitalism in its decay breeds Fascism. Capitalist democracy in decay breeds Fascism. 'The only final guarantee against Fascism, the only final wiping out of the causes of Fascism, is the victory of the proletarian dictatorship.' (R. Palme Dutt, "Fascism and Social Revolution," p. X)

Quite conscious of the fact that by preventing the proletarian revolution they open the road to the Fascist rule of the bourgeoisie, the Stalinist leaders were training the minds of their followers to accept Fascism as an inevitable condition preceding proletarian revolution: "Fascism is the last stage of capitalism, as has been said a thousand times" (Daily Worker, October 15, 1935).

"The capitalist world is heading for revolution but before succumbing it goes through the phase of Fascism. Fascism is going to be the last stage of capitalism before the world revolution." (D. Z. Manuilsky, Speech at the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

To prevent the emancipation of the Spanish toiling masses so that the domination of Stalinism in the first workers State is not threatened from below, the Stalinist leaders urged the workers to die for democracy, which the Stalinists knew very well was not the guarantee against Fascism, which, the treacherous Stalinists knew, is the mother of Fascism.

"Tomorrow we Communists march in international solidarity with our heroic brothers in Spain who are giving their lives in defense of democracy." (Wm. Z. Foster, Daily Worker, Nov. 27, 1936.)

The conscious betrayers of the

masses, the big bureaucrats have already left Spain. The hundreds of thousands of rank and file members and petty functionaries in the Stalinist trap, called the Communist Party of Spain, without doubt sincere, but thoroughly confused by Stalinism, are being butchered by the Fascist and the bourgeois democratic generals who have now openly joined hands with Franco. If the revolutionary workers are to learn from the ghastly tragedy in Spain, if they are to save millions of their class brothers from the bullets of the treacherous butcher Chiang Kai-shek, and the Fascist and "democratic" generals in the rest of the capitalist

world, if they are to save what remained of the October revolution in the Soviet Union, they must expose and drive out the opportunist enemies from their own ranks. The most powerful of all the opportunist enemies, which is at bottom responsible for the present period of reaction, is Stalinism. Unless Stalinism, and its zigzag method of betraying the masses to capitalism is exposed, the Stalinists will be able to extricate themselves from the present difficult pass and through a Leftist policy continue leading the world proletariat to destruction.

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THE INEVITABLE QUESTION arises Why should Stalin, a man who participated together with Lenin in bringing about a victorious proletarian revolution in Russia, lay down policies to disrupt proletarian revolution throughout the capitalist world.

Investigation discloses that after the conclusion of the civil war in Russia the Workers State was faced with a problem of introducing Workers Democracy in accordance with the Party program adopted in 1919, and reiterated in the Resolution on Workers Democracy at the Xth Congress of the Party in 1921. The actual carrying out of the thesis of Workers Democracy would present a possibility for new people coming to the front and displacing the old leaders. To prevent such eventualities by securing the permanency of power in the hands of those who were at the head of the Party and the State, an understanding was entered into by Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, Trotsky and others to form a collective, permanent control. The extension of proletarian revolution to other countries would threaten the perpetuity of the Russian leadership. On this point of organizational opportunism the Russian leaders taking advantage of Lenin's illness, broke with Leninism. In the beginning, at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, in December 1922, and at the Twelfth Congress of the Russian Party in the Spring of 1923, there was complete harmony among these leaders on the question of stif-

ling the German Revolution through the trap of Workers Government, and through the strengthening of the bureaucratic control in the Soviet Union itself (the Georgian question, etc.) It so happened that the material power rested in the hands of Stalin who became General Secretary through the understanding with Zinoviev and Kamenev. There started a process of centralization of power of Stalin and elimination of the partners from important posts. There was developed a system of targets and scape-goats with Trotsky as the chief scape-goat. Since all the topmost leaders were involved in this opportunist game, they could not very well come out before the world proletariat and tell the story without exposing themselves. This naturally played into the hands of Stalin, who using the material power in his hands wiped out most of the co-plotters through a skillful use of terrific organizational pressure. The centralization process still goes on, spelling destruction of all those who participated in the October Revolution. To the extent that these people are wiped out, Stalin's power grows. A privileged bureaucratic cast has gradually developed within the first Workers State. The economic well-being and administrative power of this bureaucratic layer grows uninterrupted. It does not require deep penetration to recognize that in such scheme of things a victorious proletarian avalanche in any capitalist country would create a possibility of establishment of the widest Workers Democracy in the

newly-arisen workers state. That would tend to arouse the Russian workers against their privileged bureaucracy. To forestall such development, Stalin and his bureaucrats must prevent the overthrow of the capitalist system. The instrument through which they accomplish this is the Comintern, bureaucratized and directed by loyal agents of Stalin. The method is the zigzag policy, superficially in some features resembling a Leninist one, in reality running either to the Right or to the Left of the Leninist policy, accomplishing the results required by Stalin.

Needless to say, if no revolutionary party is formed to smash Stalinism and the situation continues unchanged in so far as the Stalinist domination within the Soviet Union, and the disruption of the proletarian revolution outside, universal Fascism is an absolute certainty. Opportunism, Lenin taught, is the betrayal of the basic interests of the proletariat for the temporary interests of a privileged section of the working class. Naturally Stalinist opportunism must eventually lead to self-destruction, as does all opportunism. By stopping the proletarian revolution outside, the usurper Stalin has been enjoying tremendous power in the first Workers State. But bureaucratic distortion of the Workers State carries within itself the seed of its own destruction. Sooner or later world imperialism will

fall upon the Soviet Union, will wipe out the Russian proletariat and all the remnants of the October Revolution — unless Stalinism itself is wiped out by the workers in time and the world proletariat once more receives the guidance of revolutionary Marxism, which alone can enable the masses to save the first Workers State and overthrow the world capitalist system.

There is no other way for the Stalinist workers but to break with the blind, destructive attachment to the chief betrayers of the world proletariat. The task of the hour is to start immediately building a new Leninist Party. It must be done before it is too late.

But workers breaking with one opportunist organization very often fall victims to another. In Germany in 1923 and in 1930-1933, as well as in Spain, Socialist workers, during the consummation of the betrayals, changed Social Democracy for Stalinism. It is an unfortunate fact that many workers, in leaving Stalinism, join some other pseudo-Bolshevik organization which through its own method, helps Stalin lead the proletariat into the hell of Fascism. This danger must be guarded against by the workers. They must carefully and with the greatest mistrust examine every political program in order to avoid being attached to Stalinism through some "anti-Stalinist" snare.

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II

THE TROTSKYITES' PART IN THE
SPANISH BETRAYAL

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TROTSKY and his followers in their own way have assisted Stalin and international imperialism to betray the toiling masses of Spain. Naturally it sounds utterly preposterous to level a charge of assistance to Stalinism against a man who is known to have bitterly "fought" Stalin from 1923 on. However, it is high time to expose this wide-spread, long-established, fab-

ricated story of Trotsky fighting Stalin. This fairy tale was incautiously laid bare by no one else than Trotsky himself after he had been exiled to Turkey:

"To the last possibility I avoided the struggle. This is not the place to discuss the question whether it was correct at the price of

the greatest personal concessions to tend to preserve the ground of collective work, or it was necessary for me to go over to an offensive along the entire line, despite the absence for this of political bases. The fact that I chose the first path, and despite everything do not repent it. There are victories which lead into a blind alley, and there are defeats which open up new ways." (Leon Trotsky, "What Happened and How," p. 34. Six articles for the bourgeois press. My emphasis.)

In the above statement Trotsky says that not only did he do his best to avoid the struggle but he intimates that he chose defeat.

It must be pointed out that Trotsky really does not tell the actual story. The fact is — the astounding, unbelievable and really monstrous fact is that Trotsky in 1922-23 secretly participated with Stalin, Zinoviev and others to set up a collective bureaucratic rule in the Soviet Union. The unimpeachable evidence proves unmistakably that Trotsky took part in the Stalinist betrayal of the German revolution of 1923. Trotsky knew before the October events in Germany that the Brandler leadership supported by Zinoviev and Stalin was worthless. Here is the proof, out of Trotsky's own mouth:

".....Comrade Trotsky, before leaving the session of the Central Committee (September 1923 Plenum), made a speech which profoundly disturbed all the members of the Central Committee and in which he alleged that the leadership of the German Communist Party was WORTHLESS and that the Central Committee of the German C.P. was permeated with fatalism, sleepy-headedness, etc. Comrade Trotsky then declared that the German revolution was DOOMED TO FAILURE...." ("Documents of the Conference of the C.P.S.U." Jan. 1924, p. 14, quoted in "Third International After Lenin," by L. Trotsky, p. 94.)

We see from the above that in September, 1923 Trotsky in plain words stated

that the leadership of the German Party was worthless and that the German revolution was doomed. This clear and definite statement was made by Trotsky within the four walls of the meeting room of the Stalinist Central Committee. By then Stalin had already broken his complete unity with Trotsky which had existed in December 1922 at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern and up to the Spring of 1923 at the 12th Congress of the Russian Party. Stalin was already setting afoot his campaign to tear down Trotsky. Trotsky's evaluation of the opportunist Brandler leadership was intended as a gesture of "opposition." In reality Trotsky worked with Zinoviev and Stalin to carry out the betrayal of the German workers. While to the Stalinist top bureaucrats he told the truth concerning the rottenness of the German Communist Party leaders, to the workers outside he told an altogether different story. A few weeks after the September 1923 Plenum, he delivered a speech before the metal workers of the Moscow district. The speech was reported in the Pravda, October 21st, 1923. It was printed in The Worker here in America in the December 1, 1923 issue. Here is what Trotsky told the workers:

"The question is; this party is still young. Will she find in herself the will to effect a revolution, and will she be able to do so? In this respect circumstances favor the working class of Germany. They are ready for the struggle, and in order to act they must know that at their head stands a party **READY TO LEAD THEM** from struggle to struggle and **TO FINAL VICTORY.**" (My emphasis — G.M.)

It is obvious that Trotsky consciously and deliberately LIED to the workers of the whole world about the German situation. He worked with Zinoviev and Stalin in setting up the Rightist trap for the German masses. Having once started out upon the road of Stalinist treachery and crime and political collaboration with Stalin, Trotsky never swerved from this course. He continued piling crime upon crime. When Max Eastman, although a political muddlehead, discovered that Lenin in a letter which came to be known as his will, called for the removal of Stalin

from the General Secretaryship of the Russian Communist Party and also the damning facts about the usurpation of power by Stalin, Zinoviev and others and made these facts known to the workers outside of Russia, Trotsky, angling for amity with the bureaucratic clique, promptly rushed to Stalin's assistance. Here is how Trotsky viciously and criminally LIED to the workingclass:

"Comrade Lenin HAS NOT LEFT ANY 'WILL'; the character of his relations to the Party, and the character of the Party itself, excludes the possibility of such a 'will'... All talk with regard to a concealed or mutilated 'will' is nothing but a DESPICABLE LIE.... It suffices to ask: If we assume that the malicious characterization of our leading Party comrades given by Eastman is only partly correct, how is it possible that this Party should have emerged from long years of illegal struggle, how could it stand at the head of masses of millions, carried through the greatest revolution of the world, to further the formation of revolutionary parties in other countries?"

"There is no sincere worker who will believe in the picture painted by Eastman." (Inprecorr, September 3, 1925, pp. 105, 106. My emphasis-G.M.)

Thus Trotsky gave Stalin a valuable hand, assisting in ditching the German revolution of 1923, shielding Stalin from Lenin's opposition and from exposure and helping him to remain General Secretary of the Party and in the control of the Comintern and the Soviet Union. With the process of centralization of Stalin's power Trotsky became the chief target of Stalinism. Although no doubt hating Stalin immensely Trotsky, nevertheless, in order to hide his own crimes against the proletariat, went right along collaborating with Stalin. He supported Stalin's policy of spreading lies among the workers that the bourgeois Kuomintang could be transformed into a revolutionary party:

"We approve of Communist support to the Kuomintang party in China, which we are endeavoring to revolu-

tionize." (Leon Trotsky, Inprecorr, May 29, 1924.)

The destruction of the Chinese revolution proceeded with Trotsky keeping secret from the proletariat all the treacherous acts of Stalin and the leadership of the Comintern. Only after Chiang Kai-shek openly attacked the Chinese workers did Trotsky, as a fake gesture of "opposition", put up a "demand" for the withdrawal of the Chinese Party from the Kuomintang:

"You are quite right when you point out that the Russian opposition, as late as the first half of 1927, did not demand openly the withdrawal from the Kuo Min Tang." (Letter to M. Shachtman, quoted on page 19 of Max Shachtman's Introduction to "Problems of the Chinese Revolution," by Leon Trotsky.)

Trotsky was tied for ever to Stalinism through the initial crime of conspiring to form a collective bureaucratic leadership in Russia and of betraying Lenin's policy of removing Stalin from the post of power of general secretary (see IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM #3). Therefore, when Stalin's policy in China became too obviously opportunist, in 1927, the most advanced section of the Comintern workers and within the Russian Party seethed with excitement and were assailed by doubts regarding the Comintern leadership. In Russia the oppositionist rank-and-file were aroused, demanding a smashing drive against Stalin, feeling that through the lesson of the defeat caused by Stalin's policies a new leadership could step in to take the helm of the government. Trotsky, realizing that a conclusive drive against Stalin would inevitably reveal his own criminal role, stifled the oppositionists:

"During the first days after the coup d'etat by Chiang Kai-shek, I was obliged to pour many a bucket of cold water over the hot heads of my young friends — and over some not so young. I tried to show them

that the opposition could not rise on the defeat of the Chinese revolution." (L.Trotsky, "My Life", p.530.)

Stalin thus was given a free hand to go on with his gruesome game. After the betrayal of the Chinese toilers through the Rightist zigzag, Stalin, around the turn of 1928 introduced the Leftist "Third Period".

Throughout the Leftist "Third Period" (1928-1934), while Stalin pushed the German workingclass into the hell of Fascism, Trotsky never tired telling the workers a totally false tale that the Stalinist leaders were revolutionists, that Stalin was committing blunders, that the Stalinist bureaucrats would turn towards the Leninist policy: "For a turn in the policy of the C. P. G." (The Militant June 25, 1932). "The about-face of the Stalinists is INEVITABLE!" (Leon Trotsky, "Germany What Next", p. 182. My emphasis — G.M.) The Trotskyites were telling the workers that the Stalinist machine of counter-revolution, the Comintern, was a revolutionary party "today and tomorrow!"

"Our differences with the Party's policy, which isolates it from the masses and impedes the revolutionary movement in this and other countries, cannot eliminate the fact that the Communist Party is the only working class party in the field, the only revolutionary party which stands for the interests of the working class TODAY and TOMORROW." (The Militant, October 29, 1932. My emphasis - G.M.)

After Stalin betrayed the German workers to Hitler through the Leftist zigzag, he was compelled, in order to cover up the crime and continue preventing revolution in the future, once again to resort to the Rightist zigzag. It was necessary for him again to collaborate directly with the counter-revolutionary, petty-bourgeois-democratic Social-democracy, as in the first Rightist zigzag of 1922, 1923. He was going to repeat the formula that a middle-of-the-way government could be organized on the basis of "existing democratic institutions." Stalin would whitewash social democra-

cy once again. His agents were to tell the workers that at this moment it was necessary to "postpone" the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and to choose bourgeois democracy as against Fascism. Trotsky continued his long and uninterrupted political collaboration with Stalin. He helped to pave the way for the Rightist line:

"Immediately after the accession of Hitler, Trotsky wrote that the issue presenting itself to the masses was no longer Bolshevism versus Fascism but Fascism versus Democracy." (The New International, October 1938, p. 301.)

When the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucrats in France in 1934 signed the so-called united front pact, Trotsky took a wide swing to the Right. He came out with a thesis, reactionary and anti-Leninist to the core, poisoning the masses concerning the true nature of Social-democracy.

"The destiny of the proletariat depends, in large measure, in our epoch upon the resolute manner with which the social-democracy will succeed in the brief interval which is vouchsafed it by the march of development, in breaking with the bourgeois state, in transforming itself and in preparing itself for the decisive struggle against Fascism." (The New International, Sept-Oct. 1934.)

Stalin was making a deal with the Social-democracy specifying in the pacts signed by his agents and Social-democrats in France that "political discussion" and mutual "criticism" was to be avoided. Plainly, it was an implied understanding jointly to betray the masses in the coming revolutionary situations. Trotsky's anti-Leninist reevaluation of Social-democracy helped to whitewash not only the Social-democratic agency of imperialism but also the Comintern, the agency of the Stalinist bureaucracy. A clear implication in Trotsky's thesis was this: if there was a possibility that Social-democracy, known during Lenin's life as a stinking corpse, would "transform itself", was there no possibility that Social-democracy, now

directly collaborating with Stalinism would bring pressure to bear upon the Comintern in the revolutionizing direction! Trotsky has a zigzag policy just as Stalin has. Trotsky's zigzags are tied to Stalin's with invisible threads. That is the reason why, like Stalin, Trotsky veers further away from Marxism with each zigzag. Thus, in the first two Rightist zigzags, Trotsky did not lean so far to the Right as in the latest zigzag (1934-1939). In the first Rightist zigzag (1922-23) he only gave support to the Stalinists collaboration with the Social democracy. In the second Rightist zigzag (1924-1928) he only approved of support to the Kuomintang. But in the present Rightist zigzag he was frantically pressing to have his forces actually enter the Social-democratic Second International.

One can easily see of what immense aid to Stalin and the bourgeoisie was Trotsky's reactionary thesis hinging the destiny of the proletariat upon the hope that Social-democracy would break with the bourgeois state.

Immediately after the Trotskyites adopted this thesis they began in Spain and elsewhere to instill confidence in the mind of the proletariat towards its deadly enemy, the Socialist Party:

"If with us in Spain, the unification which is being achieved predominantly around the Socialist Party, has a progressive value, this is due to the present attitude of the S.P., which is inspiring increasing CONFIDENCE." (The New International, Nov. 1934. My emphasis--G.M.)

"The problem resides in knowing whether the S.P. will be willing to defend its existence and not yield to Fascism at the decisive moment. The Austrian Socialists have already demonstrated this willingness and the Spanish Socialist party is demonstrating it in a much better form, to the point of being the only party which under the present circumstances offers a few guarantees. The willingness is insufficient unless it is accompanied by

seriousness...At the present moment which may be decisive, the Socialist party is the only one that offers some guarantees, not only of willingness, but of seriousness as well." (The New International, Nov. 1934, p. 102.)

With systematic precision, Trotsky and his opportunist hangers-on pursued their destructive work among the Spanish and other workers. Literature containing confusion, outright consciously contrived lies, and strangulating illusions was being spread by the Trotskyites among the unfortunate Spanish workers. Here is a sample of the typical poison of the Trotskyites:

"The leftward evolution of the international social-democracy after the defeats of Germany and Austria, came in Spain more rapidly than elsewhere. Caballero joined the left wing, of which the Socialist Youth, deeply critical of both the Second and Third Internationals, was the mainstay. The left wing declared for preparing the proletarian revolution, to be achieved by armed insurrection. The center wing of the party, led by Prieto and Gonzales Pena, publicly pledged, in the Cortes, that any attempt at a fascist regime would be met by armed revolution. Only a small right wing under Besteiros refused to learn from Austria and Germany. In the U.G.T. Caballero introduced a regime of bold struggle and the right-wing Socialists who objected were forced to resign from its executive. Precisely because they had been so ideologically dependent on the Kautskys and Bauers, the fall of their teachers enabled the SPANISH SOCIALISTS TO MAKE AN EXTRA-ORDINARILY SHARP BREAK WITH THEIR PAST.

"The bourgeoisie, reading politics by way of bourgeois analogies, thought this was the bluff -- until they were scared into conviction by the discovery of large depots of arms in socialist homes and buildings.

"With the Socialist Party ready to struggle, the fight against fascism was enormously facilitated.

INDEED IT IS NOT TOO MUCH TO SAY THAT ONLY THE LEFTWARD turn of the Socialist Party made possible, under the existing conditions, the victory over fascism." (Felix Morrow, "The Civil War in Spain", .p.28. My emphasis - G.M.)

That is how the Trotskyites added to the ideological confusion of the workers. With the reactionary Spanish Social-democracy, both the right wing and the left wing, collaborating with Stalin in the Popular Front Government it is easy to see how the Trotskyites helped to attach the Spanish workers to the Popular Front Government. Let no one imagine that the Trotskyite indirect assistants of Stalin are ignorant of the counter-revolutionary nature of Social-democracy. Only a while before they correctly wrote the following:

"Is it possible to reform or renew the Second International, pervaded by crimes and treacheries? The war and all post-war events answer: 'No!'. . . . Social Democracy is devoted in body and soul to the bourgeois regime." (The Militant, March 31, 1934.)

And Trotsky made it unmistakably clear that "Both Fascism and the Social-democracy are tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie" (Leon Trotsky, "Germany, What Next," .p. 59). Hence the CONSCIOUS political fakery the Trotskyites introduced in the present Rightist zigzag of Stalinism is quite obvious. The phrase-mongering Social-democrats never made and never will make "an extraordinarily sharp break with their past", and few people know it better than Trotsky and his political parasites, The Cannons. Shachtman and Felix Morrrows. It is only after the Stalinists broke with Caballero and the Left Socialists and pushed the Loyalist Government further to the Right that the Trotskyites "exposed" and "attacked" the Spanish Left Socialists. But at the time Stalin was making good use of the Left Socialists, the Trotskyites lied to the workers that there was a real difference between the Left and the Right wings of the agency of imperialism, the petty-bourgeois Social democracy. They even criticized the

generally confused POUM which declined to follow Trotsky's advice to enter the Socialist Party, for the refusal to see any fundamental difference between the right and the left wings of Social-democracy:

"In order to justify its refusal to enter the Socialist Party, as Trotsky proposed, and thereby throw its forces — numbering only a few thousand even according to its own estimates — on the side of the left wing, it refused to see the profound significance of the development of the left wing. In fact, in La Batalla of May 22nd, it denied that there was any real difference between the left and right wings. This false estimate led to deplorable tactics." (Felix Morrow, "The Civil War in Spain," p. 46.)

An exceedingly clever and thoroughly pro-bourgeois idea was planted by the Trotskyites into the heads of the workers that the proletariat could create its own class army without the overthrow of the bourgeois State. The Spanish Left Socialists said that this could be done on the basis of saving the existing republic instead of overthrowing it. They even quoted Lenin to support their swindle. The Trotskyites, instead of exposing the trick, made it palatable to the workers:

"Not those who usurp the prestige of the Russian revolution only to betray its principles in service to the bourgeoisie, not the Stalinists, but the vanguard of the left Socialists teach the Spanish proletariat the Leninist conception of the class nature of the army!" (Felix Morrow, "The Civil War in Spain", p. 59.)

Afterward, when Stalinism had utilized the Spanish Left Socialists to the full and was consolidating the People's Front Government on a Rightward basis, the Trotskyites ceased telling the workers about the "Leninist" conception of the Left Socialists:

"The road lay clearly before the proletariat but, not accidentally, the program for the road was not the heritage of the left Social-

ists." (Felix Morrow, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain," p. 38.)

But the pro-Socialist poison of the Trotskyites had already done the pernicious work so valuable to Stalin and the international bourgeoisie. The Red veneer with which the Trotskyites smeared the vile Left Socialists, whom Lenin classified among the basest Judases within the proletariat, deluded thousands of the most advanced Spanish workers. The Spanish Left Socialists supported, with "criticism", the People's Front Government. The Trotskyite perverters of Leninism in turn helped to tie the advanced workers to the People's Front Government—in other words Stalin—and Spain is h capitalism — through the Left Socialists.

Any one studying the tragic lesson of Spain can't help perceiving the salient fact that it is Stalinism which was the decisive force within the Spanish proletariat. The policy which shackled the Spanish masses and delivered them to the butcher Franco and his ally, Miaja, was the Stalinist Rightist policy officially approved at the 7th Congress of the Comintern. But the Trotskyites deceived the Spanish masses and diverted their attention from this main enemy within the international proletariat in this epoch. They do this not for Stalin's sake, of course, but for Trotsky's, whose criminal role of building Stalinism must be kept secret. They fooled the workers into thinking that Stalinism did not play the role in Spain it had previously played in Germany. They assured the uninformed, confused and misled workers that the lesson of the German betrayal was understood by the Spanish workers:

"The Stalinists have become open, shameless enemies of the proletariat revolution. Fortunately for the world proletariat, Stalinism in Spain does not command the forces it held in leash in Germany — precisely because the lessons of Germany have entered the consciousness of the Spanish proletariat." (Felix Morrow, "The Civil War in Spain" p. 62.)

The history of the Civil War in Spain has proved precisely that the Spanish proletariat did not learn even the tiniest particle of the lessons of Germany. This tragic fact is true of the whole of the international proletariat. If the Spanish workers had learned the lessons of Germany they would have broken irrevocably with Stalinism, Social-democracy, Trotskyism and all other forms of opportunism and would have founded a new and genuinely Bolshevik Party. Because the lessons of the German events were not learned, Stalinism in Spain succeeded in trapping the most advanced section of the proletariat by the hundreds of thousands. Stalinism in Spain, despite the German events, succeeded in crushing another proletarian revolution. The vicious Trotskyite lie that the Spanish toilers learned the lessons of the German events had only one purpose: to deaden the workers' vigilance toward the opportunist dangers which menaced them. Thus turning of the workers attention away from Stalinism with rosy lies was one of the Trotskyites' methods of preventing the genuine exposure of Stalinism and hence of Trotskyism.

"The POUM, a classic specimen of Left confusion and suicidal opportunism, was pictured by the Trotskyites as an organization now supporting the People's Front Government, and now pursuing a Bolshevik policy. "It was only after the present civil war broke out that the former Trotskyists (now in the POUM) again turned toward a Bolshevik policy" wrote Felix Morrow in his pamphlet "The Civil War in Spain" (p. 9). Fundamentally, at no time, before or after the outbreak of the civil war, was the POUM'S position a Bolshevik position. It is enough to give a couple of illustrations to prove the opportunism of the POUM and thus nail the Trotskyites. After the outbreak of the civil war, and a little while before the appearance of Morrow's pamphlet "The Civil War in Spain", which is dated September 22, 1936, La Batalla, the official organ of the POUM, carried the following article by Nin:

"Not many days ago the FAI launched a manifesto which said

that it would oppose all dictatorships exercised by whatever party. We are in agreement with them. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be exercised by one single sector of the proletariat, but by all, absolutely all. No workers' party or union center has the right to exercise a dictatorship. Let those present know that if the CNT or the Communist Party or the Socialist Party would wish to exercise a dictatorship of a party it would confront us. The dictatorship of the proletariat must be exercised by all." (La Batalla, September 8, 1936.)

This ranting against the dictatorship of one party will sound familiar to those who know the history of the Russian Revolution. Every opportunist, every Menshevik, Social Democrat and anarchist counter-revolutionary has as his favorite cry "down with the one-party dictatorship of the Bolsheviks." Clearly recognizing that the dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party spelled the death of capitalism, the opportunists strove in every way to undermine this dictatorship. Under the cry of "Freedom for all Soviet Parties" and "Democracy for all," the opportunists tried to tear down the proletarian dictatorship and its only possible political expression, the dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party. Two decades after the Russian Revolution, when the Stalinists, Social Democrats and Anarchists have piled up a veritable mountain of absolute proof of their treachery to the workers, the POUM was still whining about exercising the proletarian dictatorship through the medium of all these criminal gangs. And this mess of POUMist rubbish was hailed by the Trotskyites as a "turn toward a Bolshevik Policy.....!"

Another illustration: Every Marxist knows that Anarchism is an irreconcilable enemy of Marxism. Even many pseudo-Marxists know this. But the POUM had so little knowledge of Marxism that it completely confused revolutionary Marxism with Anarchism. Here is how the POUM pictured this petty-bourgeois anti-Bolshevik tendency:

".....two tendencies which were traditionally irreconcilable, the revolutionary Marxists (of the POUM) and the Bakuninists (of the FAI) now hold similar ideas concerning the hopes and perspectives of the revolution." (The Spanish Revolution", p. 5. March 31, 1937. My emphasis - G.M.)

At no time did the POUM understand the nature of the role and method of Anarchism, of Stalinism, of Trotskyism, of Social Democracy. It always, directly or indirectly, supported Stalinism and its Popular Front line. Morrow pointed out the ideological confusion of the POUM when he wrote "...the P.O.U.M. called for 'an authentic Government of the Popular Front, with the direct (ministerial) participation of the Socialist and Communist Parties' as a means to 'complete the democratic experience of the masses' and hasten the revolution" ("Civil War in Spain", p. 46).

In many ways, and with uncommon adroitness, the Trotskyites politically helped Stalinism to attach the masses to the Popular Front Government. They duped the workers with the deceitful invention that the Popular Front Government, engineered by Stalinism and supported by powerful reactionary forces within the proletariat, conducted a war of a socially progressive character, thus completely obscuring the sabotaging role of this treacherous Stalinist—Socialist—Bourgeois government, which, indirectly, worked for Franco:

"The Government, though, carrying out its liquidation of workers' power and its reconsolidation of bourgeois power behind the lines, was conducting a military struggle of a socially progressive character against the Fascist armies of Franco." (Socialist Appeal, Aug. 14, 1937, p. 3.)

Attention must be called to this poisonous witches' brew fed to the workers. The Shachtmans and Morrows admitted that the government was taking away the workers' gains and was consolidating the power of the capitalist enslavers, and yet in the same

breath these self-styled "Bolshevik-Leninists" solemnly announced that this reactionary government, established in the form of bourgeois democracy, conducted a socially progressive struggle against the Fascists!

The Trotskyite leaders know that socially, in this era of rotting capitalist imperialism, there is fundamentally no class difference between the Fascist and democratic rule of the bourgeoisie. They themselves have stated this time and again, and quite correctly:

".....There is no basic SOCIAL conflict between bourgeois democracy and fascism. If we examine social questions historically, as Marxism does, we find in a sense the contrary: fascism is the result of bourgeois democracy in the period of capitalist decline; bourgeois democracy is the precursor of and the preparation for fascism." (James Burnham, "The People's Front", p. 16.)

How then could the People's Front Government, operating along the method of bourgeois democracy, strangling the proletariat, conduct a socially progressive struggle against another form of capitalist rule, Fascism? It is clear that the Trotskyites are in a contradiction somewhat parallel to the one the Piecks and Browders find themselves in. On the one hand the Trotskyites admit that bourgeois democracy is not the destroyer but the mother of Fascism; on the other hand they lie that bourgeois democracy carries on a socially progressive struggle against Fascism!

There can be no doubt that just as Stalin and his Dimitroffs and Browders, so do Trotsky and his Cannons and Morrows consciously mix Marxism with bourgeois ideological arsenic to prevent the workers from overthrowing capitalism. Stalin fears exposure and loss of usurped power; Trotsky fears exposure and political annihilation. Both fear the Red tribunal of the victorious proletariat.

The People's Front Government carried on its work of pushing the most advanced war ares, into the shambles. It

performed this monstrous task through fake offensives, of the sort Miaja engineered in the Estramadura sector while Negrin was giving Barcelona to Franco, as well as through intentional retreats. And while the destruction of the Spanish revolution through the collaboration of the People's Front Government and Franco went on, with the Stalinist bureaucrats covering up the infernal game with the raucous cry "Help Spanish democracy!", the Trotskyites not only avoided exposing the Stalinist fakery but actually helped the Stalinists by propagating the Stalinist lie that the Popular Front Government conducted a socially progressive "struggle"! Nothing was, of course, further from the truth.

The Stalinist bureaucrats, extremely capable, calculating men, were depicted by Trotskyism as people who were bewildered by the situation which was in fact nothing but a Stalinist-devised trap for the Spanish workers:

"But far from becoming more realistic, about this question, this key to the Spanish situation, the Stalinists have lost their heads completely. The false policy pursued by the Stalinists these four months has left them and the Spanish masses more isolated than ever. But the Stalinists behave like men gone mad with desperation and seize at non-existing straws." (Socialist Appeal, December, 1936.)

Not a word of explanation that the Stalinists had not lost their heads but on the contrary kept them very clear for their nefarious work ahead of them. Not only did Trotsky then shield the criminal intentions of the Stalinist bureaucrats but even after almost two years of their murderous activity, Trotsky actually spread the illusion that Stalin expected his agents in Spain to work for the defeat of Franco:

"In his (Stalin's) bureaucratic limitedness he imagined that the 'commissars' by themselves could guarantee victory." (Leon Trotsky, Socialist Appeal, Jan. 15, 1938.)

The entire proletariat of Spain

was in the grip of opportunists, with Stalinism in the lead. It is doubtful whether there was a single worker who knew the precise role of the Stalinists, the Trotskyites, Anarchists, the POUM — of their treacherous history. The Catalonian workers, no less, perhaps more than the others, were confused and disoriented and led to their doom by various "Left" and "Revolutionary" and "Bolshevik Leninist" opportunists. But the Trotskyite leaders advised the workers of the rest of Spain to follow the tragic road of the Catalonian masses:

"The Spanish proletariat will have to take the road on which the Catalonian proletariat has begun to march. There is no other road to victory!" (Felix Morrow, "The Civil War in Spain," p. 60.)

That was the road to Fascist hell! There was a road to victory, which was blocked by the opportunists, among them the Trotskyites. That was the road of building a group, then a Party, upon the basis of revealing the facts about the degeneration of the first Workers' State and the Comintern — the entire truth about Stalin, Trotsky, Lovestone and others. It was the road of enlightening the workers to the method the Stalinist bureaucracy has been pursuing since 1922 to prevent the formation of another workers State. It was the road of showing that the Popular Front policy was just another Rightist zigzag of Stalinism, the road of no support whatsoever to the Stalinist-Socialist-Bourgeois People's Front Government and exposure of the cover-slogan of "Material Aid".

This road indeed could have led to victory of the masses, not only over Franco but also over his indirect aids within the workers' camp — Stalin, Trotsky, Social-Democracy, Anarchism, the POUM and others. But the road the Trotskyites pointed out to the Spanish masses was the road to Fascist hell!

It was a cold-blooded, consciously manipulated game that the Cannons, Shachtmans and Felix Morrrows were playing to shield their Master. Here is their line, which speaks for itself:

"Only the United Front of Struggle of the CNT-FAI-POUM and all of revolutionary organizations can succeed in annihilating the ogre of counter-revolution." (Trotskyist leaflet of June 19, 1937. Quoted in Socialist Appeal, Aug. 21, 1937.)

We saw that the Trotskyites themselves admitted the opportunist nature of the POUM. It is known to every person who read Marx and Lenin, that Anarchists and Syndicalists have always been and could never be anything else than anti-Bolshevik to the core. The Trotskyites themselves say that "the CNT revealed the complete bankruptcy of Anarchism as a road to the social-revolution" (Felix Morrow, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain," p. 57). What was, then, the Trotskyite line contained in their leaflet distributed amongst the trapped toilers of Spain if not purest fraud, purest treachery, deliberate confusion — all working to prevent proletarian revolution which would expose the entire truth of the origin of Stalinism — and could never miss discovering the black role Trotsky played during Lenin's illness and after Lenin's death!

Thus the Trotskyist line was to divert the workers from the path leading in the direction of the policy of "teach and explain", the kind Lenin employed to expose the Mensheviks and S.R.'s. It avoided pointing out that the Popular Front line is basically Stalinist, similar to the "Workers Government" of 1922-1923. It did not explain that unless Stalinism and all its partners are exposed, victory of counter-revolution is a certainty. It did not repudiate a single word of the Trotskyist lies concerning the "revolutionism" of the left Socialists. To the numerous damaging lies the Trotskyites spread among the masses they introduced an additional entrapping lie that a united front of reactionary and opportunist organizations — CNT-FAI-POUM — could stop the counter-revolution.

The Trotskyite leaders are not political infants who have to be taught the basic truth that the only

progressive struggle today is the struggle of the proletariat led by a revolutionary party, against capitalist domination which is upheld by both Fascism and Bourgeois-democracy. The Trotskyites know that the present crisis within the proletariat is the crisis of leadership, and that the chief enemy within the workingclass is Stalinism. But since Trotsky is involved as the original co-plotter with Stalin, as one of the founders of the Stalinist regime, the Trotskyite political charlatans, in order to protect their own Chief, must of necessity shield Stalinism. Consequently, they must politically participate in the Stalinist betrayals. One of the main features of Stalinism, which the Trotskyites do their utmost to conceal, is the Stalinist methods of preventing proletarian revolution. Should their followers become conscious of the Right and Left zigzags being one organically connected line which Stalinism employs to prevent the working class from emancipating itself, they will invariably trace this Stalinist method to its point of inception, the first zigzag in 1922. By putting the facts together they would discover Trotsky's criminal role in this first Rightist zigzag which beheaded the proletarian revolution in Germany in 1933. Continuing their investigation they would inevitably come upon the shocking surprise that although Trotsky was forced by Stalin into an "opposition", Trotsky, in order to conceal their mutual crime, was compelled to support Stalin in one way or another in every following zigzag. Were this truth made known to his followers Trotsky's political annihilation would then follow. Aware of this danger the shrewd Shachtmans and Spectors, taking the cue from their Master, divert the attention of the workers from understanding the Stalinist method. Quite shrewdly they disconnect the zigzags and make them appear revolving around different, and sometimes quite "new" policies of Stalin. The Leftist zigzag (1928-1934) through which Stalin, assisted by Social-democracy, handed over the German workers to Hitler, and thus strengthened his own domination in the Soviet Union, was at first pictured as a "mistake", "blunder", "error" and "unconscious betrayal".

Later a somewhat different "explanation" was given for the betrayal of the German masses through the Leftist zigzag. Stalinism, the Trotskyites told the workers, pursued a "suicidal", "sectarian" policy. Stalinism was pictured as having capitulated to Hitler in 1933. Stalin pursued in Germany a "stupid" policy of united front from below, said Trotsky and his opportunist hangers-on.

"Exactly this happened in Germany. It was the class collaborationist policy of German Social Democracy (combined with the suicidal sectarianism of the German Communist Party) which left the German middle classes easy prey for Hitler." (James Burnham, "The People's Front," p. 30. My emphasis - G.M.)

"The lamentable tragedy of the German and then the Austrian, the Saar and the Czech proletariat can be traced to the criminal capitulation of Stalinism to Hitler in 1933, in which it outdid the long-ago bankrupt social democracy in cowardice and treachery. Under guise of the thrice-stupid policy of 'united front from below,' the Stalinist condemned the German proletariat to a state of division through which fascism marched unmolestedly to power." (Socialist Appeal, Oct. 22, 1938. p. 3. My emphasis - G.M.)

It was "cowardice" and "capitulation to Stalinism" and not a conscious, deliberate betrayal of the German workers by Stalinism, say the Trotskyites!

The Trotskyite leaders persist in keeping their followers blind as to the true lesson of the German betrayal, in preventing them from tracing the Comintern policy from 1922 on and coming upon the knowledge that there has been a deliberate policy of stopping the revolution on the part of Stalin and his collaborators. The Trotskyite leaders draw upon their inexhaustible supply of spurious explanations. They tell the workers of "Stalin, whose rejection of the united front has helped Hitler to power" (Socialist Appeal,

December 3, 1938). Since the Trotskyites' loud cry during the Leftist Period of 1928-1934 was mainly "united front" ~~between counter-revolutionary~~ Stalinism and counter-revolutionary Social-democracy, which cry very neatly concealed the reactionary nature of both Internationals, as well as of Trotskyism itself, they experienced a certain difficulty when Stalinism made a Right turn in 1934 toward a "united front" with Social Democracy. They hailed the Stalinist new Right zigzag, which was to snare the Spanish, French, Czechoslovak and other workers, as a move towards Leninism. And even up to this very period they fool the workers with the deadly illusion about the "positive" results of the collaboration of the two largest traitorous organizations within the working class.

"This same pressure brought about the positive results of a united front between the Socialist and Communist Parties. This united front, however, remained on paper and offered no program of action to the workers." (Socialist Appeal, December 3, 1938.)

When the present Stalinist Rightist zigzag came into full swing, the Trotskyites continued blinding the workers, this time attaching the Stalinist Comintern zigzags to Stalin's foreign policy. The Comintern, Trotsky deceived the masses, became an agency of "democratic" imperialism:

"Having prostituted the Comintern, and turned it into an agency of "democratic" imperialism; having beheaded and paralyzed the military power of the Soviets, Stalin has completely untied Hitler's hands, as well as the hands of Hitler's adversaries, and pushed Europe close to war." (Leon Trotsky, The New International, Dec. 1939, p. 362.)

Trotsky prevents the workers from seeing clearly that the Comintern, first and foremost, is an instrument of the Stalinist clique and serves directly the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy to prevent interference of the world toiling masses with its domination of the first workers State. Only in a large historical sense, and

only indirectly does the Comintern perform a service for international imperialism. And it performs this indirect service for entire world imperialism, and not only, as Trotsky says, for the democratic, but also for the Fascist imperialists. But the Trotskyites, carrying out the line of their Master, keep on warping and twisting the truth, and drum into the heads of their trusting followers the criminal absurdity that the Stalinist bureaucracy is the vanguard of the "democratic" and "liberal" bourgeoisie. "The liberal bourgeoisie and its vanguard, the Stalinist bureaucracy" (Socialist Appeal, Sept. 4, 1937). Thus Stalin is pictured as having introduced the Rightist zigzag not because it is the old, well-established, successful policy of keeping the world proletariat from threatening the Stalinist usurpation of power, but because Stalin "was currying favor with democratic imperialism." The agents of Stalin in Spain were pictured as agents of Paris and London:

"The Stalinists showed themselves, once again, more glaringly shameful than ever, as nothing but disappointed office boys of the democratic capitalist masters." (Socialist Appeal, October 15, 1938. My emphasis - G.M.)

Trotsky and his Cannons and Shachtmans befuddled the workers with stories that Stalin prevented revolution in one country after another, and even handed over Czechoslovakia to Fascist Germany for the sake of — the Franco-Soviet Pact!

"The keystone of the entire Kremlin policy — the Franco-Soviet Pact, for the sake of which Stalin stopped the French revolution, sabotaged Spain, and handed Czechoslovakia to Hitler: dissolved by a three hour conversation in the Bavarian Alps." (The New International, Oct. 1938, p. 292. My emphasis - G.M.)

The Trotskyites told their readers that the betrayal of the Spanish masses was carried out by Stalin "if in return there would remain some hope of securing for the Soviet Union a military alliance with France and England" (Socialist Appeal, Oct. 29, 1938.)

This riveting of the Comintern zigzag to the line of Stalin's diplomatic maneuvers puts the Trotskyites on the spot. The clear implication is that Stalin had the childish illusion that by preventing the revolution in Spain he could actually win a military alliance of the distorted Proletarian State with British and French imperialism; and that had he known that such alliance was a futile dream and the British bourgeoisie would conclude a Munich pact with Hitler, he, perhaps, would have given the Spanish workers a Leninist line for the creation of a new Workers State.

The Trotskyites have gone to such lengths of sophistry and evasion as even to declare that the road for the masses in Spain was marked out by Anglo-French imperialism:

"Sixteen months of civil war have conclusively demonstrated that all the roads pointed out to the Spanish people reduce themselves to but two choices. One is the road we point: revolutionary war against fascism. All other paths lead into the road marked out by Anglo-French imperialism." (Felix Morrow, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain," p. 178.)

And to this very moment the trap Stalin set up for the Spanish toilers at the 7th Congress is labeled by the Trotskyites Made in England and France!

"That Fifth Column was composed of the Socialist and Stalinist members of the bourgeois government and its counter-revolutionary institutions (which government received Trotskyist material support with "relentless criticism"—G.M.). It was they and they alone (yes, yes, they "alone") who swing the anti-Fascist masses down the road into the pit prepared by British and French imperialism.

"They were the agents and cringing lackeys of Paris and London." (New International, March 1939.)

This vicious nonsense about the Stalinists and the Socialists being the lackeys of Paris and London is actually an echo of the Stalinist fraud of a basic cleavage between the "democra-

cies" and the fascist powers, with Stalinism and Social democracy supporting the "democracies". No matter from what angle we approach the problem, inevitably we find Trotskyism tail-ending Stalinism and repeating directly or indirectly most of the Stalinist concoctions. Fundamentally Stalinism and Social-Democracy do not support one imperialist gang against another. Stalinism indirectly and Social-Democracy directly support the entire international bourgeoisie against the entire international toiling masses. To present these opportunist bureaucracies as supporting one group of imperialists, the "democracies", against another, the fascist powers, is to repeat — out of the corner of one's mouth as it were — the Stalinist Popular Front fakery of "democracy versus fascism."

The cold-blooded Trotskyist lie about the road the Spanish masses followed having been laid down by British and French capitalists is a careful calculation to blind the workers and make it impossible for them to see clearly the exact course of the bloody nightmare in Spain. Impelled by the danger of exposure of their own Master, the Cannons and Shachtmans must envelop Stalinist betrayals with clouds of confusion, hindering the tracing of all the Stalinist zigzags down to 1922-1923.

From different angles the Trotskyites indirectly supported Stalinism and the Stalinist-initiated People's Front Government. The Stalinist smoke-screen of "aid to Spanish democracy" received from the Trotskyites support with "relentless political criticism."

"Revolutionary Marxists pointed out that the necessity for full united action and MATERIAL SUPPORT of the Government in its military struggle against Franco — a necessity accepted and urged by all Marxists — was not in the least incompatible with, was in fact inseparable from, relentless political criticism of the policies of the government and positive steps to protect and extend the basis of workers' power and the social revolution." (Socialist Appeal, Aug. 14, 1937 - My emphasis-G.M.)

But there was no criticism! Real criticism would be the exposure of the Popular Front Government as the Stalinist Rightist trap designed to prevent revolution in order to continue the Stalinist domination of the first Workers State. Trotskyist "relentless criticism" was the petty bourgeois lie that the People's Front Government which facilitated matters for Franco, conducted "a military struggle of a socially progressive character against" Spanish imperialism!

The Trotskyist policy served to strengthen the impression, which Stalin sought and succeeded to create, that the question in Spain was not so much the political line the workers followed, but the amount of material aid that could be sent to the gang of saboteurs heading the Popular Front government. The point that must be clear is that the Loyalist Government, far from conducting a socially progressive struggle, was cooperating with Franco. Those who called for material aid were making the workers think that with more arms the Loyalist Government would defeat Franco. The workers had to be made to understand that even if the Loyalist government had every conceivable necessity and a double and triple supply of arms, Franco would still win. Those who howled for material aid distracted the workers' attention from the treacherous character of the Loyalist government.

The correct, Leninist position on the Loyalist government was the position Lenin adopted towards Kerensky during the Kornilov uprising. Lenin's line was: no support to Kerensky; merciless exposure of his opportunist role; agitation for an energetic fight against the Russian Franco, Kornilov; Towards the Stalinist slogan of material aid to the People's Front Government, Marxists had to adopt a position similar to the one they adopt towards the bourgeois philanthropic collections for victims of infantile paralysis. Neither a positive nor a negative propaganda but a policy of exposure. If we advised the workers to refrain from giving material aid, they would imagine we were for Franco. If we approved material aid, even with comp-

lete exposure of Stalinism and the nature of the Popular Front Government, we should have been capitulating to Stalinism.

We must repeat again and again: The policy of the People's Front is one of the links of the chain of the Stalinist zigzags; it was preceded by a Leftist link, and will be followed by a Leftist link, unless this chain is broken by a revolutionary force which makes it its business to break it.

Trotsky actually tries to prevent the workers from seeing the coming Leftist zigzag of Stalinism — made inevitable by the absence of a strong Leninist force:

"People's Fronts on the one hand — fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution." (Socialist Appeal, October 22, 1938. My emphasis - G.M.)

It is Stalinism, operating within the proletariat, which, in the final analysis, is the savior of the bourgeoisie. And as long as Stalinism continues to exercise its influence over the masses the bourgeoisie is safe, and will be rescued from each critical situation either through a Rightist or through a Leftist zigzag. German capitalism was, indirectly, saved by Stalinism twice: once through the Rightist zigzag (1923) and next through the Leftist zigzag (1928-1934). It is this crucial truth about Stalinism and its methods that Leninist must explain to the workers. But the Trotskyites circulate chloroforming "rumors" that Stalin is contemplating "The possible liquidation of the Comintern, and the necessity of finding a substitute for it as a weapon of the Soviet foreign office" (Socialist Appeal, Oct. 30, 1937). No "rumor" could be more vicious, nor more criminal than this one which holds out a false and treacherous hope to uninformed anti-Stalinist workers that Stalin is about to liquidate his efficient machine which serves him so well in holding the world proletariat shackled in bourgeois slavery.

Indeed, it is not too much to say that with respect to the confusion of the workers about Stalinism, the Trotskyites bear the major responsibility. The revolutionary workers breaking away from Stalinism would have discovered the truth much sooner had it not been for the Trotskyite preventers of the truth. From this angle the greatest share of guilt rests upon Trotsky and his Shachtmans and Felix Morrows. Even today they do all in their power to help Stalinism to tide over the difficult situation and swing over to the Leftist zigzag. For if the workers were to trace Stalinism back to the period of 1923 they would there find Trotsky standing shoulder-to-shoulder with Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev-Bukharin in an effort to stave off a revolutionary threat to the bureaucracy these scoundrels were endeavoring to establish. The workers would have found not only Zinoviev's and Stalin's but also Trotsky's hands red with the blood of the German masses whom in 1923 the Stalin-Zinoviev clique and Trotsky sent to their doom.

The disaster in Spain spells the beginning of the end of the Popular Front ultra-right zigzag. Thousands of workers disgusted and embittered will leave the Stalinist "Parties." In all likelihood, many of these workers, not altogether demoralized, will turn definitely anti-Stalinist and will look about them for a way out of the frightful dilemma in which the workingclass finds itself. It goes without saying that, as in the past, hundreds of workers, imagining that Trotsky combats Stalin, will turn to Trotskyism. Thus, these workers will again fall into a counter-revolutionary snare which is but an adjunct to the Stalinist Comintern. If Trotskyism is not exposed together with Stalinism, it can be stated with certainty that Stalinism will succeed in extricating itself from its present difficult situation through an ultra-left zigzag. In this eventuality Trotskyism will bear the chief responsibility for Stalinism's new lease on life.

To create the impression that they are frightening capitalism, the

Trotskyite leaders are pursuing a fake mass line with its opportunist "transitional demands", its campaign against fire traps and a little "Third Period" of their own, exemplified in their "struggle" against Fascism in America. The decisive turn of the Trotskyites to economism is another anti-Leninist feature in their line of checking the rise of politically-minded elements who would investigate conclusively the politics Trotsky has pursued since 1922. Hence Cannon's policy "to 'trade-unionize' the party, to devote 90 percent of the party work to this field." (The New International, Feb. 1938). The Trotskyite leaders mislead their followers, assuring them that in this manner, indirectly, Stalinism can be defeated. They gloss over the fact that "Soviet Russia" are magic words in the ears of the workers. It is these magic words that give Stalin immense prestige and win him the trust of the masses. But the Trotskyites, to sell their "mass" line to their followers, with a jerk of the pen dismiss Stalinism as an "incidental" obstruction.

"The Stalinist issue can be handled, but it can only be handled as what it is, an incidental obstacle in the fight for the program that workers and farmers need." (New International, March 1939, p. 78. My emphasis - G.M.)

Thus, the appalling force which tore down such a mighty upheaval, as the Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927; that played the chief part in paralyzing the most powerful, entirely class-conscious proletariat in the entire capitalist world, the German proletariat; that seized hold upon the first Workers' State, strangling the Russian revolutionary workers; the force that shackled the militant Spanish toilers and delivered them to the bourgeoisie — this Frankenstein's monster that is spreading its tentacles to suffocate the French and the American workingclass, is termed by the Trotskyites "an incidental obstacle"!

This deadly chloroform of the Trotskyite leaders distracts their followers from the correct path of

opening a powerful offensive and tearing the mask off Stalinism and, of necessity, of Trotskyism. This "mass line" facilitates matters for Stalinism and the world bourgeoisie and helps to intensify the present ordeal for the world toilers and oppressed races and countries.

This ordeal can be brought to an end only through the exposure of Stalinism and all other opportunism, including the Trotskyite lie-machine, called "Fourth International". The period of reaction can be ended and the period of revolution resumed only through the building of a truly Leninist International.

Stalin pursues only one kind of policy, the policy of betraying the international proletariat. From this reactionary path Stalin can never swerve. His aim is to continue the reactionary process within the Soviet Union, and within the world working class. Any one who in any way collaborates with Stalin helps this bureaucratic usurper to slash the throat of the toiling masses of the entire world. And in the light of Trotsky's collaborating with Stalin in establishing the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union, in the ghastly light of Trotsky's political aid to Stalin in the betrayal of the Spanish, the German and other masses, how monstrously clear, how significant is the following statement of Trotsky's, which makes it unmistakable that this former revolutionist, now a renegade, is ready to continue right behind Stalin to wade in the toilers' blood which Stalinism spills at regular intervals:

"You ask if I am ready to collaborate with Stalin and his closest collaborators? I have never repudiated such collaboration, and now, before the serious difficulties within and without the country, I am less disposed than ever to repudiate it. Politics knows no personal resentment nor the spirit of revenge. Politics knows only effectiveness. For myself, as well as my companions, it comes back to the question of the program of the collaboration." (Leon Trotsky, "The Case of Leon Trotsky", p. 171.)

Trotsky is no amateur at politics. One is a naive babe who imagines that Trotsky or his Cannons have the faintest illusion about the helplessly reactionary character of Stalin's policies and program. No matter what "Red" phrases renegade Stalin and his putrid collaborators employ to mask their program, in its essence it always is and always will be the program of betrayal of the workers inside and outside the Soviet Union. Trotsky himself has stated openly that the Stalinists are the "Thermidorians" of the October Revolution. It is obvious, therefore, that there is something definite in Trotsky's policy when he declares his readiness to collaborate with the "Thermidorian" b a n d i t s of the Stalinist reaction.

But one cannot dissuade Trotsky from continuing his political collaboration with Stalin. And since this political collaboration is completely obscured by the fierce hatred these two men feel for each other, and by superficial "exposure" of Stalinism by Trotsky and his Cannons, it is the duty of revolutionists to explain to the workers that the international proletariat is the victim of this sinister collaboration. The political collaboration of Trotsky with Stalin in relation to the toiling masses is equivalent to the collaboration of a rope and a millstone tied around the neck of a drowning man.

What can be the possible object in Trotsky's mind? Without doubt Trotsky dreams of the old 1922 "Leninist" program he, Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev and other top leaders actually and treacherously carried out during the fateful days when Lenin struggled with death. That was the reason Trotsky, in opposition to Lenin's policy of removing Stalin, assured Kamenev "I am against removing Stalin" (Leon Trotsky, "My Life", p. 486). Recognizing that since then much blood has run under Stalin's and his own political bridges, and that there is no chance for an organizational alliance with Stalin himself, Trotsky clings to the meagre hope that Stalin will be ousted by the big bureaucrats. That, Trotsky imagines, might create the possibility of his unification with Stalin's successors. (See

Trotsky's cable to Moscow in June 1937, offering support to Stalin's Central Committee" against Stalin.)

An empty dream! Just as Stalin, his degenerated successors must continue using Trotsky as the chief scapegoat. Furthermore, and above all, while in 1922 and later the revolutionary workers were not in a position to expose the base treason of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party, because ghastly crimes were skillfully hidden, today, owing to the unearthing of con-

clusive, though quite dusty, documentary evidence, truth has begun to enter the consciousness of some advanced revolutionary workers. Tomorrow the entire vanguard will learn not only the beastly facts about Usurper Stalin but also the shocking truth about Trotsky. Then, and only then will the proletariat be able to shake off these traitors, and other misleaders and betrayers, and resume the long-interrupted march against their class enemy, the bourgeoisie.

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III

THE LEFT-TROTSKYITES

CONTRIBUTE THEIR SHARE



HERE was an endless variety of opportunist snares and pitfalls that the Spanish workers found in their path. Among the less influential pseudo-Bolsheviks who had their proportional share in the great betrayal of the Spanish toilers are certain Left-Trotskyist groups. They split away from Trotsky organizationally, but

basically remained Trotskyist in their politics. They actively entered the Spanish arena with their destructive advices to the workers, contributing to the general mental chaos, among the anti-Stalinist workers in particular, thus giving Stalin and the bourgeoisie, objectively, a helping hand.

* * *

A) The League for a Revolutionary Workers Party

The League for a Revolutionary Workers Party sent representatives to Spain to spread its ideas, primarily among the POUM workers. For one to form an idea of the work the L.R.W.P. performed in Spain, it is necessary to examine briefly this organization's conception of the various political forces operating within the Spanish proletariat. In that manner one can evaluate the true political nature of this organization.

ment for prevention of proletarian revolution. We indicated the alternate zigzags by means of which Stalinism accomplished this task. Without having a "Comintern" within the capitalist world Stalin would have been confronted with the rise of a new Bolshevik International. Viewed from this concrete angle, it is clear that Stalin values this mighty political instrument very highly and will not liquidate it, but will preserve it and continue making use of it. But the LRWP, with its head in the clouds with regard to Stalinism, saw in the Rightist zigzag of 1934-1939 nothing less than

We have shown above that the Stalinist bureaucracy in 1922-1923 transformed the Comintern into an instru-

a move on the part of Stalin to liquidate the "Comintern"! When Stalin and his Dimitroff were weaving the Popular Front rope with which to bind the Spanish as well as the French, Czechoslovak and other workers and deliver them to Fascism, the LRWP "warned" the victims in the following "Marxist-analytical" manner: "The preparations for the liquidation of the Comintern are making progress." (Labor Front, Jan. 19, 1935.)

This sort of "enlightenment" naturally served Stalinism. It sawed harmful illusions in the heads of the advanced anti-Stalinist Spanish and other workers making them imagine that soon they would be regaled with the fascinating spectacle of Stalin himself removing from their path the greatest obstacle to the building of a new revolutionary international. No doubt most of the workers whom the LRWP influenced welcomed the happy tidings.

This confusion and distortion of the true character of the Comintern and its zigzags was being buzzed into the ears of advanced workers for a considerable length of time. During the period the Stalinist Comintern held its Seventh Congress, the LRWP painted a rosy mirage of the "funeral congress" of the "Comintern":

"Stalinism Liquidating C.I.
at Seventh Congress

"The C.I. is headed unwaveringly toward liquidation. The Seventh Congress will go down in the history of the movement as the funeral Congress of the C.I." (Labor Front, August 1935, p. 1.)

Historical facts indicate that the actual funeral Congress of Lenin's Comintern was the Fourth Congress in December 1922 which was marked by the introduction of the first Right zigzag. Stalin's Comintern is still full of vigor and life, doing its destructive work. The so-called Seventh Congress merely put an official stamp on the third Rightist zigzag (1934-1939). The leaders of the LRWP did not bother investigating facts; they took their facts from their political brother-

under-the-skin, the Trotskyites. And the Trotskyites to hide the fact that the line of the Fourth Congress was kept secret from Lenin, always tell the workers that the first congresses of the Comintern, including the Fourth, were Leninist. They avoid pointing out that Lenin nearly collapsed after attending only one session (the 8th) at which he dealt with the question of the N E P. Also, the Shachtmans and Cannons blind the workers with fake predictions that the Stalinist Party would liquidate itself:

"Having liquidated all the theories of revolutionary Marxism, the C.P. is now engaged in liquidating itself...in its work of self-liquidation we cannot but wish the Stalinists godspeed." (The New International, March 1935, p. 37.)

The LRWP was spreading its literature containing false and misleading ideas also among Spanish workers. It went on intensifying the darkness among them by tangling utterly different political entities — Stalinism and Social Democracy — into a hopeless knot, teaching the Spanish workers to view Stalinism as Menshevism!

"When the peasants seize and divide up the land the Guardia Civile of the People's Front Government drives them away and restores the land to the aristocrats. The sterile MENSHEVIST Communist Party calls for 'the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.'" (Labor Front, April 1936.)

~~This~~ misconception of the LRWP was based upon an imaginary liquidation of the Comintern, which action — so the wild "analysis" of the LRWP explained — would drown the Communist Party in the Social Democracy!

"We say that the role of the C.P. as a revolutionary force is finished: it is on the way out, organizationally through liquidating its different organizations (the trade unions and the YCL already, others to come), and politically through drowning itself in the Socialist Party in the name of 'unity' on a

social-democratic basis, or the Farmer-Labor party on a liberal-reformist basis." (Labor Front, January 1936, p. 5.)

Receiving such "enlightenment" the Spanish anti-Stalinist workers could never grasp what Stalinism, its Comintern and the People's Front line were. Having such "Marxist" advisers as the LRWP in addition to other confusers, the advanced Spanish workers were prevented from forming a party that would rescue the masses from the clutches of Stalinism.

Throughout the eventful years of the Spanish revolution there was not the faintest indication that a tendency arose in Spain, or anywhere else in Europe, which correctly estimated Stalinism, exposed the Trotsky and the Lovestone angles, and explained the zigzags it employed to hold back the world proletariat. Without an organization teaching and explaining to the workers the precise meaning of the Popular Front line, the precise explanation for the rise of Fascism in Italy and Germany and correct criticism of the POUM and other "anti-Popular Front" supporters of Stalinism there was not a ray of hope for the Spanish masses. But the LRWP told the workers that there was a "hopeful sign" in the utterly hopeless, indefinite, basically pro-Stalinist position held by the opportunist POUM!

"The only chance of the workers and peasants lies in the formation of a new revolutionary party in the course of this struggle. A hopeful sign is the definite position taken by the POUM." (Labor Front, April 1936. My emphasis-G.M.)

For some time the LRWP was misleading the Spanish workers with the "definite" position of the POUM in the problem of building a Marxist Party. But the wretched flabbiness, opportunist rotteness and outright capitulation of the POUM became only too obvious to many advanced workers in May 1937. Whereupon the LRWP, inspired by the Trotskyites and in unison with other pseudo-revolutionary tendencies, directed the feeble political vision of the

Spanish workers to another opportunist soap bubble — the Left Wing of the POUM. The Left Wing of the POUM in essence was as much different from its right wing as the Right Wing of Social Democracy is different from its left wing. But the LRWP, instead of exposing the non-Marxist character of the Left Wing of the POUM declared that it was Marxist. The LRWP deceived the Spanish workers with the new false hope that there was actually a possibility of this opportunist wing building a revolutionary party for the workers. "If the Marxist wing of POUM brings into being a revolutionary party that can help them draw the necessary deduction...." — a "deduction" no doubt in the light of the "education" spread by the LRWP.

With very few alterations, the line of the LRWP on the evaluation of the axis of the Stalinist betrayal in Spain was Trotskyist. It did not explain the interconnection of the Stalinist Rightist and Leftist zigzags serving the soul purpose — the preservation of the Soviet bureaucracy through the prevention of a successful proletarian revolution. It helped to circulate the deceitful and criminal distortion, the same that is spread by Trotsky, that both the Stalinist and Socialist leaders in Spain sold out the workers to Spanish imperialism because they sought friendly agreements with British and French imperialism:

"The workers of Spain can still rise up against the bloc of their oppressors and their false friends, the bourgeoisie and the reformist anarchist, Socialist and Stalinist politicians, who want to sell them out to Franco for the sake of a deal with 'democratic' English and French imperialism." (Labor Front, October 1937, p. 5.)

Stalin did not have, according to the LRWP, an independent policy to stop the revolution: "And in all this the Soviet Union tail-ends Britain-France...." (Labor Front, Jan. 1938).

Viewed in its entirety, the political position of the LRWP is obvious. It is an anti-Bolshevik position. By

focusing the workers' attention upon the POUM as a guidepost for Leninist action; by throwing dust into their eyes with the imaginary self-liquidation of the powerful Stalinist engine for beheading proletarian revolution; by contributing to the web of confusion concerning the true nature of Stalinism and spreading Stalino-Trotskyist fakery of "organic unity" of Stalinism and Social Democracy; by concealing the fact that the preservation of economic, political and social privileges of the

bureaucracy in the first Workers State and the perpetuation of Stalin's usurped power is the mainspring of Stalin's policy of preventing the rise of another workers state, by giving this policy a false angle on Spain, picturing Stalin tail-ending French and British imperialism, and by veiling the zigzag method by means of which Stalin achieves his counter-revolutionary results, the LRWP objectively has been working for Stalinism and the Spanish and international bourgeoisie.

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B

Revolutionary Workers League

The original Revolutionary Workers League having issued out of the Trotskyist Workers Party in 1935 and undergone a number of preliminary splits, at length broke up into two groups, each continuing to bear the old name, Revolutionary Workers League. One group led by Oehler issues a paper, the Fighting Worker; the other led by Stamm publishes Revolt.

Before and after the split Oehler and Stamm conducted a political line which in its predominant feature was and is today in substance no less Trotskyist than the line of the LRWP.

On almost every important question confronting the Spanish workers the RWL not only failed to offer a Marxist answer but very diligently cooperated with other opportunists to make each life-and-death problem perfectly unintelligible. Incapable or unwilling to see that the Stalinist political line is composed of periodically changing Leftist and Rightist zigzags, which are simply two sides of the same coin, the RWL centered the attention of the workers only upon the present Rightist one, deducing that Stalinism is reformism: "In Madrid the workers could be held in check by the right reformists (Stalinist-Socialist)." (Supplement of the Fourth International, Vol. 2, #9, Feb. 1937, p. 4).

Such a distortion of the politico-economic character of the bureaucratic cancer of the Workers State could only obscure the workers' understanding of Stalinism. It blocked the view back

to the "Third Period" (1928-1934), obscuring the lesson of the Stalinist betrayal of the German workers. It obstructed the future which would inevitably bring a Leftist Stalinist zigzag - unless the power of Stalinism were broken in some important country.

Over the German lesson the RWL drew a typical Trotskyist veil. It avoided showing that Stalin had carried out a consciously-conceived policy of deliberate sell-out in Germany. The reason for the advent of Fascism in Germany was suggested to be the refusal of the Stalinists and Socialists to unite against Hitler in the interests of the workers:

"The Stalinists and Socialists who refused to unite in behalf of the German workingclass against Hitler, have united with French and British imperialism against Hitler, in order to defend the robber treaty of Versailles." (Fighting Worker, May 1, 1937.)

This subtle obscuring of the truth could only produce the impression that the two hopelessly corrupt bureaucracies, if they would so desire, could serve the interests of the masses. The huge masses of Spain saw that in the Spanish situation the Stalinists and the Socialists seemed to have united in behalf of the Spanish masses.

Without a Leninist Party to arm them ideologically against Stalinism and its partners in the People's Front, the workers were tied to the People's

Front Government and were hurled into destruction. Here, too, the RWL, unable or unwilling to recognize the real state of affairs, gave the Spanish workers the following dose of mental opium:

"Let us understand that if the German workers had fought as the Spanish workers are doing now, we would be living in a different world today, and that the capitulation in Germany was a result of combined betrayals of Stalinism and Social Democracy." (The Fourth International, Vol.2, #5, Oct. 1936, p. 11.)

In the above statement the deception in relation to the situation in Spain could only serve to make the trapped Spanish workers imagine that, happily, they were on the right track. If the Stalinists and the Socialists caused the workers in Germany capitulate to Fascism without a fight, this was not being repeated in Spain. If only the German workers "had fought as the Spanish workers are doing now, we would be living in a different world today."!

The RWL was eclipsing the truth that Stalin and Social Democracy betray the proletariat by allowing Fascism sometimes a peaceful entry, as in Germany, and at other times a violent one, as in Austria and Spain.

A truly revolutionary organization would make it clear to the workers that all reactionary forces, including French imperialism, were interested in the destruction of the Spanish revolution. It was obvious that the fall of Catalonia would be hailed by reaction as a tremendous triumph not only for the Spanish but for all the imperialists. It would greatly benefit French imperialism which was extremely jittery lest the Catalonian workers snap the cords that tied them to the People's Front and find people to lead them upon the road to Bolshevism. French imperialism sighed with relief when Franco captured Barcelona, and immediately extended recognition to his regime.

But Oehler, applying his line of

reasoning and "Marxist" evaluation of the Spanish situation turned reality upside down, and drew fantastic pictures that the wiping out of the most industrial, most militant section of the Spanish proletariat would be a blow to French imperialism! "The fall of Catalonia would be a great blow to French imperialism." (Fighting Worker, February 1, 1939.)

The French imperialists, however, never heard of this "profound" analysis of the RWL. The French imperialists did everything possible under the circumstances to help Franco deliver that "great blow to French imperialism."

The RWL never stopped spreading perfectly unfounded hopes which deadened the workers' vigilance. Oehler is well familiar with the situation within the French workingclass. He knows that the toilers of France are completely dominated by Social Democracy, Jauhoux, Doriot and other reformists and Fascists, and by the Stalinists who are dominant among the overwhelming majority of the French workers who consider themselves Bolsheviks. Yet when Franco and the People's Front Government were making ready to write finis to the tragedy in Spain, Oehler gave the workers the following soothing ointment: "With the aid of the French working class proletarian victory in Spain is still possible." (Fighting Worker, Feb. 1, 1939. My emphasis - G.M.)

This is a typical example of irresponsible, empty "revolutionary" phrases, utterly void of any concrete substance, flung at the workers by the Trotskyites, Left-Trotskyites and other opportunists.

With a casual stroke of the pen the RWL (Oehler) transports the readers' mind from the realism of concrete problems into the domain of fantasy. Proletarian victory — that is, a workers republic — is still possible in Spain if the French working classes aid, says Oehler. But if the French workers are to bring proletarian victory in Spain they must break the grip of their own betrayers and also the grip of the Spanish opportunists!

Revolutionists must tell the workers the truth no matter how black it may be. And the truth is that as matters stand today, with Stalinism, Social Democracy and other betrayers in complete control of the world proletariat, and with no sign of a Leninist party appearing in any country, not only are the Spanish masses doomed, but the French toilers themselves are in mortal danger. And if the worst occurs, and the proletariat remains opportunist-ridden, then not only the German, Spanish, Czechoslovak, but all sections of the world proletariat will be ground into dirt under the heel of reaction.

But the problem of wresting the workers from opportunism, particularly from Stalinism, is in fact rejected by the RWL. This organization, from the day of its birth, has been among the most stubborn resisters of the policy of fighting Stalinism as the chief enemy within the proletariat. "We reject such formulations as Stalinism is the main danger...." (Fighting Worker, January 1, 1938.)

Since, however, Stalinism is in control of the first Workers' State, has stolen the traditions of October and of the Leninist Red Army, it exercises an overwhelming influence within the advanced section of the proletariat, particularly during the acute crises of capitalism. This is beside the fact that in material means it has at its disposal immense resources.

The agents of Stalin in Spain recruited the hundreds of thousands of their victims under the deceptive slogan of "Join the Party of Lenin and Stalin!"

Lenin, the Stalinist bureaucrats truthfully pointed out, was the man who led the Russian masses to victory, as was well known to all advanced workers. Stalin, the Stalinist bureaucrats lied, was "the continuer of Lenin's work," "the greatest disciple of Lenin." Homes of the Spanish workers throughout Loyalist Spain were decorated with pictures of Lenin and Stalin. But the RWL working in concert

with the Trotskyites and others, shifted the attention of the advanced workers from the main enemy within their ranks, picking out some tools of Social Democracy who stood at the helm and were made temporary use by the Stalinists.

"The worst enemy of the Spanish Revolution at the moment, the Spanish Kautsky, Caballero....." ("The Civil War and the Imperialist Conflicts in Spain," The Fourth International, Vol. 2, #8, p. 16.)

The leaders of the RWL did all they could to prevent a development of a force that would make it its business to expose "The Party of Lenin and Stalin" and wrest the bulk of the advanced workers of Spain from the Stalinist clutches.

The Russian scene of air-tight terrorist rule of the bureaucracy was completely distorted. The Spanish workers were told that the bureaucrat's fake campaign of "material aid", the blind for their opportunist line, was a spontaneous reaction on the part of the stifled Russian masses!

"But the magnificent struggle of the Spanish workers raised new hope in the Russian workers. They reacted spontaneously holding factory meetings and raising funds for their class brothers in Spain.

"The frightened Stalinist bureaucrats put themselves at the head of the movement to keep it from getting out of bounds and misled it into supporting the capitalist government of Azana." (The Fighting Worker, Oct. 1, 1936.)

This purest fabrication of Stamm and Oehler was supplemented with another poisonous segment. After a few words describing the frame-ups and executions in the Soviet Union, the same article in the Fighting Worker asserted:

"This infamous business did not frighten the Russian workers. The latest reports show that money is still being collected for the Spanish workers and that food and clothes are being sent to them."

Thus, by twisting the Soviet reality, Stamm and Oehler aided the Stalinist bureaucrats to fool the masses in the capitalist countries with the fairy tale that some sort of Workers Democracy still exists in the Soviet Union. This criminal invention of "spontaneous" meetings of the workers under the iron-and-blood rule of the usurper Stalin, this reckless and irresponsible statement about the workers not getting frightened but going right ahead "against" the Stalinist collecting money, food and clothes "for the Spanish workers" was nothing but support to the Stalinist fakery of material aid! Nowhere did the RWL explain to the workers that the Stalin-

ist material aid slogan was a cover for the Rightist zigzag.

The RWL has performed good work for Stalinism in Spain by confusing the workers about the situation in Russia, by denying that Stalinism is the main enemy within the workingclass. And the RWL today performs still better work for the Stalinist bureaucrats by doing its devilish best to divert the advanced workers from engaging directly in a life-and-death struggle of exposure against the Stalinists. Thus, objectively, the RWL gave Stalinism all the assistance it could muster to betray the Spanish toiling masses to capitalist reaction.

* * * * *

JUST as present-day Trotskyism (1922—) is a satellite of Stalinism, so the RWL, LRWP and similar tendencies are satellites of Trotsky. In that manner, politically, they are a part of the general Stalinist system. All of them in **one** way or another are sabotaging the fight against Stalinism and other opportunism, and consequently against capitalism. The RWL deludes the workers with the story that prior to Trotsky's adoption of the reactionary thesis on Social Democracy in 1934, Trotsky and his Cannons and Shachtmans throughout the entire period of their political aid to Stalin, were Marxists.

International Bulletin, Special Issue, 1938, Resolution on Trotskyites, p. 26. My emphasis - G.M.)

Trotsky's elaborate structure of fables, myths, ambiguities, perversions and bare treachery through which he helped Stalin to deliver the Chinese, German, Spanish and other workers to Fascism, forms "the fundamental principles of our movement," says the LRWF. Had the followers of the LRWP or RWL and similar groups, taken the trouble of digging up the actual facts, which have been consciously buried by Trotsky as well as by Stalin, they would have looked upon a picture altogether different from the one painted by Trotsky and his official and unofficial hangers-on. They would have discovered, as we have, that Trotsky was a party to the original Stalinist plot to establish collective bureaucratic control of the Soviet Union. They would have learned that for many years Trotsky helped Stalin to perpetuate the fraud that the Stalinist bureaucracy was building Socialism in the Soviet Union. They would have discovered that Trotsky's denial of Lenin's Testament was not accidental or an isolated "mistake". It was but a link in Trotsky's chain of vicious lies and consciously conceived, monstrous crimes against the toiling masses.

"The same could be said about the Trotskyites yesterday when they were Marxists." (Fourth International, February, 1939.)

And the other Left-Trotskyites, the LRWP, make it unmistakable that essentially they are Trotskyites:

"The expulsion from CPSU of Trotsky and his followers, brought about on the initiative of Stalin, was the occasion for a sort of political rearmament of the Left Opposition. In the years that followed there came from Trotsky's pen classical analysis of the Communist International policies that established the fundamental principles of OUR movement with a clarity that left little to be desired." (New

In addition to helping Trotsky and his Cannons to hide Trotsky's real

political face from the POUM and other workers the RWL, LRWP and similar Left-Trotskyites, assist in perpetuating an illusion which is fatal for the world proletariat. They preach that it is possible to reach the masses by avoiding a bitter, direct, persistent campaign of exposure of Stalinism. This pernicious theory was spread among the anti-Stalinist workers, such as the POUMists, preventing these workers from realizing that this is a Stalinist era within the ranks of the toiling masses. The result in Spain is known: Stalinism from a small body of eight hundred to nine hundred members ballooned to a mass trap holding nearly 400,000 workers, with millions influenced by Stalinism indirectly. This has been another angle of the Left-Trotskyites' objective aid to Stalinism in Spain and elsewhere.

The fake mass line of the Left-Trotskyites is a tragic farce. A small group can pursue only a propaganda policy. But by stressing a mass orientation the Left-Trotskyites aid Trotsky and his Cannons to use this orientation very successfully in solving the problem of keeping the workers from making a thorough investigation of the history of Stalinism. For an organization of a few thousand members

and sympathizers, as the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party is, it appears quite "logical" to play "an independent role in the class struggle." Its members do not realize that this party is but a group as compared with the world Stalinist machine, even though in some cases the component parts of the Stalinist machine may be of a smaller size than the Trotskyist as was at one time the case in Spain and Greece.

It is Stalinism which, by paralyzing the international proletariat, has unleashed the brutal beast of capitalist reaction. Stalinism has shackled the toiling masses of Spain and of other countries. It is primarily Stalinism which is pushing one section of the proletariat after another into the abyss. But the Left-Trotskyists either intentionally, or through sheer stupidity, laid down for the workers an ostrich policy. The Left-Trotskyites go on with their suicidal sabotage of the struggle against Stalinism as well as against other forms of opportunism. Objectively, to the extent of their influence, they have helped to destroy the Spanish advanced workers, and are preparing the ground for a similar tragedy in France, the United States and elsewhere.

* * * * *

IV

LOVESTONE'S PART IN THE

SPANISH BETRAYAL

LOVESTONE employed a great number of devices to tie the Spanish workers politically to Stalinism and hinder them from finding the Marxist understanding of the political problems with which they were confronted. The truth about the previous Stalinist betrayals and the real motives behind the changes of the Stalinist line were very skilfully concealed by Lovestone.

Like the Trotskyites, in the early scenes of the Spanish tragedy Love-

stone fastened the advanced workers' minds to the Left Socialists, to Caballero. He instilled them with trust towards Jauhaux and other agents of imperialism. At the same time, he, Wolfe and other Lovestoneite leaders declared solemnly that there actually existed a Bolshevik Party in Spain — the POUM! They kept up this belief, inspiring confidence in the POUM's policy which delivered thousands of the best workers into the hands of the Stalinist-Socialist-Anarchist betray-

ers and which led to the destruction of the POUM itself. We have cited above how lamentably opportunist the political outlook of the POUM was. But the Lovestoneites told the workers a different story about the POUM:

"Here is the POUM, the best revolutionary party that the Spanish working class has produced -- may more, the best mass revolutionary party in the entire capitalist world.....Only the Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM) remained true to communist principles and clearly placed the problem of proletarian power and program." (B. D. Wolfe, "Civil War in Spain," pp. 71, 46.)

Even when the tragic end of the Spanish revolution finally became obvious, in March 1939, Lovestone, to imprint deeply upon the minds of the workers the illusion that the POUM was a Leninist organization, wrote:

"Only the P.O.U.M., imprisoned on both sides, hunted, in exile, and underground, comes out physically injured but morally unscathed. Only its program has stood the test of events, and even in the midst of their agony, increasing numbers of the masses begin to understand this and turn to them. Already driven underground by the Stalinist-G.P.U.-Negrin-Azana terror even while they were LOYALLY serving on the Republican front, the P.O.U.M. is best equipped to continue the struggle underground against Franco rule." (Workers Age, March 1, 1939. My emphasis - G.M.)

Thus, even in agony, the workers of Spain are held back from learning that the POUM also, added its share of misguiding and confusing the proletariat. Lovestone completely absolves the POUM politically, thus screening himself.

"And now every penny must go to the P.O.U.M. It alone is guiltless of the defeat. It alone advanced the program on which the struggle might have been, and must still be won. The struggle is entering a

new stage. In this stage, the P.O.U.M. must lead." (Ibid.)

We have given above some indications of the utter un-Marxist character of POUM positions. To show that the POUM was completely blind politically, it is enough to mention that in the face of centralization of authority carried out by the Popular Front Government, the POUM told the workers: "This is the first revolution to succeed since the Russian revolution." (The Spanish Revolution, Feb. 17, 1937.)

Thus the leaders of the POUM were unable to see the striking difference between a successful proletarian revolution, led by a Bolshevik party, and a proletarian revolution beheaded before their very eyes by Stalinism, Social Democracy, Anarchism and other khifers of the working class. But Lovestone, Wolfe or Herberg certainly cannot plead ignorance in this respect. These people know Marx and Lenin. They could not help seeing that the POUM was eaten by a multitude of opportunist political ailments. The reason for Lovestone's charlatanry with respect to the POUM is not far to seek. To prevent a comprehensive, all-inclusive investigation of the genesis and substance of Stalinism and Lovestone's criminal, careerist role, Lovestone and his associates, discovering that the POUM was an extraordinary political hodge-podge, pronounced that organization to be Marxist, and thus to the extent of their influence, caused a greater disorder in the suffocating political atmosphere within the Spanish proletariat.

Throughout the Spanish war the inquiring minds of the advanced anti-Stalinist Spanish workers sought to clarify themselves with respect to the parties upholding the people's front. These workers were struggling to extricate themselves from the quagmire of illusion and find a way towards a Marxist line. Lovestone "assisted" them with alacrity. Here is his ideological concoction -- as deadly a mental poison as any ever fed to the betrayed workers:

"The C.P. and the left wing of

the S.P. must rid themselves of the People's Front illusion..... The formation of a united Communist mass party composed of the present Communist Party, left Social-Democracy as well as of those anarchists and Syndicalists who are ready to throw overboard their old reformist, opportunist and anarcho-syndicalist ideas and to pursue correct Communist tactics, is absolutely essential." (Workers Age, M a r c h 28, 1936. My emphasis - G.M.)

Lovestone's recipe for the Spanish toilers consisted of a brew of opportunist poisons to be swallowed in one gulp. Not spitting out every kind of opportunist filth, but pouring them together into one pot was Lovestone's prescription. All this was done under the cover of giving the Stalinist-Socialist-Anarchist bureaucrats the kind advice to "rid themselves of the P.F. illusion." As well advise a leopard to shed his spots! Workers must realize that the leaders of these opportunist parties are case-hardened criminals who have spent long years in betraying the workers through every political fraud conceivable. The workers will never be able to forestall future disasters unless they know the reasons for their past and present defeats. And as soon as they investigate the past and present they will find a bloody trail left by these same Stalinist-Socialist-Anarchist betrayers whom Lovestone "advises" to shed their "illusions". Workers must know that the Stalinist-Socialist-Anarchist bureaucrats (and the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite crew as well) have no illusions, that their misleading of the toilers is a piece of carefully-planned and skillfully executed treachery.

Like the Trotskyites, Lovestone did not spare words to make Stalinist policies appear to revolve around Litvinov's diplomatic checker game.

"The policies of the Communist Parties everywhere are today determined by the momentary needs and requirements of Soviet foreign policy." (Workers Age, Aug. 20, 1938)

In the thesis adopted at their

1936 Labor Day conference, Lovestone stated that:

"The Communist International has abandoned Communist principles by adopting the People's Front line policy and a policy of national defense in bourgeois countries on the basis of its false estimates of how to defend communism in the Soviet Union...." (The People's Front Illusion, p. 84. My emphasis - G.M.)

Lovestone tries to make it appear that prior to the adoption of the Popular Front line, Stalin's "Comintern" was basically a Marxist organization. Now, however, according to Lovestone, the Stalin gang, because of their erroneous ideas on how to "defend communism in the Soviet Union," has given up Communist principles. Thus, Lovestone, like Trotsky, conceals the fact that the C.I. has been counter-revolutionary since 1922, not in order to "defend communism in the Soviet Union," but to safeguard the usurping schemes of the Stalin clique from upset by revolutionary developments. If Lovestone told the entire truth about the history of the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern, he would have to reveal his own part as a tool of Stalin from 1925 to 1929. Hence, Lovestone, like Trotsky spreads fairy stories about the People's Front line being due to Stalin's foreign policy, Stalin's desire to build socialism, etc.

Expressing their intrinsic Stalinist nature in a far crasser fashion than do the Trotskyites, the Lovestoneites at their Labor Day 1936 conference---

"...set themselves the task of helping the Comintern return to communist principles. It is possible to achieve because the Soviet State has retained its proletarian character, although it has brought about their abandonment by the other Communist Parties, as a result of its harboring the illusion that this is an effective defense policy of the Soviet Union." (The People's Front Illusion, p. 84.)

The bureaucratic domination of the

first Workers State, and the reactionary process of undermining the October Revolution was presented by Lovestone as "building Socialism."

"The essential correctness of the line of the leadership of the CPSU in building socialism in the Soviet Union...." (Workers Age, May 15, 1937.)

This was an extremely subtle snare devised to entangle the minds of the Spanish and other workers. The victims of Lovestone's opportunism were made to believe that Stalin's vicious policy in the Soviet Union was in the interest of the toiling masses. The inevitable deduction from such a belief could be no other than the conviction that if a considerable amount of valid proof could be presented to Stalin he would abandon his People's Front "illusion" in Spain. Lovestone furnished the acid eye-wash with the intent of securely blinding the Spanish workers' political vision:

"For the very reason that the CPSU, which is a Communist Party building socialism, completely dominates the Comintern, it would be wrong to deny the possibility of restoring the Communist International to revolutionary principles...." (Workers Age, May 15, 1937.)

To keep from sight the fact that Trotsky is a perennial Stalinist scape-goat in the bounding of whom Lovestone actively participated, the Lovestone leaders feigned astonishment that the brunt of the Stalinist fury was directed by the Stalinists against Trotsky---

"Nothing is more astonishing in the whole history of the Spanish civil war than the determination of the Stalinists to give Trotsky credit for the revolutionary section of the U.G.T. and C.N.T., for the armed defense of workers rights by the Barcelona workers last May, and for the policies and existence of the P.O.U.M!" (B. D. Wolfe, "The Civil War in Spain," p.67. My emphasis - G.M.)

. And incidentally, as the above quotation indicates, the Lovestoneites strengthened the illusion that Anarchism and Syndicalism in Spain had revolutionary sections within them. A tendency which does not hold to Lenin's principles and a Bolshevik program, is not revolutionary but opportunist. And Anarchism of all shades is anti-Leninist.

The reason for Lovestone's pro-Stalinist role is due to the fact that Lovestone's career stems from Stalinism -- he is tied to this dreadful opportunist power with "invisible" threads. In the crime of building the Stalinist bureaucratic regime Lovestone's political history bears a basic resemblance to that of Trotsky, with certain very important differences, of course. One must keep in mind the disparity in the stature of these two men. Trotsky, during October, was an outstanding revolutionist, performing a leading part in the overthrow of the capitalists and landlords of Russia. Lovestone at that time was a totally obscure figure, entering upon his political career. During the civil war Trotsky found himself at the summit of power; and later was collaborating with the most powerful bureaucrats of the Soviet Union and the Comintern. While Lovestone, as Stalinism had made some headway, became merely a bribed lackey of Stalin, as Browder or Thorez today.

Lovestone was among the stirrup holders of Stalin. He is involved up to his ears in the Stalinist betrayals. While he was in the C.P. Lovestone assisted Stalin to build up Trotsky as the main scape-goat, working loyally for Stalin -- and for himself.

The Lovestone leadership of the American Communist Party helped the Stalinist gang to poison the British and other workers with confidence in the labor agents of British imperialism, the Purcells, Bromleys and Swaleses. The Lovestone and Cannon-Foster gangs, on this point working in harmony, resented any criticism of the British scoundrels who were sell-

ing out the British miners and other toilers — "The latest and most contemptible attack made on Purcell..... the British workers have confidence in him" (Daily Worker, Sept.25, 1925).

An inside man of the Comintern, Lovestone no doubt knew of Lenin's Testament — a "secret" known among the leaders of the Russian Party, and even to an outsider, Max Eastman. Certainly Lovestone read Stalin's own admission of the existence of Lenin's testament in the Inprecorr, November 17, 1927, where Stalin stated:
17,

".....It is said that in the 'testament' in question Lenin suggested to the Party Congress that it should deliberate on the question of replacing Stalin and appointing another comrade in his place as General Secretary of the Party. THIS IS PERFECTLY TRUE." (p. 1429 - My emphasis - G.M.)

Yet Lovestone, together with Foster, Browder, Cannon and other careerists, endorsed Trotsky's outrageous denial of the existence of the Testament, which endorsement Lovestone has never repudiated!

During the Stalinist Rightist zigzag of 1924-1928 Lovestone gave Stalin full support in shackling the Chinese masses and turning them over to the butcher Chiang Kai-shek.

Lovestone and his Wolfes helped Stalin to transform Brandler, Thalheimer, Bukharin and other opportunists into scape-goats, who were labeled "the right danger."

"Our party has pursued an energetic policy in the struggle against Brandler and Thalheimer. Our Central Committee gave prompt and energetic endorsement to the struggle of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (Stalin) against the right danger." (Jay Lovestone, "Pages from Party History," p. 16.)

Prior to his being discarded by Stalin, which discarding occurred early in the left zigzag in 1929, Lovestone helped Stalin to introduce into America

the Stalinist "theory" — of Social-Fascism:

"There is noticeable and rapid fusion of socialist reformism with the capitalist state and increasingly open collaboration between socialist reformism and fascism in all its forms." (Jay Lovestone, The Communist, November 1928, p. 660.)

Just as Lovestone was "correcting" Stalin in the Rightist zigzag of 1934-1939, during the Spanish betrayal, so had he been "correcting" Stalin during the German betrayal in the Leftist zigzag.

As in the case of Trotsky, behind Lovestone's policies lurks the dread of complete exposure of the real history of Stalinism. Hence Lovestone, as Trotsky, gives his followers a mass line, nay, an ultra-mass line. If Cannon, who in the C.P. was interested mainly in the trade-union angle, now trade-unionizes his organization to the extent of 90%, then Lovestone, who was "the Marxian trunk" of the C.P., goes Cannon one better and gives his own organization a 95% turn towards economism. Astute and sharp-witted, Lovestone is aware, of course, that a mass line, even if conducted by sincere but uninformed revolutionists, can never change the course Stalin charts for the international proletariat. The path to the masses is through the advanced workers. The need of the present is complete political exposure of all opportunist tendencies, to win the advanced proletarians, ideologically and organizationally, to Marxism. A mass line diverts the workers from this task. Today a mass line is an opportunist line, conducted by Trotsky, Lovestone and other pseudo-Bolshevik "anti-Stalinists".

Destitute of the true facts in the badly battered history of the last eighteen years, the followers of Lovestone do not realize that their leader wears a political false face. Thus, Lovestone succeeds in keeping a few thousand advanced anti-Stalinist workers and intellectuals from learning political reality. Lovestone, without a shadow of a doubt, hates Stalin in-

tensely for the dirty trick of giving the job of the secretary of the American Stalinist section to Browder. But Lovestone must swallow his medicine and keep mum. Like Trotsky he can never tear himself away from the Stal-

inist orbit. He must work for Stalin. Having a certain amount of influence here and abroad, Lovestone has been politically aiding Stalinism to betray the masses to Hitler, Franco, Daladier and other imperialists.

* * *

THE TASK OF THE
PRESENT PERIOD

THE ADVANCED revolutionary workers must awaken to the dreadful situation confronting the world proletariat and all the oppressed. Their duty is to learn all the facts concerning Stalin, Trotsky, Lovestone and other "leaders" of the proletariat. Their duty is to free the workers' minds from the long-established falsehoods, to break the workers' blind, emotional attachment to one "great" opportunist or another. As things stand today, with Stalinism being the decisive opportunist force within the workingclass, with the proletarian vanguard torn among a number of treacherous organizations and tendencies, all offering alluring promises of victory while bringing on terrible defeats, the triumph of capitalist reaction throughout the world is an absolute certainty. Without smashing all opportunism, the stopping of bourgeois reaction is out of the question. The workers can overthrow the bourgeoisie, both the "democratic" and the Fascist, only by exposing all opportunism. The frightful lesson of Spain must be burned into the consciousness of the workers. After Spain will come France, the United States, other countries, unless the advanced workers are torn away from the opportunist vultures.

There are only two choices left for the revolutionary workers: either to leave matters as they are and be ground under the heel of the bourgeoisie, or in a resolute manner overcome the fear of disillusionment and break with all the traitors to the proletariat. There are no other choices presented by history. The true revo-

lutionary workers will take the second choice. They will find themselves to be extremely few in numbers, and isolated from the masses, as Lenin was in 1914-1917. But they must find each other and form a sufficiently strong group to launch a war of merciless exposure of Stalinism and of all other forms of opportunism. If Stalinism is broken in at least one important country, the path to the masses will be cleared to lead them against capitalism. If not, the world proletariat will continue to slide downward along the Leftist and Rightist disastrous course carved out by the Stalinist reaction until the entire advanced section of the world working class is wiped out.

The immediate task is: organized truth against the organized tangle of fraud. Every spark of available energy on the part of the few politically clear-sighted workers must be centered upon the exposure of Stalin, Trotsky, Lovestone, Social Democrats and other opportunists. If the betrayers get away with Spain as they got away with Germany, then new working class tragedies are inevitable. If they are not unmasked in time, then the circle of capitalist reaction will be completed with the destruction of the bureaucratically crippled first Workers State. The opportunists will transform the cradle of the world revolution into its grave.

Exposure — and once again —

EXPOSURE!

T O
T H E R E A D E R S O F
I N D E F E N S E O F B O L S H E V I S M

Dear Friends and Comrades:

You have been receiving our bulletin IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM for some time. No doubt you are now acquainted with the ideas expressed there and sympathize with the main aim of the magazine, i.e., to defend the ideas of Bolshevism against all its enemies and its pseudo-Marxist "friends" - especially against the Stalinist scourge which is burying the traditions and teachings of Leninism.

The comrades around the periodical IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM have undertaken the task of unearthing the whole truth about the degeneration of the Comintern and the Soviet Union, clarifying the class-conscious, revolutionary, vanguard workers; to rally them in an offensive against the persistent and deep-going trend of pessimism, demoralization, confusion and defeats

that have beset the international working class since Stalin usurped power in the Soviet Union.

In the very short time allowed us by history for this task, we must reach an ever-widening circle of politically clear and determined sympathizers and supporters. The imperative need of the hour is the need of a genuine revolutionary party. The work of carrying on and spreading IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM has already reached the limits of the financial capacity of our small group.

We ask you to share in the work of attempting to extricate the entire working-class from the reactionary wave engulfing it. We ask you to share in the struggle for the establishment of Socialism.

THE LENINIST LEAGUE U.S.A.

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The Leninist League, U.S.A.,
P. O. Box 67, Station D,
New York City

Dear Comrades:

Enclosed please find \$ _____ as a contribution toward the publication of IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM.

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