

THE BULLETIN

OF THE LENINIST LEAGUE, U. S. A.

FOR A NEW LENINIST INTERNATIONAL

A Note on the Stalin-Finnish Peace

"Unconditional Defense of the U. S. S. R"

An Examination of the Trotskyite Line

J. C. HUNTER

Some Contradictions of the Ultra-Lefts

On the Russian Question

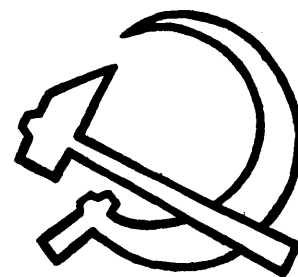
***Revolt* "Teaches and Explains"**

G. MARLEN

The Trotsky School of Falsification



THE LENINIST LEAGUE, U. S. A.
P. O. BOX 67, STATION D NEW YORK



Labor Donated

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

	Page
A Note On The Stalin-Finnish Peace	
"Unconditional Defense of the U.S.S.R." (An Examination of the Trotskyite Line)	1
Some Contradictions of the Ultra-Lefts (On the Russian Question)	13
A Character Sketch From The Trotskyite Pen	18
The Trotsky School of Falsification	19
Trotskyite Whitewash For Stalinism	23
REVOLT "Teaches and Explains"	24

Address Communications to:

R. Rolene
P.O.Box 67
Station D
New York City

A NOTE ON THE STALIN-FINNISH PEACE

*

WHILE MARXISM continuously checks its policies and teachings in the light of reality, a crisis in the historical scene momentarily intensifies the need for such checking. The cessation of the war in Finland is such a crisis.

In previous issues of this Bulletin, the guiding line of the developments of the present historical period was shown to be composed of two organically interrelated parts: (1) the temporary shelving of the inter-imperialist conflicts in order (2) to organize an imperialist assault on the Stalinized Workers' State. The operation of the first part of this line is evidenced in the co-operation of primarily English, French and American imperialism with German imperialism in the drive against the Soviet Union. With the collusion and assistance of the "democratic" powers, German imperialism was rearmed and, at the expense of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, was placed on Stalin's border. To cover up this Eastward drive, the "democratic" imperialists of France and England, in accordance with their demagogy of "stopping Hitler," declared a "war" on Germany. This "war," because the policy of world imperialism is to hold its internal contradictions in abeyance until the bureaucratized Workers' State has been destroyed, remains a sham, a ghost. As regards this portion of our analysis, reality has provided complete verification.

Our understanding of the precise details of the imperialists' plan to organize the actual assault on the Stalinized Soviet Union, however, was only partial and in some respects incorrect. When Stalin invaded Finland, our impression was that this would be the beginning of a decisive fight by world imperialism against the Stalinized Workers' State. The tremendous noise raised by the imperialists on Finland's behalf, contrasted with their virtual acquiescence in Stalin's seizure of Eastern Poland, Estonia, etc., confirmed us in our belief. On this point we were wrong. Finland was not converted into a direct starting point of a decisive fight by world imperialism against the Stalinized Workers' State. There cannot be any doubt, however, that the Finnish situation is part of the general imperialist plans for the organization of such a fight.

An analysis of the present situation in light of these new developments will appear in the next issue of THE BULLETIN.

The Leninist League, U.S.A.
March 17, 1940

"UNCONDITIONAL DEFENSE OF THE U.S.S.R."

(An Examination of the Trotskyist Line)

By J. C. Hunter

*

THE NEED FOR CAUTION

WHEN a revolutionary and anti-Stalinist worker is confronted with the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union," his reaction should be one of the utmost caution. The anti-Stalinist worker knows in advance that when the Stalin gang shouts "Defend the Soviet Union," it means support the Stalinist bureaucracy. Taking his cue from this equivocal position into which the development of Stalinism has thrown the watchword, "Defend the Soviet Union," the anti-Stalinist Bolshevik-minded worker has to evaluate carefully the policy of all those who advance this slogan so as to make certain that it is not the Stalinist bureaucracy into whose defense and support he is being trapped. To protect the economic gains of the first successful proletarian revolution from the clutches of both Stalinism and imperialism is one thing; to defend the Stalinist bureaucracy which the anti-Stalinist worker knows to be a plague to the masses is an entirely different matter. The need to avoid confusing these two is something about which no long story is necessary for the anti-Stalinist, revolutionary worker.

When such a worker hears the Trotskyite leader, Cannon, saying: "Our motion calls for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack" (New International, Feb. 1940, p. 11), he has to gird himself for an intensive and Leninist examination of what is underneath this slogan. Is this slogan a Bolshevik one; is it an outright Stalinist one; or is it a concealed, disguised Stal-

inist formula? The way to determine the character of this slogan is to study the program on which it is based.

MIGHTY WORDS AGAINST STALINISM

In investigating the Trotskyite position on the question of defense of the Soviet Union, the anti-Stalinist worker will be deeply impressed by what appears to be a relentless struggle to destroy Stalinism. Trotskyism proclaims that between Stalinism and the proletarian revolution there is an irreconcilable conflict. In fact:

"Only postponement of the world revolution nourishes the bureaucracy. It feeds on the defeats of the world working class. It maintains its arbitrary rule only because the Soviet masses have not been awakened by revolution without." ("Resolution on Russia," New International, Feb. 1940, p. 19. Emphasis in the original.)

It follows from this that "The international revolution will put an end to all bureaucracies by putting an end to all special privilege." (Ibid., pp. 21-22.) Trotsky describes the threat of proletarian revolution to Stalinism in unmistakable language:

"If those in Moscow could seriously hope to control the revolutionary movement and subordinate it to their own interests, Stalin naturally would welcome it. But he understands that revolution is the

anti-thesis of bureaucracy and that it mercilessly sweeps aside the privileged, conservative apparatus ... On the wave of a new revolution a new international organization would inevitably arise which would wipe out the Comintern and deal a mortal blow to the authority of the Soviet bureaucracy in its national entrenchment in the U. S. S. R." (Liberty, Jan. 27, 1940, p. 9. Our emphasis.)

That Stalin and his bureaucracy fear revolution as a deadly threat to their usurped bureaucratic power, there is not the least atom of doubt.

It is certain that the Trotskyite leaders know that the Stalinist bureaucracy is consciously counter-revolutionary, that for its own self-protection it must set its face resolutely against the proletarian revolution. No anti-Stalinist worker who understands at least the rudiments of the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy will disagree with this.

The anti-Stalinist worker naturally expects to find the Trotskyite leaders calling for a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Such a political revolution is in fact said by Trotskyism to be the chief task of revolutionists:

"The armed overthrow of the Soviet bureaucracy by the working class is the necessary condition for the regeneration of the Soviet state. This political revolution is the chief task of the revolutionists in the U.S.S.R." (New International, February 1940, p. 21.)

Again, the anti-Stalinist worker seems to have no reason for doubting the genuine Bolshevik character of Trotskyism. As if to answer the last hesitation that the cautious anti-Stalinist worker may have, the Trotskyite leaders assure him that:

"We do not shelve our aim of a political revolution in the U.S.S.R. during the war. Recognizing that the overthrow of the bureaucracy would immensely strengthen the USSR

in conducting the war, our objective of a political revolution remains in the period of the war and, indeed, becomes absolutely imperative." (Ibid. p. 23.)

War or peace, it would seem that the Trotskyite leaders will not rest until Stalinism is destroyed.

TROTSKY'S SUPPORT TO STALIN

Behind this ostensibly irreconcilable fight against Stalinism, however, there lurks an altogether different line in the Trotskyist structure. In order to realize that the Trotskyite "anti-Stalinist" coloration conceals something diametrically the opposite of the surface appearance, it is necessary to investigate the Trotskyist line in its entirety.

Trotsky presents the following as his basic premise concerning what he calls his policy of "defending the Soviet Union": The Stalinist bureaucrats are said to fulfill what Trotsky calls a "dual function." On the one hand, Trotsky asserts, they defend the proletarian property basis of the Soviet Union against capitalist attacks, and on the other hand, they undermine it. In so far as they defend the proletarian property, Trotsky tells the workers, they are to be supported; in so far as they undermine it, they are to be opposed. Here is Trotsky's thesis in his own words:

"It (i.e., the Stalinist bureaucracy - J.C.H.) defends the new form of property against the capitalist class and the capitalist enemies, and it applies the new form of property in the interests of the bureaucracy. With the Left Opposition, we declared many times we will sustain Stalin and his bureaucracy, and we repeat it now. We will sustain Stalin and his bureaucracy in every effort it makes to defend the new form of property against imperialist attacks. At the same time we try to defend the new forms of property against Stalin and the bureaucracy, against inner attacks against the new form of property." (The Case of Leon Trotsky, p. 282. Our emphasis.)

The question immediately arises:- In what sense can it be said that the Stalinist bureaucracy will make "efforts" to defend the proletarian property against the imperialist attacks?

The first thing that comes to mind is that Stalin and his bureaucrats will send the Stalinized "Red" Army into battle when the imperialists attack the Soviet Union. Insofar as the Stalinist bureaucrats organize a military front against the imperialists, do they not defend the proletarian property basis of the Soviet Union? This question is the crux of the entire matter and it must be answered in full.

In what does a genuine defense of the Soviet Union consist? We emphasize the word, "genuine," because any other kind is no defense. A genuine defense of the proletarian property basis of the Soviet Union can proceed only on the basis of re-establishing a Bolshevik line. The proletarian property basis is the product of the proletarian revolution, and only the continuous and successful development of that revolution can provide the Soviet Union with a decisive and genuine defense. This is something which no revolutionary, Bolshevik-minded worker will deny. The Stalinist bureaucracy fears both the imperialists and the proletarian revolution. Precisely because the Stalinist bureaucracy fears the proletarian revolution, it cannot give the Soviet Union a genuine and decisive defense against the imperialists. The defense of the Soviet Union is basically a political, not a military problem. Because the Stalinist bureaucracy dreads the proletarian revolution, the only possible basis of a genuine defense of the socialized property of the Soviet Union, it must set its face against the sine qua non of a true war against the imperialists. The workers "fighting" under the domination of the consciously counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy, must "fight" blindly.

There is no doubt that the Stalinist bureaucracy will send millions of workers and peasants to their destruction at the front. This will look for

all the world as if Stalinism is "defending the U.S.S.R." But it is precisely this seeming "defense," this military "struggle" that is foredoomed to defeat because of its counter-revolutionary political base.

Lenin held that military actions are only an extension of their political foundation. We have but to look at the Russian Civil War to see this in all its profound truth. The Bolshevik masses were infinitely weaker in military matters than the international imperialists who were arrayed against them. Bolshevism triumphed militarily despite its military weakness, because of its correct political, revolutionary policies. No one knows this better than Trotsky:

"During our Civil War — I do not believe that we were victorious principally because of our military science. It is false. We were victorious because of our revolutionary program." (Ibid. p. 295.)

In times of peace, Stalinism spells the destruction of the masses and of the conquests of October. Is it possible that "peaceful" Stalinism, which drowns the masses in a sea of blood by its treachery, which assures the triumph of bourgeois reaction, which undermines and destroys by degrees the October conquests, will in war provide the toilers and their form of property with a real defense? Can Stalinism which fears and hates the proletarian revolution in peace, further it in war? The thinking anti-Stalinist worker will emphatically reject all such chimeras and all those who foist them on the masses.

The proletariat must view the problem of defending its form of property in historical terms. Each force must be evaluated with respect to its effect on the proletarian property structure. Let us examine two forces: imperialism and Stalinism. That imperialism operates to destroy proletarian property in the means of production, to restore capitalist property and preserve it is crystal clear. As far as Stalinism is concerned, ever since its origin, it has been under-

mining the proletarian property structure of the Soviet Union and has aided the bourgeoisie to preserve capitalism in the rest of the world. Insofar as each in its own way is at war with proletarian property and operates to bring on the restoration and preservation of capitalist property, Stalinism and imperialism stand on the same historical grounds. This does not mean that the Stalinist bureaucrats are imperialists, as the ultra-Leftists maintain. The imperialists are the ruling section of an historic class, the bourgeoisie. The Stalinist bureaucrats are opportunists operating within the proletariat and preventing proletarian revolution in order to preserve their bureaucratic interests. Stalinism saves capitalism internationally and undermines the proletarian property of the Soviet Union. In this sense only, are Stalinism and imperialism on the same historic grounds, in the sense that each in its own way brings on the restoration and preservation of capitalism. Stalinism's opposition to proletarian revolution makes it, historically, an aid to imperialism.

We have stated that the military phase of the class struggle is only an extension of the political phase. Since the Stalinist bureaucrats, politically, operate against the proletarian property, in a military situation they fundamentally operate against its military interests. How does this follow? The military struggle to defend the proletarian property is determined by its political basis. In the case of Stalinism, this political basis is conscious counter-revolution. The political counter-revolution of Stalinism must result in the military victory of the imperialists. From Stalinism's political counter-revolution to imperialism's military victory there runs an organic and inescapable line.

When it is understood that Stalinism's political counter-revolution makes inevitable the military triumph of imperialism, it becomes clear that Stalinism's military struggle "against" imperialism is, like all of Stalinism's actions, only another step toward the final destruction of the pro-

letarian property structure of the Soviet Union. Trotsky presents Stalinism's military struggle "against" imperialism as a "defense of the Soviet Union." In essence this is a concealment of the fact that the political counter-revolution of Stalinism eliminates the possibility of its defending the Soviet Union along Bolshevik lines which alone constitute a defense of the historical interests of the proletariat.

Sustain Stalin and his bureaucracy "against" the imperialists, cries Trotsky. Thus, Trotsky gives the workers the impression that historically and politically there is a conflict between Stalinism and imperialism. The Bolshevik-minded worker, who thinks in terms of the relation of each force to the proletarian property basis of the Soviet Union and who realizes that Stalinism and imperialism both bring on, through different methods, the destruction of proletarian property, will understand that Trotsky has created a subtle myth with his story of Stalinism having some kind of role in defending proletarian property against imperialism. Such a worker will realize that the proletarian property, strangled and usurped by Stalinism, can be defended genuinely against imperialism only if Stalinism is overthrown. The annihilation of Stalinism is the prior condition, the absolute prerequisite for a genuine, Bolshevik defense of the proletarian property of the Soviet Union and its extension on an international scale. To "sustain Stalin and his bureaucracy" in any way or in any respect means to assure the victory of imperialism.

As always Trotskyism's pro-Stalinist deception consists of a subtle mixture of truth and falsehood, the former serving as a camouflage of the latter:- 1) The proletarian revolution will destroy Stalinism (true!); 2) Knowing this, the Stalinist bureaucracy fears and sets its face against the proletarian revolution (true!); 3) "...only the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy can guarantee the defeat of the imperialist armies." (Socialist Appeal, December 31, 1939.) (true!); 4) The Stalinist bureaucracy,

which dreads and hates the proletarian revolution and preserves and daily strengthens the world bourgeoisie, can defend the Soviet Union. (false!) In the first three points, we observe Trotsky's "anti-Stalinist" front. In the last one, there exists his pro-Stalinist political line.

KNOW THEM BY THE EXAMPLES THEY GIVE

If the anti-Stalinist worker follows the Trotskyist press, he will notice that in explaining their thesis on "unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union" the Trotskyite leaders have frequent reference to the trade unions as an example. According to the Trotskyites, the Workers' State is just a big trade union which has captured power. Hence, the tactics which are to be adopted in defense of a trade union should be utilized for the protection of the Workers' State. Trotsky puts this in the following form:

"The trade unions of France, Great Britain, the United States, and other countries support completely the counter-revolutionary politics of their bourgeoisie. This does not prevent us from labeling them trade unions, from supporting their progressive steps, and from defending them against the bourgeoisie. Why is it impossible to employ the same method with the counter-revolutionary workers' state? In the last analysis a workers' state is a trade union which has conquered power." (New International, February 1940, p.14. Our emphasis.)

The first thing that strikes the mind in this statement is the self-contradiction it contains:- trade unions supporting completely the counter-revolutionary politics of the bourgeoisie are also engaged in progressive steps!

The source of Trotsky's self-contradiction is this: he lumps together the treacherous leadership of the unions with the rank and file workers. The leaders are completely

counter-revolutionary; the workers in their interests represent progress, historically, socialism. The leaders are agents of the imperialists in the ranks of labor and cause the unions to function against the interests of the workers. The leaders have only one function: to carry out completely the counter-revolutionary policies of the bourgeoisie. The workers have the task of making the unions progressive by annihilating the treacherous leadership. But Trotsky, concealing the distinction between the completely counter-revolutionary leadership and the misled, but historically progressive rank and file, feeds the workers the poisonous idea of complete counter-revolution acting progressively.

Now, there is nothing accidental about this fabrication of Trotsky's. And furthermore he is not here guilty of any "mistake" or "misunderstanding." Because Trotsky participated in the original Stalinist conspiracy, he has a deliberate purpose in view. Trotsky is engaged in an effort to get his followers who are anti-Stalinist-minded to support the Stalinist bureaucracy. If Trotsky can drum into the mind of the workers the deadly idea that forces which operate completely against the proletarian revolution and in the interests of the bourgeoisie are still in some way progressive and beneficial to the workers, it will be possible for him to bludgeon his followers into supporting the Stalinist bureaucracy which every Trotskyite worker hates and knows to be a counter-revolutionary force. The trade unions, says Trotsky accordingly, are completely counter-revolutionary, yet their "progressive" steps must be supported. By lumping the criminal bureaucrats with the mass of union workers, Trotsky makes it look as if he is talking about supporting the unions. But since he talks about supporting forces which are completely counter-revolutionary, and since it is only the bureaucrats who have this character, it is clear that Trotsky is actually talking about supporting the completely counter-revolutionary bureaucrats when he talks about "supporting the unions." The Workers'

State, Trotsky tells his followers, is only a big trade union which has captured power. The counter-revolutionary Workers' State, i.e., the Stalinized Soviet Union, is simply a big trade union in power with counter-revolutionary bureaucrats dominating the whole affair. If one can support completely counter-revolutionary trade unions (read: union bureaucrats) why cannot one support the counter-revolutionary Workers' State (read: Stalinist bureaucrats)?

Trotsky faces a difficult task in his pro-Stalinist role. His rank and file followers by now are imbued with a fierce hatred, amounting to overwhelming revulsion, against the Stalinist bureaucracy. But Trotsky has to palm off the Stalinist cesspool of corruption as somehow functioning in the interests of the masses and therefore deserving in some sense the support of revolutionary workers. His hair-raising tale about the progressive-completely-counter-revolutionary trade unions is only one of the devices he uses for this purpose.

This tricky story about the trade unions is dutifully utilized by other Trotskyite leaders. In an effort to "prove" that the Stalinist bureaucrats, for their self-protection, will organize a genuine defense of the proletarian property of the Soviet Union, Goldman uses the analogy of the trade union bureaucrats:

"Green and Lewis are 'labor lieutenants of capitalism' in the ranks of labor; but they are compelled to defend the trade unions against the bosses because their very existence depends on the existence and strength of the trade unions." (Socialist Appeal, February 17, 1940, p. 3. Our emphasis.)

The personal fate of the trade union bureaucrats, says Goldman, is bound up with the fate of the trade unions, therefore, no matter how devoted the bureaucrats may be to the bourgeoisie, they have to defend the trade unions when these organizations are under attack. This story must be examined carefully. What is the basic and

guiding line of agents of the bourgeoisie and of opportunists in the ranks of labor? Is it their personal and political fate? At first glance, the answer seems to be, Yes. Some thought, however, will show that this is not at all the true answer. Again the revolutionary worker has to look at the problem historically. The basic and guiding line of all political forces is the relation they bear to the economic structure, the form of property in the means of production that they represent. Consider the case of those pro-bourgeois political forces whose personal and political fate is linked with bourgeois-democracy. Examples of such forces are trade union bureaucrats like Citrine, Jouhau, Green; social-democrats like Blum, Thomas. These gentlemen can thrive only as long as the bourgeoisie are ruling through "democracy." When the bourgeoisie pass over to the fascist form of rule, all this "democratic" garbage is cast overboard. We have but to recall the fate of the German social-democrats and trade union bureaucrats when fascism came to power to see what happens to the "democratic" agents of the bourgeoisie under such circumstances. One would imagine that the "democratic" agents of imperialism would therefore fight to defend "democracy" and would resist tooth and nail the efforts of the bourgeoisie to install fascism. In rivers of proletarian blood shed by victorious fascism helped to power by the "democratic" politicians, history records how these creatures "fight" to "defend" bourgeois-democracy. Though the victory of fascism means the destruction of the "democratic" politicians, when the bourgeoisie turn to fascism, they are assisted by these same "democratic" politicians. Is it then their personal and political fate which is the basic and guiding line of the "democratic" politicians? Not in the least! The basic and guiding line of all pro-bourgeois politicians is their concern for the fate of the bourgeoisie. This is the lesson of history. Recall to mind the teachings of only yesterday's events in Spain. The victory of Franco meant the annihilation of the "democratic" politicians of the People's Front government. But because only

the victory of Fascism could preserve the capitalist economy of Spain, the pro-bourgeois "democratic" politicians of the People's Front government betrayed the workers to Franco and strove with might and main to assure his victory. Having accomplished their historic task of saving Spanish capitalism, the "democratic" politicians were either imprisoned or executed by the fascists. So little a role did their personal and political fate play in the actions of the "democratic" politicians!

The trade union bureaucrats, the Greens and Lewises, as agents of the bourgeoisie, are not guided by their personal and political fate, but by their concern for the capitalist class. These creatures are completely devoted to the bourgeoisie and will defend nothing against them. When the Trotskyite leaders feed their followers deceptive stories about the treacherous, thoroughly pro-capitalist trade union bureaucrats actually defending the trade unions (i.e., the workers' organizations) against the bourgeoisie, they are cunningly concealing the basic lines of the class struggle.

When the Trotskyite leaders carry over their falsified analogy of the trade unions to the case of the Stalinist bureaucrats, they perpetrate the same fraud. Trotskyism throws this kind of dust into the eyes of its victims: Is not the personal and political fate of the Stalinist bureaucrats tied up with the proletarian property which they have usurped and which feeds them rich pickings? Will not the Stalinist bureaucrats therefore organize a genuine defense of this proletarian property when it is attacked by the bourgeoisie? To this Trotskyism replies: "We will sustain Stalin and his bureaucracy in every effort it makes to defend the new form of property against imperialist attacks" (The Case of Leon Trotsky, p. 282), implying that Stalin and his bureaucracy can and will make, real efforts to defend the proletarian property against imperialism. Leninism, on the other hand, points out: Stalinism's "efforts" which can be only in the military or diplomatic field are

indissolubly bound up with its counter-revolutionary political character. Therefore historically its "efforts" can lead only to the political paralysis of the proletariat and hence to the inevitable victory of the bourgeoisie. To "sustain Stalin and his bureaucracy" on any pretext means to work for the victory of the imperialists over the proletarian property.

The Trotskyite implication that there is such an alignment of forces as Stalinism-against-imperialism is a misrepresentation of reality. There is no such alignment of forces! Historically Stalinism aids and strengthens imperialism. Historically the true alignment of forces is the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the latter being aided and defended by opportunism within the workingclass, primarily by Stalinism.

As regards Trotsky's line urging the workers to sustain Stalin and his bureaucracy, Trotsky has been getting the anti-Stalinist, revolutionary-minded workers to support Stalinism ever since the origin of this opportunist cancer on the Workers' State. The results of Trotsky's pro-Stalinist line can be found in the millions of toilers' corpses piled up by Stalinist treachery throughout the world ever since 1922. Trotsky's line of sustaining Stalinism "against" imperialism must be exposed as support to Stalinism and imperialism. It must be crushed beneath the Bolshevik line: Annihilate Stalinism, the main enemy within the proletariat, in order to defeat imperialism.

TROTSKYISM "POSTPONES" ITS "FIGHT" AGAINST STALINISM

In its line of "Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union," Trotskyism's pro-Stalinist character is seen — in so far as our analysis has gone — in the deadly myth that Stalinism is a force opposed to imperialism; that Stalinism can organize a fight against imperialism; and that therefore Stalinism should be given support by the workers "against" imperialism. If this is all Trotskyism said, it would face the danger of being easily

recognized as an outright supporter and defender of Stalinism. Therefore, it is necessary for Trotskyism to add some kind of seemingly "anti-Stalinist" flavor to its line. We have noted at the beginning of this article that Trotskyism calls for a political revolution against Stalinism and asserts that "We do not shelve our aim of a political revolution in the U.S.S.R." under any conditions, regardless of whether there is war or peace. This certainly has all the earmarks of being powerful "anti-Stalinism." When the pro-Stalinist character of the Trotskyist line is understood, however, the wary anti-Stalinist worker will immediately seek to find the devices used by Trotskyism to prevent the overthrow of Stalinism by political revolution, devices concealed with shouts of being irrevocably for the overthrow of Stalinism. The keen-eyed anti-Stalinist worker will soon find his search rewarded.

In order to confuse the workers on the true relation of the overthrow of Stalinism to the proletarian fight against the bourgeoisie, the Trotskyist leaders have devised a rignarole based on their falsified analogy of the trade unions which we have already discussed in part. Goldman puts the matter in the following way:

"Revolutionary workers in a union controlled by reactionaries understand very well that during a strike the reactionary leadership does not and cannot conduct the most effective struggle against the bosses and they would not hesitate to oust the reactionary leadership even during a strike. But they also understand that during a strike the main enemy is the boss and they concentrate their efforts to win the strike against the boss. In other words, they subordinate the struggle against the reactionary leadership to the struggle against the boss." (Socialist Appeal, February 24, 1940, p. 3. Our emphasis.)

Let us summarize the relation of forces in this situation as presented by Goldman: 1) There are workers ar-

rayed against the boss; 2) The workers are controlled by reactionary leaders; 3) These reactionary leaders do not put up the "most effective" fight against the boss, but, by implication, they do put up some kind of fight against him; 4) The main enemy is the boss; 5) Therefore, the fight against the reactionary leaders is "subordinated" to the fight against the boss.

Now let us see what the true, as opposed to the Trotskyite, relation of forces is in this situation: 1) The workers are arrayed against the boss, the struggle between the two being basically irreconcilable; 2) The workers are controlled by reactionary leaders; 3) These reactionary leaders do not put up any fight against the boss but directly or indirectly work with him completely to betray the strike; 4) The main enemy is the boss and all his agents, as for example, the reactionary trade union leaders; 5) In order actually to defeat the boss the reactionary leaders must first be exposed and ousted, hence the fight against them is synonymous with the fight against the boss and can never be subordinated to the latter. Wherein does this true estimation of forces differ from the Trotskyite distortions? The aim of the Trotskyites is to give the workers the impression that somehow the reactionary trade union leaders are separated from, and opposed to the boss. When Goldman wrote that the reactionary leaders do not put up the "most effective" struggle against the boss, he chose his words carefully. His aim was precisely to give the workers the impression that the reactionary leaders, while not making the "most effective" fight, do put up some kind of struggle against the boss. Thus, in the mind of his readers, Goldman has created a certain separation between the reactionary union bureaucrats and the boss.

Just as the true alignment of forces in the trade union differs from that pictured by the Trotskyite leaders, so does the workers' task in defending the union. Since the trade union bureaucrats, representing imperialism, function within the ranks of the workers, the task of the prolet-

ariat is to unmask and oust them in order to be able to combat the bourgeoisie successfully. Prior to the annihilation of the trade union bureaucrats, the workers in the union can only remain at the mercy of the bosses. To "subordinate" the struggle against the bureaucrats, is to assure the victory of the capitalists. When the Trotskyite leaders use the word "subordinate," again they have chosen their language with extreme care. Palming off complete traitors as people who are to an extent working in the interests of the toilers, the Trotskyite leaders assure the workers that with such leadership it is possible to wage a genuine fight, though not the "most effective," against their oppressors. Since under such leadership a fight is being put up against the class enemy, the main foe is the class enemy, as Trotskyism puts it. The reactionary leadership, since it works to an extent in the interests of the toilers, becomes a secondary concern, in the Trotskyite scheme. Hence against the reactionary leadership, say the Goldmans, the fight can be subordinated. In other words, it is not necessary now to oust this leadership, the Trotskyites tell their victims; now it is even permissible to support these reactionary leaders "against" the class enemy.

What, however, is the true state of affairs which the Trotskyite leaders conceal? There is no such alignment of forces as reactionary-leadership-against-boss. The reactionary leadership functions only on behalf of the boss. The struggle against the reactionary leadership and the class enemy are one and the same thing; in order to defeat the class enemy, the reactionary agents of that enemy must first be destroyed. All those who call for support to a reactionary leadership or subordination of the fight against it on any pretext whatever are deadly enemies of the toilers.

The Trotskyite leaders use their story of the trade unions to prepare the mind of their followers to accept the Trotskyite line of factual support to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Let us see how they follow out their "argument."

It will be recalled that, having created the myth of Stalinism-against-imperialism, Trotsky urges the workers to sustain Stalin and his bureaucracy in every "effort" it makes "against" imperialism. First the Trotskyites make sure to poison the mind of their victims with the idea that Stalinism wages some kind of a fight against imperialism. But, at the same time, Trotskyism must preserve its "anti-Stalinist" coloration. Hence, it must satisfy the feelings of the anti-Stalinist workers who follow it by stating that the overthrow of Stalinism will "strengthen immensely" the Soviet Union. Thus, Goldman writes:

"If the Russian workers see a chance to overthrow the Stalinist regime they should do so even when the Soviet Union is involved in a war. The Soviet Union will thereby be strengthened immensely." (Socialist Appeal, February 24, 1940, p. 3.)

This "revolutionary" bait covers up the following opportunist hook:

"But it must be clearly understood at all times that the struggle against the bureaucracy should be subordinated to the struggle against the imperialist ^{enemy}." (Ibid. Our emphasis.)

Here we have a most striking example of how Trotskyism works. On the one hand it gives the workers "anti-Stalinist" slogans, and on the other it ties them firmly to the Stalinist bureaucracy. On the basis of concocting a non-existent "beneficial" relation of Stalinism to the proletarian property of the Soviet Union and an equally non-existent "antagonistic" relation of Stalinism to imperialism, the Trotskyite leaders "teach" the workers that the fight against Stalinism "should be subordinated" to the fight against imperialism. But this Trotskyist "subordination" has as its essence the support of Stalinism "against" imperialism. In reality, however, Stalinism can be supported only against the toilers. The Trotskyist death trap of "subordinating" the fight against Stalinism to the fight

against imperialism, i.e., supporting the Stalinist bureaucracy "against" imperialism, assures the victory of imperialism. Without the prior overthrow of Stalinism, the triumph of imperialism is inevitable. Since "subordination" of the fight against Stalinism to the fight against imperialism means the inevitable victory of the latter, then such "subordination" means postponement to the Greek Calands. There will never be any fight against Stalinism, if the Trotskyist line is followed by the workers; there will be only the triumph of imperialism.

TROTSKY'S "GOOD SOLDIER" THESIS

We have noted that Trotsky creates the illusion that the Stalin bureaucracy is capable of conducting a real defense of the proletarian property basis of the Soviet Union; that "in so far as" Stalinism fights "against" imperialism the workers should "sustain Stalin and his bureaucracy." We have also indicated that what Trotsky does is to palm off the military struggle of Stalinism "against" imperialism as a genuine struggle in the sense that it bears with it the possibility of actually defeating imperialism. The essence of Trotsky's deception has been shown to be his concealment of the fact that the consciously counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism makes it impossible for this renegade tendency to utilize the only thing that can really save the Soviet Union, i.e., the successful development and extension of the proletarian revolution. In fact Trotsky spreads the deadly fiction that while Stalinism rules, victory over imperialism is possible. He tricks the workers into believing that the military "struggle" of Stalinism, its political line being counter-revolutionary, is capable of defeating imperialism. Trotsky gives the following as an example of his line for the Soviet Union:

"In the Soviet Union, I would try to be a good soldier, win the sympathy of the soldiers, and fight well. Then, at a good moment,

when victory is ASSURED, I would say: 'Now we must finish with the bureaucracy.'" (The Case of Leon Trotsky, p. 289. Our emphasis and capitals.)

Note the sequence of Trotsky's ideas: 1) The workers are to fight (Stalinism's military "struggle"); 2) Victory is possible (under Stalinist rule the workers can defeat imperialism); 3) Then, the Stalinist bureaucracy is to be finished with. Meanwhile, remember, the workers have been supporting Stalin and his bureaucracy "against" imperialism.

If the workers follow Trotsky's line, then the true outcome, as opposed to Trotsky's pretended one will be this: 1) The workers would fight under Stalinist domination; 2) The workers would be inevitably defeated by the bourgeoisie and the Soviet Union annihilated; 3) Triumphant imperialism would restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, entrench capitalism internationally, and there would follow a long period of indescribable bourgeois reaction. This is the real content of Trotsky's "good soldier" thesis. Only those workers can be good soldiers in the Soviet Union who understand that in order for imperialism to be defeated, in order for victory to be assured, the Stalinist bureaucracy must be first overthrown. The only good soldier, as far as the working class is concerned, is the Bolshevik worker, the one who understands the political problems of the proletariat. To put it generally, the masses, in order to be good soldiers, must have a Bolshevik leadership, a revolutionary vanguard which will lead them to victory over imperialism through the prior overthrow of the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy.

Trotsky's "good soldier" thesis is in reality a sure recipe for how not to be a good soldier in the Soviet Union (or internationally), for how to be certain to bring on the final defeat of the first successful proletarian revolution, the restoration of bourgeois private property in the Soviet Union.

THE ESSENCE OF
TROTSKYISM - COLLABORATION WITH STALIN

There is a long and bloody path from the beginnings of Stalinism in 1921-1922 to the present day. To evolve from his conspiracy to usurp power in the Workers' State to his present position of universal hangman of the masses, Stalin had to pass over the corpses of millions of toilers the world over. In every revolutionary upsurge of the workers since 1922, Stalin saw a deadly menace to his bureaucratic power and took steps to crush all such revolutionary developments. To do so he had to let loose in the Workers' State a million-headed monster of bureaucratism; he had to corrupt the Comintern and eliminate whatever rudiments of Leninism it originally might have had; he had to convert the first Workers' State and its international extension, the Comintern, from a center of world revolution to a center of world counter-revolution. If the epoch of the first successful proletarian revolution ends in final defeat for the proletariat, Stalinism — with all its collaborators and political offshoots — will bear the primary responsibility.

The victory of the proletarian revolution hinges on the destruction of the Stalinist system in its entirety. To a worker who understands that Stalinism's domination can result only in the final destruction of the proletarian property basis of the first Workers' State and in the utter defeat of the proletariat internationally, any form of collaboration with Stalinism is unthinkable. In the hearing conducted in Mexico by the Dewey Commission, Goldman put the following question to Trotsky: "Then your answer is that you are willing to collaborate with Stalin in defending the Soviet Union against the capitalist enemies?" A revolutionary worker clear as to the true role of Stalinism would give the following reply to this question: Stalin is an opportunist criminal who spells the destruction of the Soviet Union. There is not nor can there be any such thing as Stalin-defending-the-Soviet-Union-against-the-capitalist-enemies. There can be only the

Bolshevik proletariat defending the Soviet Union against the capitalists. But, characteristically, to Goldman's question Trotsky answers in one unmistakable word: "Absolutely." (The Case of Leon Trotsky, p. 292.) When it is clear that the Trotskyist invention of Stalinism-against-imperialism is only a distortion of the true relation of forces, which is Stalinism-against-the-masses, then the real significance of Trotsky's "Absolutely" will be grasped.

THE LENINIST SLOGAN FOR THE
PRESENT PERIOD

We began our examination with the warning that the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union," must be carefully evaluated to see whether or not it is a genuine Bolshevik one, an outright Stalinist one or a concealed, disguised Stalinist slogan. These points were raised in relation to the Trotskyist slogan of "Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union." The Trotskyite slogan carries with it a core of deception of which the following are the salient elements: the fiction that consciously counter-revolutionary Stalinism is in some way capable of really defending the U.S.S.R.; that under Stalinism victory for the workers is a possibility; that the prior overthrow of Stalinism is not the first and foremost requirement for the defeat of world imperialism; that the workers should support the "efforts" Stalin makes "against" imperialism. This pro-Stalinist line is concealed beneath a mountain of what seems to be powerful thrusts against Stalinism. The Trotskyite slogan, "Unconditional Defense of the U.S.S.R." is therefore a disguised Stalinist one.

The rise of Stalinism has rendered the bare slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union," no longer revolutionary for the international proletariat in the present period. A slogan is required which directs the spearpoint of the revolutionary proletariat through the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to strike at the bourgeoisie successfully. This slogan must emphasize sharply the fact

that without the prior annihilation of Stalinism and re-establishment of Bolshevism there can be no victory over the capitalist class.

Since the rise of Stalinism in 1922, the true Leninist slogan has been and, until Stalinism is annihi-

lated, will remain:- THE VICTORY OF THE PROLETARIAT OVER STALINISM AND ITS TROTSKYIST COLLABORATORS IS THE PREREQUISITE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE DESTRUCTION OF WORLD IMPERIALISM.

TO UNDERSTAND

The character of the present situation-

The true nature of the opportunist misleaders of the workers-

The tasks of the proletarian vanguard in the struggle to create a new Leninist International-

The prospects of the working class for liberation from oppression-

READ-

THE BULLETIN
of the
Leninist League, USA

5¢/copy
50¢/year

Address:

R. Rolene
P.O.B. 67
Station D
N. Y. C.

SOME CONTRADICTIONS OF THE ULTRA-LEFTS
(On the Russian Question)

THE two main positions of the ultra-Leftists on the question of the nature of the present Russian State may be outlined as follows:

1). On the basis of the economic structure or form of property ownership in the means of production established by the proletarian revolution in Russia there has arisen a form of state capitalism. The Stalinist bureaucracy, having eliminated the workers from political control, has seized the state-owned property and converted itself into a capitalist class existing on an economic structure which is not bourgeois-private property, but state capitalism. By a change in the political superstructure, the economy, without any basic change occurring in form of ownership as established by the October Revolution, underwent an alteration in its class nature. Mienov and Joerger (i.e., the Workers Party) may be taken as representatives of this position.

2). Russia is some kind of a "new society" which can be called "totalitarian." Many who hold this position deny that there is "state capitalism" in Russia. They insist that the form of ownership of property in the means of production established by the proletarian revolution still exists in Russia. But, nevertheless, Russia cannot be said to be any form of an historically proletarian society. What the class nature of Russian society is, the proponents of this position do not state. They only know that it is not proletarian. The League for a Revolutionary Workers Party and the Revolutionary Labor Group (Negrette-Koster) represent this position.

While these two positions differ

in verbiage, they both break with Marxism along the same lines. Marxism maintains that a new society comes into existence when a new form of productive relations involving a new form of ownership of the means of production is established. Both these ultra-Leftist tendencies recognize that the Stalinist bureaucracy has introduced no new form of ownership of property. Yet, somehow a new society is said by them to have appeared in Russia and the Stalinist bureaucracy is called a new "ruling class." The feature which Marxism holds to be the prime historical function of every true social class, namely, the creation of a new form of ownership of property in the means of production, does not characterize the new "ruling class" which the ultra-Lefts conjure up, but this does not prevent them from insisting that they are Marxist-Leninists to the core.

The development of each ruling class in history is the work of centuries. Chattel slavery, feudalism, capitalism each took a whole epoch to come into existence. Each laid down its property basis within the womb of the old society over many generations and thus for a long time gave material, economic and ideological evidence of its birth pangs. The proletariat develops for centuries within capitalism on the basis of a socialized method of production and private bourgeois ownership of property in production. When the proletariat leads society towards socialism, the classless society, it also takes a whole historical epoch for this task. Within the framework of the old society, capitalism considered on a world scale, the proletariat during the course of an entire historic period marked by a series of imperialist wars and proletarian revolu-

tions, as Lenin put it, lays down its form of property, state ownership of the means of production. The Stalinist bureaucracy as a "ruling class," however, if we believe the ultra-Lefts, came into existence practically at the snap of a finger. Whether the ultra-Lefts realize it or not, the Stalin clique and its allies behind the back of sick Lenin, entered into their conspiracy to usurp power in the Workers' State in 1921-1922. By the end of 1923, because of the treachery of this renegade leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Stalinist gang had already built a huge bureaucracy as its political base. Firmly in the saddle the Stalin clique had by this time successfully arrested the march toward socialism in the Soviet Republic and internationally (Germany). As a matter of fact, some of the ultra-Lefts are willing to say that by 1923 or 1924 Russia was no longer any form of a Workers' State. Hence it follows that in the course of a mere two or three years a new "ruling class" and with it a "new society" popped onto the historical stage. And that without bringing into existence any new form of economic structure! With the wave of a wand, the ultra-Lefts apply high-speed production to the creation of a new "ruling class" and a "new society." As easily as a magician pulls rabbits out of a hat, the ultra-Lefts concoct a "class" and a "new society" out of their imagination.

Marxism maintains that each society gives birth to a new one only when the old one has become historically exhausted. Its period of progressive development is over and features of decay set in. Thus, the imperialist phase of capitalism, marked by economic stagnation and parasitism, is the phase in which capitalism gives birth directly, in a historic sense, to socialism. The ultra-Lefts insist that the beginnings of the new society established by the proletarian revolution in Russia give rise to still another "new society," the present Stalinized Soviet Union. Logically, therefore, in relation to this latter "new society" which the ultra-Lefts allege Stalinism created, the one brought into existence by the October Revolu-

tion is the "old society." In the scheme of the ultra-Lefts it follows, to be consistent with the "Marxism" to which they say they adhere, that the "old society" created by the October Revolution must have been already historically exhausted, decadent and stagnant. It could not rise any longer to higher productive levels and therefore gave birth to a "new society." But reality shows us that the new society created by the October Revolution — (the ultra-Lefts' "old society") — was far from having come to the end of its historic life. In fact, it had far to go to reach the level of the capitalist world from which it tore itself loose. The productive level of proletarian Russia was enormously lower than that of the surrounding capitalist world. Only in property form, only in productive potentiality, was it on a higher historic level than capitalism. The economy of the Soviet Republic in the pre-Stalinist years, as even the ultra-Lefts will admit, had room for tremendous expansion. In no sense was it historically exhausted. And yet, the ultra-Lefts maintain, that on the basis of this economy, below even capitalism in its productive level, there arose still another "new society" with a new "ruling class." Even today, as Stalin himself confessed not so long ago, this "new society" is markedly inferior to capitalism in every major aspect of production. Each society in coming into existence, so Marxism maintains, solves the contradictions caused by the historical exhaustion of the old society. What contradictions of this historical nature did the Stalinist "new society" solve? Obviously none, for the proletarian society on which it arose was remote from any kind of historical exhaustion, in fact, it was in a promising, vital, forward-moving infancy. The ultra-Lefts, therefore, have fabricated a "new society" which has no historic purpose, no historic justification, no historic basis. Like Topsy, it "just grewed."

Each new society as it comes into existence brings with it a sharp break with the old society just overthrown in ideology, frame of mind, slogans, way of thinking, heroes, trappings and

way of living. The bourgeoisie developed an ideology differing sharply from that of feudalism. Rising capitalism produced, for its own justification, economic, political, philosophical and scientific ideas completely at variance with those found in feudalism. Has the "new society" of the ultra-Lefts' imagination done anything of this sort? Not in the least. Strangely enough, this "new society" shouts at the top of its lungs that it is adhering closely to every aim and ideal of the "old society" brought to life by the October Revolution. The "old society" had Marxism-Leninism as the structure of its ideology. "We are the greatest of Marxist-Leninists" bellow the Stalinist masters of the "new society." The bourgeoisie in overturning the old society of feudalism cried, "Down with the kings and princes." The ultra-Lefts' new "ruling class" in overturning Lenin's "old society" howls, "Hurrah for Lenin, Stalin is the Lenin of today." The "old society" proclaimed Socialism as its aim. The "new society" vehemently asserts it has already completed the construction of Socialism. The genuine motives of the "old society" have become the essence of the demagogy of the ultra-Lefts' "new society" and its new "ruling class." The "new society" in order to justify its existence has to wrap itself with the mantle of the "old society." This is only one of the many features of the so-called new Russian "ruling class" which proves that it is not a new ruling class at all but is a peculiar parasitic growth on the "old society" which basically still exists in its economic foundation as established by the October Revolution. Stalinism, donning a "Leninist" camouflage, is a bureaucratic leech which has spread its tentacles over a proletarian society. This in itself does not change the class nature of the proletarian society. The Stalinist bureaucrats endanger its existence and prepare the grounds for its destruction and thus for its eventual alteration in class nature.

Each new historic ruling class ^{not} only brings into existence a new form of property in the means of production, but is the developer and defender of

its property basis. The Stalinist bureaucracy is an alleged "ruling class," however, is in complete contradiction with "its" property base. The ultra-Lefts will generally admit that, in order for the system of state property as established by the October Revolution to be preserved and extended, the Stalinist bureaucracy had originally to be prevented from coming into existence and power and now has to be destroyed. Within the Soviet Republic, Stalinism seizing for its own use the property foundation brought into being by the proletarian revolution, undermines, corrupts, strangles and leads it to destruction. Internationally, Stalinism from its very inception in 1921-22 has functioned to prevent the revolutionary extension of the proletarian form of property. By its political counter-revolution, (effected by the Stalinized "Comintern"), Stalinism has aided the capitalists to preserve bourgeois-private property, a form opposed to that on which Stalinism arose and usurped. The Stalinist bureaucracy as a "ruling class" lacks the factor of being in harmony with "its" property basis. Historically, Stalinism stands on the same side of the fence as the bourgeoisie. Both Stalinism and the bourgeoisie bring on the destruction of the form of property established by the proletarian revolution. Stalinism, then, has the remarkable feature of being in historical harmony with a class which functions to wipe out the property basis on which Stalinism arose and exists. Yet this "weird" social structure, the Stalinist bureaucracy, is said by the ultra-Lefts to be a ruling class. This characteristic of the Stalinist bureaucracy, again points to the fact that it is not a ruling class, but is a parasitic growth on the property basis it has usurped. Like so many parasites, it both profits ^{by} and destroys its victim, but does not thereby change the basic form or nature of the victim. The man being killed by a parasite is still a man being killed, ^{and} the proletarian property being destroyed by Stalinism is still proletarian property. The task is to wipe out the parasite and save the victim.

If Stalinized Russia is a non-

proletarian society, it follows that the task of the proletariat is to overthrow it. A society is overthrown by a social revolution, i.e., by an overturn in the economic structure. A political revolution can serve as the lever for a social revolution, as the seizure of power by the Russian proletariat led to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. But a political revolution in itself is not sufficient to overthrow a society. For this, a social, economic revolution is the essential process required. Hence, if Russia is a non-proletarian society, dominated by a new exploiting class, then the ultra-Lefts, to be consistent, should be calling for a social revolution, an overturn of the economic structure. Furthermore, they have to make clear the sort of economic structure with which they propose to replace what now exists in Russia. Today, there is a generalized system of state-owned property in the means of production, a form of property established by a proletarian revolution. This is the economic structure which Marxism maintains is necessary for the development of a Socialized society. What is to replace it, in the scheme of the ultra-Lefts? Surely, they do not propose to put back bourgeois-private property. What can they call for, "Marxists" that they say they are, but a generalized system of state-owned property in the means of production, a form of property established by a proletarian revolution. They admit this already exists in Russia. Hence, they cannot call for a social, economic revolution. They can call for a political revolution only, whether they realize it or not. In brief, their non-proletarian society is to be overthrown without a social revolution. All the ultra-Lefts have fallen into this muddle by confusing the political superstructure with the economic foundation. They mistake changes in the political superstructure for changes in the economic, social structure. To them, the Stalinist usurpation of political power in the Workers' State is an economic, social change. The fact that Stalinism did not introduce a new form of economic structure or ownership of property which can be distinguished

from that established by the proletarian revolution is either explained away or disregarded in the "systems" of the ultra-Lefts. Hence, they have collapsed into the ludicrous position of concocting a "new society" out of Stalinized Russia which is to be overthrown without a social revolution.

Even these brief considerations indicate that the position of the ultra-Lefts is essentially an attack on the system of state-owned property created by the October Revolution. Only the proletariat can establish this economic structure. No other class under the sun can dispossess and defeat the capitalist class and bring into existence socialized ownership of the means of production. Of all the classes in bourgeois society, only the proletariat can fight for and develop socialized property, for this is the economic basis of the socialist society. To deny the proletarian character of the system of state-owned property existing in the Stalinized Soviet Union is to deny the basic achievement of the first successful proletarian revolution, whereas the task of Leninism is to explain in what way this achievement is being misdirected and undermined. To turn the eyes of the workers away from the class character, and therefore from the historical significance of the socialized property is to work for its destruction. While the ultra-Lefts are inconsistent in many fundamental respects in their position, they are not in the least inconsistent in the counter-revolutionary character of their conclusions. With one voice, all the ultra-Lefts call for the defeat of the Stalinized Soviet Union. Not the eradication of the Stalinist cancer and thus the salvation and revolutionary extension of the system of state-owned property created by the proletarian revolution, but the defeat of this property is the objective aim of the ultra-Lefts. They may cover this up with shouts of "Revolutionary defeatism in the imperialist countries." The workers, however, must have this fact clearly in mind: the Soviet Union based on socialized property, when at war with the imperialists based on private property, is historically the proletariat at war

with the bourgeoisie. The proletariat is led by a counter-revolutionary leadership which makes victory over the bourgeoisie impossible. In this class war, one side or the other must be victorious. Either the proletariat, having freed itself from Stalinism, will defeat the capitalists, or the latter, assisted politically by Stalinism, will destroy the last fruits of the first successful proletarian revolution. Since only either the workers or the bourgeoisie can win in a war of socialized property against bourgeois property, those who call for the defeat of the Soviet Union are in reality calling for the victory of the bourgeoisie, and the slogan of "revolutionary defeatism for the imperialist countries" is only a camouflage of this fact. When two capitalist powers are at war, regardless of which side wins, the proletariat loses, for the property relations remain capitalist (barring of course a proletarian overturn). Hence, in such an instance, the slogan of revolutionary defeatism for all the capitalist warring powers is correct for the proletariat. But the defeat of the Stalin-strangled Soviet Union in a war against the imperialist nations means inevitably a change in the economic structure of the Soviet Union back to capitalism.

The basis of the ultra-Lefts' collapse into counter-revolution is their intense opportunist desire to escape the problems that the rise of Stalinism has placed before the proletariat. The defeat of the bourgeoisie and the defeat of Stalinism have become intertwined in the form of an impossibility to accomplish the former prior to having accomplished the latter. Defeat Stalinism in order to defeat the bourgeoisie, is the true slogan for the proletariat.

* * * * *

It is important to note that not all those who do maintain that the Soviet Union is some form of Workers' State necessarily thereby hold a Leninist position on this question. For example, Stalinism shouts that the Soviet Union is a Workers' State which

has already arrived at a complete socialist society. The Marxist principle that under complete socialism there is no form of state whatever is "explained" away by Stalin and his gang. Hence, they dangle "complete socialism" plus a Workers' State before the eyes of the masses.

Trotskyism also maintains that there is a form of Workers' State in Russia. The form is said to be a bureaucratically degenerated one. Trotskyism, however, completely falsifies the character of the bureaucratic degeneration, i.e., of the form of the Workers' State. At the very origin of Stalinism, Trotsky deceived the workers into accepting it as Bolshevism. Trotsky supported and collaborated with the Stalin clique, first directly and eventually indirectly. As late as 1927, concealing the completely counter-revolutionary character of the Stalinist bureaucratization of the Workers' State, Trotskyism told the workers, "It is a fact that we are building socialism." (See The Revolution Betrayed, p. 297.) Thus, Trotskyism endowed the Stalinist bureaucracy with a progressive role. Today, in different form, Trotskyism practices the same deception. Trotskyism proclaims that the Stalinist bureaucracy has a "dual function" part of which is to defend the proletarian property "against" the imperialists. On this non-existent basis, Trotskyism treacherously urges the workers to "sustain Stalin and his bureaucracy" (See The Case of Leon Trotsky, p. 282). Trotskyism conceals the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy far from having any role "against" imperialism, assists the bourgeoisie to undermine and bring on the destruction of the proletarian property. Trotskyism's definition of the Workers' State of the U.S.S.R. is therefore a disguised Stalinist one.

Opposed to the Stalinist-Trotskyist definition there is the Leninist one:- the Soviet Union is a Workers' State with a Stalinist bureaucratization which from its very inception has been and is dragging the socialized economy back toward capitalism. The Stalinist bureaucratization, constituting the form of the Workers' State, has been, since-

its origin in 1921-22, wholly and without a single exception, nationally or internationally, consciously and deliberately counter-revolutionary. Its fear and hatred of proletarian revolution arise from its fear and hatred of socialism which it knows to be incompatible with bureaucratic power and privilege. The extension of nationalized property by Stalinism is, contrary to the position of Trotskyism, not progressive and does not detract from the criminal nature of Stalinism in any respect. Irrespect-

ive of whether Stalinism does or does not nationalize property, Stalinism remains completely counter-revolutionary. Stalinism does not have a "dual function," part of which is to defend the proletarian property against the bourgeoisie. Stalinism, the present form of the bureaucratized Workers State, has only one historical role, to undermine the proletarian property and thus to bring on the restoration of capitalism.

J. C. Hunter,
March 16, 1940.

A CHARACTER SKETCH FROM THE TROTSKYITE PEN

THALMANN THE EMBEZZLER

"The crisis in the German Party was brought to a head in the notorious Wittorf-Thalman case. Wittorf, the secretary of the Hamburg Party district, was finally expelled from the Party after the Left (Urbahns) press had for months published stories that accused Wittorf of mishandling and stealing Party funds. But we had here no ordinary case of individual corruption. Standing behind Wittorf was his factional colleague Thalman, the chairman and leader of the Party, who, although he was fully aware of the criminal guilt of Wittorf, kept the information from the Party Committee, denied his own knowledge of the facts and protected Wittorf until the overwhelming evidence finally permitted of no further concealment. . . . Moreover, Thalman not only continued to maintain factional connections, and hold meetings with Wittorf after the latter's expulsion, but he had himself partaken of the orgiastic fruits of Wittorf's thieving." (The Militant, Jan. 15, 1939, p.3)

THALMANN THE INCOMPETENT

"The Thalmanns and the Remmeles and all of their sorry ilk dabble in sterile theories, attempt to theorize themselves out of their hard pressed position. The Stalinist incompetents offer nothing, absolutely nothing, to bring the workers into motion." (The Militant, January 23, 1932, p. 1)

THALMANN THE BURECRAT

"Thälmann observes how Stalin's bureaucracy rules the roost, by condemning as counter-revolutionary all those who do not recognize its infallibility. Wherein is Thälmann worse than Stalin?" (L. Trotsky, Germany What Next, pp.50-1)

THALMANN THE STALINIST

"Moreover both Thälmann and Remmele are only holding steadfastly to the Stalinist gospel." (Ibid., p. 63)

V O T E F O R T H A L M A N N !

"The candidacy of Thälmann to the presidency is, self-evidently, the candidacy of the Left Opposition. In the struggle for the mobilization of workers under the banner of the official Communist candidacy, the Bolshevik-Leninists must be in the front line." (Ibid., p. 191)

"VOTE FOR THALMANN, THE CANDIDATE OF THE C.P.G." (The Militant, April 30, 1932, p. 3)

THE TROTSKY SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION

*

Shachtman's Magic Pen

AVELI YENUKIDZE was for years one of the most loyal of Stalin's henchmen. Since the origin of the Stalinist conspiracy and up to the very day he fell in disfavor with the powerful Usurper, Yenukidze shared in Stalin's crimes. A Georgian himself, having some influence in Georgia, he used it to aid Stalin in framing up and sending to their doom many revolutionists, among them Maivani and Zinzadze the leading Bolsheviks in Georgia who were supported by Lenin against Stalin on the National Question. Yenukidze actively participated in making Trotsky a scapegoat. He voted for Trotsky's expulsion from the Party and later aided Stalin to exile Trotsky to Alma Ata, consequently helping Stalin to exile Trotsky from the Soviet Union. Together with Stalin, this renegade and cutthroat decimated, exiled, wiped out in blood thousands of anti-Stalinist workers. On the international field, Yenukidze helped Stalin to betray the German, Chinese and other workers. He did not stay his hand at the blackest deeds in the service of the Stalinist degeneration.

The true character of this man was no mystery to Trotsky and the Trotskyite leaders. In his introduction to Trotsky's work, The Stalin School of Falsification p. xvi, Max Shachtman correctly describes Yenukidze as loyal servitor of the Stalinist bureaucracy:

"Aveli Yenukidze, who succeeded Lutovinov in his post, and retained it for more than a decade, was suddenly removed in 1935 and imprison-

ed -- with the whispered charges that this man, who had been so loyal a servitor of the bureaucracy for years, had participated in the plot to kill S. M. Kirov," (My emphasis - R.R.)

But Trotsky and his lieutenants seem to have a soft spot for every Stalinist flunkey, who, victim of his own criminality, is finally ground down by the iron heel of the Master. Thus, when Yenukidze, having assisted Stalin to frame Zinoviev and Kamenev, paid with his own life, Shachtman made an amazing "discovery":

"Aveli Yenukidze, another old revolutionist whose whole life was given to the cause of the working class." (Socialist Appeal, December 1937. My emphasis - R.R.)

With a stroke of the pen, Shachtman converts Yenukidze from a renegade who spent years in Stalin's bloody services into a person "whose whole life was given to the cause of the working class."

However, no amount of crocodile tears can blur the decades-long counter-revolutionary record of the old traitor Yenukidze; just as no amount of ink can conceal the fact that Trotsky, at one time a revolutionist, became a Stalinist traitor to Lenin and the proletariat as far back as 1921-1922. And no amount of lying can change the truth that Trotskyism is but a political branch of the House of Stalin and Co.

R. R.

THE TROTSKY SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION

* * *

The Motives of Zinoviev and Kamenev

ACCORDING to Trotsky, it was Zinoviev and Kamenev who, together with Stalin, were the founders of the Stalinist conspiracy to usurp bureaucratic power in the first Workers' State. Corrupted by the great power they had held for a number of years, Zinoviev and Kamenev, and their partner, Stalin, formed a plot to entrench themselves bureaucratically in their positions. As far back as the period of the Tenth Russian Communist Party Congress of March 1921, Zinoviev, already maneuvering with an eye to the future, proposed and supported Stalin for a post to be created for him, that of General Secretary of the Party.

"At this tenth congress, on Zinoviev's initiative and quite against Lenin's will, Stalin was put forward as a candidate for the post of the general secretary of the party." (Leon Trotsky, My Life p. 467.)

Stalin, sometime later placed in this key position, promptly began to bribe and buy up, through jobs, offices and appointments, a huge host of careerists and flunkys. This gang of privileged parasites and bootlickers was welded into a bureaucratic machine which was to serve Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin as their political base in their machinations to entrench themselves permanently in power. Stalinism, i.e., the bureaucratic usurpation of power in the Workers' State against the interests of the masses, was thus established.

This self-entrenchment, however, was only part of the scheme of Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin. They also aimed at centralizing power in their own clutches by wiping out the other outstanding political figures of the Soviet Republic. It was apparent that Lenin, ill and dying, would soon pass out of the political picture. The

Stalinist plotters, therefore, entered into a compact to destroy Trotsky who, after Lenin, was the leading political character of those times. "Zinoviev and Kamenev were the initiators of the struggle against me in 1923," writes Trotsky (The Stalin School of Falsification, p. xxxii.) In fact, even as far back as the time of the Tenth Party Congress in March 1921, these conspirators already had outlined in their mind their struggle against Trotsky. At this Congress, Trotsky reveals, "Zinoviev and others, not without a hidden thought of the struggle against me, supported the candidacy of Stalin for general secretary." (The Suppressed Testament of Lenin, p. 22. Our emphasis.) The mortal illness of Lenin in 1923 freed the plotters to crystalize and bring to a head their schemes.

"The whole plan of the conspirators," writes Trotsky, "was that after they had mustered enough support in the organizations, they would be crowned legitimate successors to Lenin," (My Life, p. 485.) The conspirators, by "Tammany Hall" connivings, swiftly created the necessary caste of hirelings to back them in their plot to usurp the leadership. Thirsting for personal power and self-glorification, profoundly envious of Trotsky's great prestige, the two renegades, Zinoviev and Kamenev, were busy inciting all those who would lend a willing ear to slanders against Trotsky.

"Kamenev was asking the 'old Bolsheviks,' the majority of whom had at some time left the party for ten or fifteen years: 'Are we to allow Trotsky to become the one person empowered to direct the party and the state?' They began more frequently to rake up my past and my old disagreements with Lenin; it became Zinoviev's specialty." (Ibid., pp. 489-490.)

To carry out the criminal scheme conceived already at the beginning of 1921, and destroy Trotsky as a political leader, the clique of Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin began to spread monstrous lies about Trotsky's "underestimating the peasantry," his "Menshevism," and his being "opposed to socialism." In this fabrication of a frame-up "polemic" against "Trotskyism," Zinoviev and Kamenev after Trotsky the leading lights in the Soviet Republic, were in the forefront.

In later years, when Stalin, by then the real power in this conspiracy because of his key post of general secretary, had doublecrossed and broken down his partners, Zinoviev and Kamenev, these two scoundrels confessed freely to Trotsky that the whole racket about "Trotskyism" was a pure invention concocted in the struggle for power that had broken out amongst the renegade Bolshevik leaders.

"Comrade Zinoviev said: 'We must acknowledge what happened. It was a struggle for power. The trick was to combine the old differences of opinion with new questions. For this "Trotskyism" was invented...' " (The Suppressed Testament of Lenin, p. 44. Our emphasis.)

Thus these tricksters plotted and maneuvered, consciously and deliberately falsified Leninism and deceived the masses. Having poisoned the whole Workers' State and the Comintern with Stalinist opportunism, Zinoviev and Kamenev stood at the head of the long roster of Stalinist criminals.

After Stalin crushed Zinoviev and Kamenev, these two ex-partners of his resorted to groveling in the dirt at his boots so as to ingratiate themselves with him. Trotsky describes the abject prostration of Zinoviev and Kamenev before Stalin in these words:

"After their capitulation, Zinoviev and Kamenev did absolutely everything they could in order to restore the confidence of the ruling clique in themselves and in order to be assimilated into the official milieu. Zinoviev...even

made attempts to burn incense to Stalin personally." (The Expulsion of Zinoviev, p. 55. Our emphasis.)

And so the wheel of history brought these two power-usurping plotters under the heel of the monster they created.

Clearly, this picture of Zinoviev and Kamenev drawn by Trotsky is one of two treacherous, self-seeking renegades who betrayed the cause of Bolshevism and, for the sake of personal power and bureaucratic autocracy, deliberately entered the criminal path of counter-revolution. And yet, there is the astounding fact that in the very same work in which he describes Zinoviev and Kamenev as doing everything possible to ingratiate themselves with the ruling clique, Zinoviev even making "attempts to burn incense to Stalin personally," Trotsky writes:

"Zinoviev and Kamenev tried to play tricks with history. Of course, they were motivated, first of all, by solicitude for the Soviet Union, for the unity of the party, and not at all for their personal welfare." (Ibid. p. 61-62. Our emphasis.)

After describing over a period of years the unbounded villainy of Zinoviev and Kamenev in their conspiracy for personal, bureaucratic power, Trotsky unblushingly proclaims that "they were motivated, first of all, by solicitude for the Soviet Union, for the unity of the party, and not at all for their personal welfare." ! It would seem that their corruption of the Soviet Union with a malignant cancer of careerism, graft and bureaucratism constituted "solicitude for the Soviet Union." What was their frame-up of Trotsky, their invention of "Trotskyism," their malicious envy of his prestige and power? Why, obviously, that was their solicitude "for the unity of the party." And whence sprung the conspiracy of these tricksters to entrench themselves in power permanently and bureaucratically? Why, clearly, from their solicitude for the Soviet Union "and not at all for their personal welfare."

What reason could Trotsky have to splash this coat of whitewash on the degenerate carcasses of Zinoviev and Kamenev which were so deeply stained with the blood of millions of toilers they betrayed?

Obviously, Trotsky has a certain need to defend the Stalinist conspirators and to camouflage their actual criminality. This need arises from the fact that Trotsky, in an effort to form a partnership, a collective bureaucratic usurpation of power together with Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin, supported these renegades and greased the path of their plot. Trotsky became implicated in the Stalinist conspiracy and remains irrevocably attached to Stalinism. On the other hand, the Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin clique, striving to centralize power in their own claws and rejecting Trotsky's friendly overtures, destroyed his political power, thereby necessitating his adopting an "anti-Stalinist" front for his own self-protection. From

this combination of circumstances arises Trotsky's unique methodology which comprises (1) ostensible "attacks" against Stalinism at the bottom of which lies (2) valuable support to Stalinism. Trotsky because of his implication in the Stalinist crime must protect Stalinism and prevent a genuine and complete exposure of the origin, development and nature of Stalinism, and the destruction of Stalinism this might lead to. Because of his role of perennial scape-goat and whipping-boy of the Stalinist conspirators, however, Trotsky, to save his own prestige, has to appear as an "anti-Stalinist." The outcome of this Trotskyist methodology is that Trotskyism has been serving, since the origin of Stalinism, as the chief trap by which the thousands of subjectively anti-Stalinist workers are tricked into supporting Stalinism.

J. C. H.
March 11, 1940.

WHY DID TROTSKY DENY THE EXISTENCE OF LENIN'S TESTAMENT?
WHAT WAS TROTSKY'S REAL ROLE IN THE STALINIST CONSPIRACY?

SEND FOR A FREE COPY OF -

T R O T S K Y
and the

S U P P R E S S I O N
of

L E N I N ' S T E S T A M E N T

Address:

R. Rolene
P.O. Box 67
Station D
New York

TROTSKYITE WHITEWASH FOR STALINISM

THE bourgeois spokesman have been howling accusations at Stalin for "bombing civilians in Finland," and the Stalinist bureaucrats have been shrieking back vehement denials. When an honest revolutionary and thinking worker, who has subjectively broken with Stalin observes these two bands of hyenas engaged in mutual recriminations, he views the situation in the following light: I know that the bourgeoisie are a pack of cutthroats and liars who are preparing a military assault on the Stalinized Soviet Union in order to restore capitalism there. When they denounce Stalin for "bombing civilians in Finland," they may be fabricating horror stories to justify their military designs against Stalinist Soviet Russia. On the other hand, the Stalin gang is composed of indescribably criminal blackguards who will stop at nothing to achieve their counter-revolutionary aims. They have already massacred hundreds of thousands of the best workers and peasants in ~~the~~ Soviet Union and, by their treachery, have enabled the international bourgeoisie to destroy literally millions of toilers. One has but to recall the Moscow Trials to realize that any outrage is to be expected from these ~~scoundrels~~. Therefore, since I have no definite unbiased evidence on these "bombings of civilians in Finland," I am forced to rely on the "word" of two packs of liars and hypocrites whom I would rather see in the grave than trust an inch. As between the "word" of the bourgeois bandits and that of the Stalinist bandits, I clearly have no choice. Pending an opportunity to verify the facts myself as to ~~their~~ truth or falsity, the question of Stalin's "bombing of civilians in Finland" must, at best, remain an open one. This is how an honest and thinking anti-Stalinist and anti-capitalist worker would view the situation.

for themselves:

"The stories of deliberate civilian bombings can be discounted. Certainly such bombings would not help out Stalin's appeals (sic!) to the Finnish masses and would only enrage them against the Red Army. Stalin intends to handle the masses later." (New International, Feb. 1940, p. 5. Emphasis in the original.)

A more subtle whitewashing of Stalinism would be hard to find. The Trotskyite leaders say to the workers in effect: When an unverified story of certain outrages by Stalin is in the air, discount it, give Stalin the benefit of the doubt. But, naturally, the Trotskyite bureaucrats have to present some self-protective cover for this pro-Stalinist attitude. On the one hand, the Trotskyites give themselves an "anti-Stalinist" coloration by proclaiming themselves the "Third Force" against both Stalinism and imperialism, and on the other hand they protect Stalin in advance against accusations which cannot actually be verified at present.

The Trotskyite bureaucrats are in control of subjectively anti-Stalinist workers who fiercely resent Stalin's bureaucratic and counter-revolutionary invasion of Finland. Hence, they must play up to this sentiment by seeming to denounce Stalin's adventure in Finland. On the other hand, by virtue of their basic role of protectors of Stalinism, the Trotskyite leaders must strive in one way or another to soften the indignation which the invasion of Finland has aroused against Stalinism. Their subtle whitewashing of Stalinism in the case of the "civilian bombings in Finland" is only one instance of this latter game of the Trotskyites.

But how do the Trotskyite leaders approach this problem? Let them speak

J. C. H.
Feb. 19, 1940.

REVOLT
"TEACHES AND EXPLAINS"

By George Marlen

*

RARELY has there been anything approaching the contradictions in which various present-day opportunist tendencies and groups involve themselves when "explaining reality"; contradictions which cause untold injury to the working class. To illustrate, we shall analyze certain aspects of the contradictions presented by the Revolutionary Workers League (Revolt).

We recognize that in October 1917 the ring of the world capitalist system was broken through the founding of a proletarian state in the major portion of the former Tzarist empire. We further establish that no sooner had the Workers' State repelled the concerted attack of world imperialism than it was set upon by an internal disease, Stalinist opportunism.

In 1921-22, profiting by Lenin's illness, a group of the most eminent figures of the Russian Communist Party, led by Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky, organized a conspiracy to entrench themselves permanently in power. The proletarian state, burdened with this new kind of opportunism, proceeded upon a downward course towards the restoration of capitalism. The Stalinist leaders, operating under the guise of Leninism, betrayed the world revolution in order to safeguard their bureaucratic regime within the first proletarian state. Our investigation of the property foundation of Russia leads us to the conclusion that, despite the fact that the Stalinist cancer had been eating its revolutionary tissues for 18 years, the fundamental proletarian class nature of the Russian state is still intact. Guided by Marxian teachings we have arrived at the understanding that although contradictions and profound rivalries

within the imperialist camp not only continue to exist but have become greatly accentuated, the chief contradiction of the present epoch is to be found not among the bourgeois states but between the bourgeois states and the decaying proletarian state. The basic clash is in the class character of the forms of property — the private capitalist-owned means of production vs. the socialized, state-owned means of production established by the proletarian revolution against private property. Proceeding from this analysis, we gathered as early as 1937 that the war which was maturing was to unfold along the line of a conflict between these two forms of property. Capitalism, directed by conscious forces jealously guarding its historic interests, would bend all its efforts toward avoiding a decisive armed struggle within its own camp and would subordinate the solution of its contradictions to the imperative need of solving the chief contradiction of the epoch. Only after eliminating the huge thorn of an alien form of property from its side can the capitalist world proceed once again to the repetition of the bloody spectacle it presented in 1914-18. Capitalism in decline must continue giving rise to revolutionary situations. But we expressly stated, basing our statement on experience, that Stalinism was undermining and destroying every revolutionary situation that arose and that the cause of the proletariat is hopeless unless the entire Stalinist political system is destroyed. Except for certain details which could not be foreseen any more than Marx and Lenin could have foretold with precision where and when the proletariat would strike first, history has vindicated our analysis. Our revolutionary situ-

ation after another has been betrayed by Stalin and his political collaborators. And, while the contradictions of the imperialists were mounting, no imperialist war was taking place and the movement of rearmed German imperialism towards the Russian border was definitely facilitated by the British, French, Italian and American imperialists. Clearly, world imperialism, as our analysis pointed out, was moving towards a war with the Soviet Union.

When Chamberlain, on September 3, 1939, uttered a verbal declaration of war against German imperialism, our publication (See "Why the Mock War in the West," IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM, July-Sept. 1939) declared without the slightest hesitation that this was a mock war and that the imperialists would not attempt to defeat each other but would use this mock war as a cover to organize and unfold an attack on the Stalinized proletarian State. The evaluation given by all the existing organizations claiming to be Leninist was the very opposite. With one voice, the Daily Worker, the Socialist Appeal, Revolt, the Fighting Worker, the Spark and all the other pseudo-Bolshevik publications raised the cry that the proletariat was faced with "the second world war." On the pages of these publications, the so-called Western Front was running red with the mass slaughter of the soldiers. Oehler's Revolutionary Workers League (Fighting Worker) in its theoretical organ, The Marxist, gave the wildest flight to its imagination and painted a picture of blood and destruction far more gruesome than was presented by the first months of the war of 1914. Stamm's Revolutionary Workers League (Revolt), while not going to the extreme of its twin brother, Oehler's R. W. L., spoke, nevertheless, of slaughter.

Reality, of course, was disproving all the inventions of the pseudo-Marxists and was cutting the ground from under their feet. Therefore, the opportunist inventors of carnage and destruction on the so-called Western Front, persevering in their false evaluation, proceeded to cover up their distortions and explain away the situ-

ation. Naturally they had to borrow heavily from the inexhaustible arsenal of deceptive tricks and plausible-looking explanations of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie. Max Shachtman said the imperialists were trying to win the neutrals before venturing to start a decisive military struggle. Oehler's Fighting Worker went to the extent of conjuring up a phantom of colonial revolts which, it alleged, have terrified the bourgeoisie, forcing them to stop the "slaughter" on the "Western Front." Stamm's Revolt, too, had to come out and give a "reason" why the imperialists are not pushing the military struggle. According to Revolt, the imperialists, fearing collapse and revolution, have discovered a new method of defeating one another. France and England are trying to starve Germany into submission.

"For each side it would mean a tremendous effort which would even if it were successful, exhaust the attacker and bring about the collapse of its economic and social structure. Revolution would flare in the territory of victor and vanquished alike.

"Hence the stalemate on land. And hence the Allied strategy of blockading Germany and trying to starve her into submission. Hence, also, the counter-strategy of Germany in trying to break the blockade and cut off all imports of food, oil and other raw materials to Britain; and the tactic of trying to drive a wedge between Britain and France which so far has met with total failure." (Revolt, March 2, 1940. My emphasis - G.M.)

Let us take a close look at this "Marxian" logic. The wary imperialists do not seem to be able to understand that by starving Germany they are kindling the fire of revolution in the midst of the German working class. If as Revolt alleges, it is fundamentally fear of revolution which restrains the imperialists from pushing the "war" on the Western Front, then it follows that the imperialists must avoid all measures which are productive of economic and political crises. They can, according to this "explanation," exert

no severe pressure of any sort against each other for all kinds of pressure, military, economic and political, are sources of crises which in turn lead to revolutionary situations.

As a matter of fact, the imperialists are worried by the inactivity on the "Western Front." The dreadful suspense, the terrific nervous strain in addition to the immeasurable oppression and frightful economic hardships hang like a nightmare over both the civilian and the mobilized masses of Europe. The imperialists understand very well, as do true Marxists, that, unless this suspense and tension are relieved, it will reach the breaking point. And so the channel through which the world bourgeoisie is forcing events to move is the organization of a powerful assault upon the Stalinized Soviet Union. For it is the remnants of October that constitute the special objective of the imperialists. But precisely this central feature of the situation is obscured by Revolt.

On the one hand Revolt assures the workers that the possibility of the imperialists uniting to destroy Russia is "remoter than ever" (September 30, 1939). On the other hand in the December 23, 1939 issue, in the column headed "Anti-Soviet War Looms," it definitely presents two alternatives of action for the bourgeoisie. "Either they will come to an agreement with Germany for a united assault. Or they will try to organize parallel wars in the Far East, in the south, in the north." And only a few days later, in the January 6, 1940 issue, Revolt assures that imperialists cannot unite against the Soviet Union. Promising to give an analysis of the question Revolt states that the study it is preparing "will show that the imperialists have reached an absolute impasse. They cannot fight the war to a conclusion because it will be too costly and involve the danger of revolution; they cannot make peace; and they cannot unite against Russia. The only issue from the present situation is revolution." (My emphasis — G.M.). Thus Revolt prevents its readers from having a definite understanding that the whole imperialist setting of the pres-

ent historical juncture is levelled fundamentally, at finishing what remains of the first successful proletarian revolution. Revolt does both, admits and denies the possibility of an attack upon the Soviet Union.

The high mark however is reached by Revolt in distorting the picture and in mentally blinding its readers when it deals with the question of whether or not the Stalin-led Soviet Union can be destroyed by the imperialists.

"Russia against the Marmerhein (sic!) Line in Arctic weather was not as impressive as Germany in Poland. But Russia on the defensive in her interminable territory is unconquerable from without as Napoleon and the Allied invasion of 1919-21 have proved." (Revolt, March 2, 1940, p. 3. My emphasis - G.M.)

The above citation is definitely a dangerous ideological trap. Every informed person knows that in modern warfare, mechanized units, tanks and long range bombers capable of attaining great speed have shrunk enormous territories and have completely transformed all important aspects of military struggle. Geographical size, a vital factor in war in past periods, has taken a back seat due to the colossal mobility developed by the mechanization of modern means of warfare. But the central point of Revolt's deception is the assertion that the decisive feature in the defense of the Stalinized Soviet Union is the vast territories of Russia. Russia's "interminable territory is unconquerable," Revolt assures the workers. The basic fact in the war of 1812 is that Napoleon deliberately throw away a probable victory over the badly battered Tzar's armies by rejecting the policy of liberating the Russian serfs which policy would have aroused them against the Tzar and the Russian nobility. The factor of territorial size was not what prevented Russia's defeat. It was Napoleon's political policy which prevented him from pushing his initial victories to their final conclusion Revolt may or may not be ignorant of this fact. But Revolt can hardly be

ignorant of the fact that the failure of the Allied invasion of Russia in 1918-21 was due not to the vast Russian territories but to the fact that the military struggle of the Russian toiling masses was guided by a Marxian leadership, which fought for the world proletarian revolution. The soldiers of the Red Army were ragged and hungry, their military equipment was wretched and was replenished primarily with the supplies captured from the White armies. Yet the Russian masses were victorious. It was Bolshevism that led them to triumph over their enemies. Revolutionary policy facilitated uprising in the rear of the White armies and within the White armies themselves as well as within the imperialist forces invading Russia. Does it require much penetration to grasp that the present proletarian state, strangled as it is by Stalinism, can never be saved unless the workers once again follow a revolutionary policy.

Revolt is concealing and distorting the true picture of the present and the past. By offering fake explanations of the immediate international situation, and by chlorofoming the minds of the workers that the remnants of October are protected by "interminable territory" of Russia, when in reality they can be saved only by Bolshevism, the Revolutionary Workers League (Revolt) objectively deals a treacherous, counter-revolutionary blow to the cause of the proletariat.

Let us examine Revolt's position on the question of the defense of the Stalin-saddled Soviet Union from yet another angle. Marxism is never guided by such factors as which side is the aggressor. Revolt, however, establishes its position on the basis of the hypocritical bourgeois anti-aggressor thesis. In the case of the Stalin-Finnish war, Revolt declared: "Should the imperialist powers convert the war into an imperialist war to crush the Soviet Union our attitude would change accordingly. But until such a development takes place,

and on the basis of the present situation we are for the defeat of the Red Army." (Revolt, January 6, 1940, p.3. My emphasis - G.M.) Thus, when Stalin is the aggressor, Revolt is for the defeat of Stalin's Red Army; when Stalin is on the defensive, "our attitude would change accordingly," the implication being that then Revolt will be for the victory of Stalin's Red Army.

Marxism bases its attitude toward a war on the class nature of the economic structure of the countries involved, the corresponding political systems, the historical material relations, but not at all on the question of who crossed the boundary first. For an army which is based upon capitalist property directed by imperialist bourgeoisie the Marxist position is revolutionary defeatism. It is quite different in the case of an army resting on proletarian property. We take full cognizance of the fact that the class nature of property in the Soviet Union is proletarian, established by the workers' revolution on the grave of private bourgeois property. In consequence, we do not advocate the defeat of the army based on such property. At the same time we recognize that this property, this army are in control of the most dreadful, most powerful opportunist force in the history of the proletariat. It makes the socialized property and the Red Army serve the interests of a huge, reactionary bureaucracy. This is true whether the Red Army is on the offensive or on the defensive. This opportunist force — Stalinism — is chiefly responsible for the frightful defeats of the workers in China, Germany, Spain and other countries. It is steadily undermining the proletarian economy in the Soviet Union, leading it to final destruction. Any compromise or collaboration with this utterly counter-revolutionary force, any support to it — disguised or undisguised — is a betrayal of Leninism, betrayal of the proletariat and of the remnants of October. To spread the harmful illusion, or to hint however remotely, that there is a possibility of a victory over the imperialists by the Red Army and proletarian property directed by Stalinism is to commit a crime against the masses. Only Bolsho-

vik-led masses can defeat the bourgeoisie! True Leninists must tell the workers: do not advocate the defeat of Stalin's Red Army because this army is based upon proletarian property; but show that due to the political reactionary nature of the usurping leadership, this army's eventual defeat is a foregone conclusion. This opportunist leadership, assisted by other opportunist forces, has tied the world proletariat to the imperialists, and therefore made imperialism master of the present international situation. Overthrow the Stalinist leadership, establish a Bolshevik leadership which will introduce within the international workingclass a policy of revolutionary struggle against the imperialists, and victory of a Bolshevik-led Red Army and Bolshevik-led workingclass over the imperialists will become a possibility.

Far from such a position is the position of Revolt. In some respects Revolt's position is unique, as compared with the positions of other opportunists. The ultra-Lefts, for instance, completely disregarding the class nature of property in the Soviet Union and focusing their eye upon its reactionary, political superstructure, are for the defeat of Stalin's Red Army at all times. Trotsky and his Cannons,

at the other pole, emphasizing the proletarian feature of Soviet Union property, attribute a progressive side to the Stalinist reaction. They urge the workers to give support to Stalinism insofar as it "defends" socialized property. Both Trotsky and the ultra-Lefts advocate anti-Leninist policies. Revolt approaches the problem from an angle which contains the elements of both, ultra-Leftism and Trotskyism. It is guided by the consideration: is Stalin on the offensive or on the defensive? Now standing on one foot, now on the other Revolt makes its position hinge upon the anti-aggressor thesis, the fraudulent thesis which was exposed by Lenin twenty-five years ago.

Against the ultra-Left slogan which disregards and abandons the few remaining conquests of the October Revolution!

Against the deadly deception that the Russian workers, without a Bolshevik leadership, can defeat the imperialists!

For the destruction of the Stalinist political system — which includes all the pseudo-Leninist groups and currents — as the first condition for the possibility of saving the remnants of October and developing the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie!
