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THE BULLETIN

The Opportunists and the "Second World War"

J. C. HUNTER

Cannon Makes Use of Lovestone

Stamm "Edits" History

The S. W. P. Leaders Bury an Analysis

ARTHUR BURKE

The Trotsky School of Falsification

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THE OPPORTUNISTS AND THE
"SECOND WORLD WAR"

THE almost fantastic outcome in the French sector of the so-called "Second World War" in May and June of this year has placed certain political camps in a contradictory position. These camps are especially those pseudo-Bolsheviks who were shouting that the Franco-British imperialists were engaged in a war with German imperialism and that this is a war whose fundamental character is the same as that of 1914-18. The opportunists could continue this noise more or less unabated up to the point at which the French army after eight months of inaction was simply withdrawn intact and Hitler's forces allowed to ~~water~~ France without opposition. At that stage, the story that the "Allied" imperialists were at war with German imperialism had obviously to be modified and given some new twists to make it seem at least somewhat plausible. The latest completed phase of the "Second World War" in France provided strong indications that not only have the "Allied" imperialists not the slightest intention of fighting German imperialism at present, but that they have definitely the policy of collaboration with it. Consequently, the above-mentioned pseudo-Bolshevik camps are constrained to do a great deal of "explaining."

In the "Second World War" the course of events has been so utterly different from what it was in 1914-18 that those who state that the character of the present "imperialist war" is the same as that of 1914-18 have been forced all along to explain away the "queer" features of the present events. Never have the "explanations" of the pseudo-Bolshevik camps achieved such unanimity as since the events in France. Why was the path opened for

Hitler's forces to march into France without opposition? "French Rulers Fear Workers Revolt More Than Hitler Force," states Shachtman's Labor Action of July 1st, 1940. "It was the French bosses who opened the way to Hitler's hordes," announces Cannon's Socialist Appeal of September 28th, and continues, "But when the showdown came, the bosses left the country wide open to Hitler. They preferred Hitler to workers' rule." And Oehler's International News in its September issue chimes in: "Thus the French bourgeoisie show that they fear the proletariat more than they do Hitler; they use Hitler's methods against the proletariat." Sometimes this story is put in the form that a "section of the French bourgeoisie" preferred a deal with Hitler to the risk of a proletarian revolt.

Let us summarize the position of the opportunists on the "Second World War" as they present it today. The opportunists assert that in September 1939 the imperialists embarked on a war which is of the same character as that of 1914-1918 and that this war is the fundamental feature of the present situation. The French bourgeoisie are said by the opportunists to have backed out of this war in June 1940 due to their fear of proletarian revolt and ~~to~~ have brought in Hitler whose rule they prefer to that of the workers. We observe, therefore, that in the position of the opportunists the bringing on of Hitler is superimposed as a new element on the war which is said to have been in progress. If reality shows that the fundamental feature was the bringing in of Hitler and that the imperialists were at no stage engaged in actual war of the sort of 1914-1918, then it is clear that the position of

the opportunists is a distortion of reality. What does reality show? Was the bringing in of Hitler the new element superimposed on a war which was in progress, or was the bringing in of Hitler the old and fundamental element, and the alleged war similar in character to that of 1914-1918 a camouflaging fiction originating with the imperialists and spread by the opportunists?

The policy of bringing Hitler into various European territories began under the guidance of the League of Nations, the puppet of the Franco-British imperialists. In January 1935, the League of Nations arranged a "plebiscite" for the purpose of giving a "legal" cover to their policy of establishing Hitlerism in the Saarland. The Nazi seizure of Austria in 1938 occurred with the virtual blessings of the British imperialists. At Munich in September 1938, the French, German, British and Italian imperialists in direct negotiations and with the more or less ^{secret} sanction of Washington laid the basis of placing the Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia under the domination of the Nazi legions. By 1939, the "Allied" policy of placing European territory under Hitlerian control was at least four years old.

While Hitler's path to the East was cleared it was an open secret that the purpose of all these maneuvers was to hurl Hitler against the Soviet Union. It required no exceptional insight to understand that Hitler's forces were being built up, strengthened and primed by the "Allied" imperialists for use as a spearhead against the Soviet Union. And as such it was understood especially by the more advanced proletariat particularly in France. Such relatively crude and open tactics as were used by the imperialist front of London-Paris-Washington-Rome-Berlin up to 1938 could with assurance be expected to lead to a crisis and an outburst on the part of the advanced toilers. Hence, the "democratic" imperialists began to create disguises of their policy of preparing for an assault on the Soviet Union. By the time the turning over of Czechoslovakia to Hitler took

place, the future camouflage maneuvers of the imperialists were already foreshadowed. The "democratic" imperialists began to pretend that they opposed Hitler's territorial advances — the very advances which were arranged by the "democratic" imperialists themselves in collaboration with Hitler. At the time of the "Munich Deal," which put Czechoslovakia in Hitler's control, the Franco-British imperialists raised a tremendous war-scare to act as a cover of their connivance with Hitler. Vast mobilizations took place in France. To all appearances, the "democracies" were on the verge of launching a war against the German imperialists. Yet out of all this war-like noise there arose the Munich Pact in which Czechoslovakia was dismembered with the connivance of the "democratic" imperialists.

The military situation in September 1938, in the opinion of British military experts, was favorable to Czechoslovakia and her "Allies." * Czechoslovakia was in an exceptionally strong defensive position from all angles. With even moderate assistance from her "Allies," Czechoslovakia, herself already powerfully equipped with modern defenses, arms and resources, was in an excellent position to conduct a long war, a war which the Nazis were in no condition to wage at that time. Nevertheless, the Czechoslovak envoy was barred from the conference at Munich and the Czech bourgeoisie was ordered by its "Allies" to bow to Hitler. This whole maneuver was effected under the fraudulent pretext of a desire to "appease" Hitler.

When the stage was reached for Hitler's engulfment of Poland, the "democratic" imperialists went their war-scare technique of the Munich days one better and declared "war" on Hitler. To those who are naive or who follow the imperialists and the opportunists, there seemed no doubt that now, at long last, the "democratic" imperialists were going to launch their huge legions at the throat of the German imperialists. The deceived

* See, for example, Liddell Hart, "The Defence of Britain," pp. 22, 56, 61.

workers, especially subsequent to Munich, were told that the "democratic" imperialists merely were appeasing Hitler under threat, compulsion and the desire to avoid war as long as possible. An effort was made to prevent the workers from realizing that it was the deliberate and premeditated policy of the "democratic" imperialists to use the Nazis as the gendarme of Europe and to place Europe under the control of the German armed forces, the spearhead in their contemplated attack against the Soviet Union. Hence, the misled workers were easily taken in by the declaration of "war" of September 1939 and, imagining that the attack on Poland was too much for the alleged "appeasers" to swallow, thought that the "Second World War" had actually begun.

But just as the war scare of 1938 produced no war, so the declaration of "war" of 1939 produced results utterly unlike an actual combat among the imperialist giants. For eight months the vast armies spent their time dawdling on the Maginot and Siegfried Lines. During the first three weeks of this now historic "Sitzkrieg," Poland was smashed by Hitler's armies. While on the "Western Front" there was no war, in Poland the war was real in all its frightfulness and destruction. Not a finger was lifted by the "democratic" imperialists to save their Polish "ally" from decimation. On the contrary, the Poles were "advised" by the "Allied" High Command to abandon their border defenses and retreat into the interior. His path into Poland so conveniently opened, Hitler swept aside the remaining Polish forces with breath-taking speed. Meanwhile in the West, "At the front the general complaint is of boredom and the men clamor for footballs, checker boards and detective stories to while away the time," reported The New York Times on October 23, 1939. The day before, the editors of the Times permitted themselves a "Sitzkrieg" joke and issued the headline: "38 War Reporters Search for a War." Two days later, the Times editors continued their jest: "Correspondents Find War In West, But It Took Place In April, 1918." Thus, the "Allied" declaration of "war" on the German imperialists unfolded itself.

In accord with the Munich policy, the imperialists confined the soldiers of the "Allied" and German armies in the West to football, checkers and mystery stories, while the imperialists continued to bring chunk after chunk of Europe under the sway of the Gestapo. With the British and French navies in control of the intervening waters, Hitler's forces swept from Germany into Norway without meeting the slightest opposition. In order to cover up the bringing of Hitler into Norway, the British imperialists issued a world of fake stories about how the Nazis were being fought to the death in Norway. Enormous mine fields were alleged to have been laid around the Norwegian coast; British warships were reported to be virtually destroying the German fleet; British troops were described as driving the Nazis out of all key cities and towns of Norway. And when this smokescreen of fabrications died down, the Nazis were found to be firmly entrenched in Norway, establishing a northern base against the Soviet Union. The startling revelations of Leland Stowe that the British forces which were sent to Norway were virtually raw recruits who totalled fewer than 1,500 men who "were dumped into Norway's deep snows and quagmires of April slush without a single anti-aircraft gun, without one squadron of supporting airplanes, without a single piece of field artillery" (N.Y. Post, April 25, 1940) gave the real picture of the "Allied" imperialists' "war" against German imperialism. Churchill himself sometime later inadvertently gave the lie to the stories of British warships destroying the Nazi fleet by stating in the House of Commons that it had not been possible to use warships in the waters of the Skagerrak. The alleged "Battle of the Skagerrak" which was announced in huge headlines as the "greatest naval battle since Jutland" turned out to be a pure invention. Thus, under the cover of a world of fraud, the Munich policy was extended to Norway.

The circumstances surrounding the move of Hitler into Holland, Belgium and France merely gave additional testimony, though in epoch-making form, to the collusion of the "Allied" im-

perialists with their German colleagues. To "aid" Holland, the British imperialists sent a total of 700 men and 3 airplanes! The Dutch Queen soon saw which way the wind was blowing in the "Allied"-Nazi camp and left Holland hastily with as much cash as she could pack into her trunks. The Belgian bourgeoisie fared no better than the Dutch at the hands of their "Allies." Upon the advance of the Nazi forces into Belgium, the "Allied" High Command repeated the "advice" it had given to the Polish generals. The Belgians were told to abandon their powerful border defenses and to retreat. This "Allied" "strategy" started the Nazis on their way. The Nazi troops advanced as if they were engaged in a veritable Marathon. The French artillery and tanks, enormous in number and power, were characteristically absent and the "Allied" airforce was said to be "busy elsewhere." Where, nobody ever found out, but in any case it could not be found in Belgium. The climax occurred when the "Allied" Command separated its forces and created the famous "Corridor" to the Channel ports through which the Nazi detachments raced. To the north of the Nazi troops stood an "Allied" army of about one million men and to the south there was the full military might of France. Through the "Corridor" between these two "Allied" armies, there dashed small detachments of light-armed Nazi troops, of an estimated total of 50-60,000. Moving between two immensely superior "Allied" armies, these light Nazi units were in a position to be utterly crushed. Yet they passed through and "captured" Belgium and the Channel Ports without opposition. The situation was, to quote one French military expert, "without analogy in the history of war." An apt characterization, for the present world situation, from which these military events flowed, is also without analogy in history. Thus was the Munich tactic extended to Holland and Belgium.

The gates of France were opened to the Nazi gendarme to crush the French proletariat and establish a fascist bourgeois regime modelled on Nazism. This was done in a fairly

direct way. The French army was withdrawn intact with hardly a pretense of blocking the Nazi forces. Before the masses of the world could recover their breath, the Nazis occupied a large portion of France and in the remainder, Petain, exhumed from the grave, was erected as Hitler's "French" front. The repression of the French workers by the Gestapo with the collaboration of Petain began immediately.

It is in the light of this total situation that the opportunists' most recent "explanations" must be viewed. Their story that the "Allied" imperialists undertook a war against the German imperialists, a war from which the French gang withdrew out of fear of proletarian revolt, does not hold water because at no stage of this "Second World War" was there anything that in a realistic light can be called an actual war. All evidence points to the fact that the fundamental feature of the present situation is the imperialists' policy of deliberately placing the European masses under the control of the German armed forces — temporarily, no doubt, in the plans of the imperialists, but nevertheless under that control. Not a war, but a complex maneuver, a rearrangement with a view to larger ends is that in which the international imperialists are engaged. The conflict which is in progress is not inter-imperialist, but in a complex way imperialism—versus—the-world-proletariat. This conflict is now only in its preliminary stages. It has gone only to the point of clearing the way for the reconstructed German armies. It will unfold decisively in the form of a war of world imperialism, with the German armies as its spearhead, against the Soviet Union.

It should be noted that we do not hold that the inter-imperialist conflicts have been, or can be in any sense liquidated, while capitalism exists. In certain exigencies, these inter-imperialist conflicts can be held temporarily in abeyance. The present world exigency compels the imperialists to hold their rivalries in abeyance to the maximum extent in

history and to make enormous sacrifices to achieve success in their larger and more fundamental struggle against the proletariat. When the "Allied" imperialists decided to place Europe under the control of the German armies — no matter how temporarily — they embarked on a policy vastly expensive to themselves. They will, however, regain their present losses many times over if they succeed in dismembering the huge and enormously rich territory of the Soviet Union. No doubt, the European balance of power has changed markedly since the Versailles days at the end of the war of 1914-18. Despite all their collusion with the German imperialists, the "Allied" clique has had to backwater. This was unavoidable, for the assault on the Soviet Union requires as its basis a prodigiously powerful force on Russia's border, the German army. Moreover, the possibility of success for this German army had to be insured in all directions. To the East, no small national bourgeoisie, jealous of its relatively petty interests, can be allowed to come into conflict in any manner with the larger interests of the major imperialists. To the West, the imperialists had to eradicate as completely as they know how any possibility of a proletarian uprising. All these aims are being fulfilled in the maneuver now being carried out by world imperialism under the deceptive guise of the "Second World War."

In the situation of the so-called "Second World War," the opportunists becloud the aims and policy of the imperialists in the eyes of the workers. The opportunists' effort to make plausible their story that the "Allied" imperialists undertook an actual war against German imperialism in September 1939 meets with difficulties in the face of the fact that the "Allied" imperialists have been deliberately bringing Europe under the control of the German armies, on some occasions without even the pretense of a war. To account for Hitler's seeming military successes, the opportunists pretend that the "Allies" in their alleged "war" suffered an actual military defeat, one of the kind the German armies suffered in 1914-18. The opportunists

accordingly offer all sorts of military "reasons" for the "defeat" of the "allies." Probably the most fantastic of all these "reasons" is the one that the "Allies" disregarded the growing power of the German army. The Oehlerite Fighting Worker (June 15, 1940), for example, has the brazenness to write that "...the Anglo-French tried to ignore the powerful war machine of German imperialism until the last minute." This Oehlerite "reason" is offered despite the well-known armament expansion in which the Anglo-French imperialists piled up colossal quantities of war materials, arms, munitions, ships, airplanes, tanks and fortifications. Moreover, it is offered in the face of the fact that the German re-armament was actually financed by the British, French and American bankers. Not so long ago the Oehlerite press was bemoaning this calamitous armament expansion. But now, since Oehler has to give some sort of "explanation" of his peculiar "Second World War," he conveniently "forgets" his earlier clamor and has the Anglo-French "trying to ignore" the growing power of the German army.

A detailed knowledge of the imperialists' plan is, of course, not available to the workers. Only the general course of the past events can be discerned. The exact details of the future extension of the present situation are not open to view. The general orientation of world imperialism toward organizing a world-wide assault on the proletariat and on the Soviet Union to bring about the restoration of capitalism therein and a division of its territories can be detected even at present. But whatever the next detailed phase of the imperialists' plan may be, workers must be careful to analyze it in its connection with the whole chain of events which preceded it. Otherwise, the opportunists, by tearing it out of its total context, will spread confusion amongst the workers as they already have done in the case of the occupation of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France.

J. C. Hunter
October 19, 1940

THE DAKAR "FAILURE" SUCCEEDS

THE so-called "Second World War" has presented from the beginning a continuous series of striking peculiarities. This has been true to such an extent that, in the manner of the lady who doth protest too much, even such august personages as the editors of The New York Times have had to proclaim: "This is not a 'phoney' war." Few incidents have been more "phoney" than the British—de Gaulle "expedition" to Dakar.

Toward the end of September, the headlines of the bourgeois press announced that British warships were shelling Dakar, the capital of French West Africa. This looked very much like an act of war by the British against the fascist regime of Petain, General de Gaulle, the leader of the "Free France" movement, was reported to have been at the scene of the fighting. The object of all this activity, the reports stated, was to secure the cooperation and support of the French colonies for the "Free France" movement.

To the surprise of everybody, no sooner had the Dakar "attack" started than it was called off by the British imperialists. The British spokesmen later issued a number of "explanations." Let us, however, first look at the facts in the case.

Precisely at the time the British were launching their "expedition" to Dakar, the British permitted Vichy warships to pass through Gibraltar. It must be borne in mind that the Petain regime is working in close collaboration with the Nazis and hence any action of the Vichy government must be sanctioned by Hitler's agents. The British Ministry of Information,

quoted in the bourgeois press, admits this. It stated:

"Recent reports have shown the Germans making persistent efforts to bring Dakar under their control, and the movement of French ships from Toulon to Dakar, which clearly would not have been effected without German permission, gave further evidence of an attempt that was in contemplation." (Herald Tribune, September 24, 1940.)

Thus we see that, although the British admitted knowing the plans of the Nazis to seize control of Dakar, orders were given to the Gibraltar garrison to permit the Vichy ships to pass unmolested.

"...these warships, whose arrival touched off the present fighting at Dakar, passed Gibraltar in broad daylight under the eyes of English seamen who had been instructed not to oppose their passage." (Herald Tribune, September 25, 1940.)

It should be noted that not only did these Vichy ships pass Gibraltar in broad daylight, but that they had previously asked for permission to pass, that they had given a flimsy excuse, and that the British authorities were perfectly well aware of this:

"The Vichy government requested free passage of Gibraltar from the British on the ground that the warships were needed to convoy merchant trade between French colonies. British intelligence officers knew this was only a pretext for a German attempt to control the best port in western Africa and the probable springboard for any attempt

to attack South America, but they also corroborated one apparently minor detail in the official French request it was said." (Herald Tribune, September 25, 1940. My emphasis - G.C.)

Thus the British were well aware of the Vichy government's purpose in sending its war ships to Dakar. And they knew this in advance. Yet "strangely" they permitted the passage. It should also be noted that the British knew that the crews of the Vichy ships were composed exclusively of strongly anti-British elements, survivors of the naval battle between the British and the French at O ran, Algeria, on July 3rd (see same report).

The British asserted that it is their policy to permit Vichy ships to sail freely only if they know that they are not destined for any port under German control. "For this reason no hindrance was put in the way of the vessels in question passing through the Straits of Gibraltar." (British Ministry of Information communique, N. Y. Times, Sept. 26, 1940.) However, for some "mysterious" reason the British made no effort to ascertain the destination of these Dakar-bound ships for "No questions as to their destination were asked by the British when permission for them to pass through the Straits was asked and granted" (Herald Tribune, Sept. 25, 1940).

In this "strange" spirit of cooperation between the British and the Vichy-German forces, the scene was laid for the performance at Dakar. Despite the fact that the British outnumbered the French ships at Dakar by three to one (Herald Tribune, September 25, 1940), despite the fact that the British admit that they know that the plan of the Nazis was to gain control of Dakar, despite the fact that the British stated that they knew as a fact that a considerable element of the Dakar population was in favor of the "Free France" movement (Herald Tribune, Sept. 24, 1940), the British expedition was suddenly called off.

Prior to the Dakar incident cer-

tain events were transpiring which have a direct connection to it. The sentiment of the colonial masses as well as those of the French workers was all for freedom from oppression. A Vichy government spokesman admitted that "all of French Africa was 'boiling'....." (Herald Tribune, Sept. 24, 1940).

Many under Vichy control were under the illusion that de Gaulle and the British represented liberation. There was a serious danger to world imperialism that the "boiling" of the masses against the fascists might develop into something more active and perhaps even spill over into revolutionary actions which, given a correct leadership, would threaten the very foundations of bourgeois society. Such a possibility had to be nipped in the bud if imperialism were to continue its present plans. The pre-arranged Dakar "fiasco" did just that.

As a result of the British--de Gaulle "defeat" the imperialists -- British, French, German -- succeeded in bolstering the fascist regime of Petain in France as well as in the French colonies.

"The groups in the Petain regime and in the country at large which favor whole-hearted cooperation with the Nazi invaders have been immensely encouraged and strengthened.

"The Petain government's position has been fortified, after its prestige had been shaken by the successive capitulations to the Germans at Compiègne and to the Japanese at Hanoi." (Herald Tribune, Sept. 27, 1940.)

The British--de Gaulle "defeat" successfully accomplished what the imperialists had prearranged for it to accomplish. That is, it strengthened immensely the unstable Petain fascist government.

We see again, as we have previously pointed out and proved, that the imperialists, far from being at war with each other, are collaborating in their so-far successful attempt

rapidly to introduce and strengthen fascist forms of rule throughout the world, with the ultimate aim of organizing an attack on the Soviet Union and dividing up its territory. The bourgeoisie and their direct and indirect agents in the ranks of the working class spread the fraudulent story that there is a real war among the imperialists. There is collaboration among the imperialists today, and not war. Dakar is merely another bit of proof to that effect. Since

the introduction of fascism in Germany, all the "failures" such as Munich, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, were planned in advance by the financial cliques both in the bourgeois-democracies and the fascist countries. It is due to the opportunist fog in which the mind of the workers is enveloped that the imperialists have been successful in their machinations.

G. Crane
October 19, 1940

S E N D F O R A F R E E C O P Y O F

WHITHER SHACHTMAN

AN EXPOSURE OF THE REAL POLITICAL NATURE OF THE
SHACHTMAN GROUP

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TROTSKY AND THE ONE-PARTY DICTATORSHIP

THE LENINIST fight against opportunism culminated, in the post-October days, in the dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party. All the non-Bolshevik "proletarian" or "soviet" parties proved in action their complete treachery to the toilers. Without exception, these opportunist parties passed over openly to the camp of the bourgeois counter-revolution and sooner or later took up arms against the workers state. The forcible elimination of the opportunist parties, the Mensheviks, the Left and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Anarchists and allied tendencies, in the period of the Civil War was simply an aspect of the political, ideological, economic and military war of Bolshevism against the bourgeoisie. Life itself established the one-party Bolshevik dictatorship as a Marxist-Leninist principle. The entire hue and cry of the opportunist agents of the bourgeoisie against the one-party dictatorship was repudiated by Lenin unreservedly: "When we are reproached for the dictatorship of one party, and are offered, as you have heard, a united Socialist front, we say: 'Yes, dictatorship of one Party!'" (Collected Works, Russian Edition, Vol. XVI, p. 266.)

The Leninist principle of the one-party dictatorship was repeatedly affirmed by the other leaders of the Bolshevik Party. Trotsky, for example, wrote in 1920:

"We have more than once been accused of having substituted for the dictatorship of the Soviets the dictatorship of our party. Yet it can be said with complete justice that the dictatorship of the So-

viets became possible only by means of the dictatorship of the party." (Terrorism and Communism, p. 101.)

In 1921-22, there arose Stalinism as a plot to usurp power in the workers state. The Stalinist conspirators were compelled to mask their counter-revolutionary designs by voicing — on paper — many of the positions of Leninism. One such position which, while distorting it in deeds for their bureaucratic aims, the conspirators continued to pay lip service to, was that of the one-party dictatorship. In 1924, Trotsky stated:—

"We are the only party in the country, and in the period of the dictatorship this cannot be otherwise." (Inprecorr, Feb. 29, 1924, p. 133.)

It must be observed that in 1924 there already existed a dictatorship of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and not one of a Bolshevik Party. When Trotsky spoke in general of the dictatorship of the party, he gave the impression that there existed a Bolshevik Party such as Lenin taught must alone hold power in the workers state. Thus, Trotsky, mouthing a Leninist principle, used it to cloud the fact that Stalinism, not Bolshevism, was the sole power. Again in 1924, Trotsky dealt with the one-party principle, and this time quite correctly made the general assertion that the monopoly of power has to be in the hands of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party, until the classless, Socialist society has been achieved:

"The monopoly of educational work we will make secure fully and decisively until that time when the

working class and the peasantry together with its guide - the Communist Party - become dissolved in the socialist commonwealth as part of the world soviet republic, which will not take place tomorrow. And until that time the monopoly of power as well as educational work, which is the ideological basis of power, must be preserved in the hands of the workers state and its director - the Communist party." (Pravda, July 10, 1924. My emphasis - J.C.H.)

In 1927, Trotsky spoke of the "...Leninist principle, inviolable for every Bolshevik, ^{that} the dictatorship of the proletariat will and can be realized only through the dictatorship of the party." (The Real Situation in Russia, p. 117.) And in the same year, Trotsky wrote: "With us the dictatorship of the party...is the expression of the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat." (Problems of the Chinese Revolution, p. 94.)*

In Trotsky's interpretation, the Leninist one-party dictatorship was that which alone made possible the Soviet dictatorship; which was the only possible state of affairs in the proletarian dictatorship; which had to last until Socialism; which was an inviolable principle for every Bolshevik; and which was the very expression of the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat. Not as a temporary phenomenon did Trotsky view the one-party dictatorship, but as a permanent structure which has to remain for the passage to Socialism to be completed. Only together with the dissolution of the whole workers state apparatus into the classless Socialist society would the one-party dictatorship be dissolved, as Trotsky correctly stated in the above quotations.

*It should be noted that the last four statements were made by Trotsky in the period when the Stalinization of the R.C.P. had already set in. These statements were not in conflict with the needs of Stalinism which used many Leninist formulations on paper in order to cover up its counter-revolutionary role.

Lenin recognized that the bourgeoisie could not be defeated unless their agents in the working class ranks, the Mensheviks and S.R.'s, were ruthlessly suppressed regardless of whether they were organized in a party or paraded in a non-party disguise: "The place for Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, open or disguised as non-party, is in prison (or on foreign journals side by side with the White Guards.)" (Selected Works, Eng. Ed., Vol. IX, p. 198.) Trotsky at that time was in full agreement with Lenin on the question of suppressing the S.R.'s and Mensheviks. Trotsky knew well the character and role of the Mensheviks and S.R.'s:-

"The army of Kolchak was organized by Socialist Revolutionaries (how that name savours to-day of charlatan!), and was supported by Mensheviks. Both carried on - and carry on - against us, for a year and a half, a war on the Northern front. The Mensheviks who rule the Caucasus, formerly the allies of Hohenzollern, and to-day the allies of Lloyd George, arrested and shot Bolsheviks hand in hand with German and British officers. The Estonian Mensheviks who participate in their government were directly concerned in the last advance of Yudenich against Petrograd." (Terrorism and Communism, p. 58.)

Since the October Revolution, international Menshevism has grown more vicious, more criminal than ever. It participated in the betrayal of the German proletariat in 1923. It joined in selling out the British workers in 1926, the Austrian uprising in 1927. It aided in preserving the power of the bourgeoisie in Spain in 1931. It participated in betraying the German workers to Hitler in 1933.

Just then, when the social-democracy proved to any clear-minded revolutionary worker its utter and complete treachery, Trotsky came out with a promise of freedom of propaganda for social-democracy in the workers state:-

"In the proletarian state the technical means of printing will be

put at the disposal of groups of citizens in accordance with their real numerical importance. But how is this to be done? The social democracy will obtain printing facilities corresponding to the number of its supporters." (L. Trotsky, The Militant, April 15, 1933, p.3. My emphasis - J.C.H.)

Trotsky introduced this position two months after a large number of the Reichstag representatives of social-democracy voted confidence in Hitler!

In 1936, Trotsky carried his new line a few steps further. Under the guise of a "recipe" for the Soviet Union, Trotsky actually supported the old Menshevik and S.R. cry of "freedom for Soviet parties." Palming off freedom for opportunists operating under the label of "Soviet Parties" as "Soviet Democracy," Trotsky wrote:

"Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy. A restoration of the right of criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections, are necessary conditions for the further development of the country. This assumes a revival of freedom for Soviet parties, beginning with the party of Bolsheviks, and a resurrection of the trade unions." (The Revolution Betrayed, p. 289. My emphasis - J.C.H.)

This position of Trotsky's amounts virtually to a demand for a return to the pre-October days in Russia.

Naturally, it was necessary for Trotsky to cover up and rationalize his open repudiation of the Leninist principle. As a "justification" for his introducing the Menshevik and S.R. slogan, "freedom of Soviet parties," Trotsky offered this: "The prohibition of opposition parties was a TEMPORARY measure dictated by conditions of civil war, blockade, intervention and famine." (The Revolution Betrayed, p 266. My capitals - J.C.H.) The obvious implication of Trotsky's statement that the "prohibition of opposition parties was a temporary measure" is that after the Civil War it was Lenin's intention to relax this

prohibition. This implication of Trotsky's statement is as much as to say that it was Lenin's intention to reinstate freedom for proven counter-revolutionaries, for the organizers of the White Guard armies! That the one-party dictatorship was in reality anything but a temporary matter is clear from the previously-cited correct statements of Trotsky's to the effect that the one-party dictatorship was to last until the classless Socialist society had been achieved, and consequently that as the very expression of the proletarian dictatorship, the one-party rule was necessarily the only possible condition of such a dictatorship. In fine, the indispensable essence of the proletarian dictatorship is the one-party, Bolshevik dictatorship. No great amount of argumentation is needed to prove that the indispensable essence of the proletarian dictatorship and the passage to Socialism can in no way be truthfully characterized as "a temporary measure dictated by conditions of civil war, blockade, intervention and famine."

Trotsky's "justification" for his open repudiation of the Leninist principle of the one-party dictatorship is clearly a deliberate falsification cooked up to suit his opportunist needs. The character of the motivation for this opportunism of Trotsky's is indicated by the dishonesty of the "justification" Trotsky used.

* * *

The task of the revolutionary workers is not to make friendly gestures to the opportunist traitors under the slogan, "freedom for soviet parties," but to engage in a ruthless battle against every form of opportunism. Opportunism must be defeated now, else another proletarian state will never be established nor the remains of the first one saved.

The opportunists who, in attacking the Leninist principle of the one-party dictatorship, are making a big noise about conditions which will exist after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie are only casting a fog over the fact that their policies are

such as to prevent such an overthrow. Every opportunist tendency is proving its reactionary character now. Revolutionary workers must concern themselves with the present struggle against opportunism and not let themselves be distracted by the opportunists' rumpus about conditions which will exist after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Opportunism not only strives to destroy the proletarian dictatorship after it has been established, but fights beforehand to prevent its establishment. The completely counter-revolutionary nature

of all forms of opportunism is at this very moment vindicating the Leninist principle of the Bolshevik Party dictatorship. The principle of the one-party dictatorship will be proved necessary by life itself which will demonstrate concretely to the workers that the opportunist parties to be eliminated are, just as the Mensheviks and S.R.'s, agencies of counter-revolution.

J. C. Hunter
September 15, 1940.

S E N D F O R A F R E E C O P Y O F

THE MURDER OF
TROTSKY
AND THE
FIGHT AGAINST
STALINISM

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THE EXIT OF A
PSEUDO-MARXIST GROUP

THE historical set-back from which the workers are suffering due to the rise of the Stalinist counter-revolution has engendered many forms of dangerous confusion in the mind of revolutionary-intentioned workers. Not by any means free from such confusion are those workers who, though they have advanced to the point of subjectively breaking with Stalinism, have failed to achieve a scientific understanding of the Stalinist system as a whole. One such tendency which appeared on the scene is the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party which existed for a good number of years and now seems more or less dormant or perhaps defunct. The false positions held by this group are common to many confused, though revolutionary-intentioned workers and may be analyzed with profit regardless of the existence or non-existence of the specific group which voiced them. In this light we shall consider some of the distorted conceptions to which the Stalinist degeneration gave birth and which happened to be part of the L.R.W.P.'s position.

In one of its last documents, the L.R.W.P. stated that it adopted Leninism as the basis of its policy:

"The L.R.W.P. chooses the teachings of Lenin in spite of his mistakes." ("Resolution on Russia and Dictatorship of Proletariat," Workers Anti-War Bulletin, Vol. 1, #2, p. 25.)

This adoption of Leninism is prefaced with the following evaluation:

"Leninism is the theory and

practice of Marxism in the epoch of Imperialism. Comrade Lenin and his colleagues resurrected the teachings of Marx and Engels on the State; Leninism taught the workers how to achieve power (although LENINISM DIDN'T FORMULATE THE THEORY AS TO HOW TO HOLD POWER IN THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND HOW TO SPREAD THE WORLD REVOLUTION)." (Ibid. My capitals - A.S.)

Is it true that Leninism failed to "formulate the theory as to how to hold power in the dictatorship of the proletariat and how to spread the world revolution"?

Lenin stood at the head of the first actual proletarian dictatorship. The task in the proletarian dictatorship was precisely to formulate the methods of preserving power and of extending the international proletarian revolution. Was Lenin really a dismal failure in the face of this central task of Marxism? Let us see whether the case of Lenin is as the L.R.W.P. makes it out to be.

PRESERVING POWER AND THE
WORLD REVOLUTION

The young workers state faced two main dangers - on the one hand imperialist intervention with consequent capitalist restoration and on the other a bureaucratic transformation of the proletarian dictatorship. The threats of imperialist intervention and bureaucratic transformation could only be counteracted fundamentally by a vigorous struggle for the spread of the October Revolution. The Leninist

strategy and tactics of the world revolution for that particular period were embodied in the program of the first three congresses of the Communist International. Surely the L.R.W.P. is at least somewhat acquainted with Lenin's struggle for Bolshevism on a world scale with the German, French, British and Italian Communist parties in attempting to make them instruments of proletarian revolution. He attempted to give them a correct Marxian theoretical line in the struggle against their respective bourgeoisies. How in the name of Marxism, then, does the L.R.W.P. conclude that "Lenin didn't formulate the theory as to how to spread the world revolution"?

Thanks mainly to their political struggle, the Bolsheviks secured the aid and sympathy of the world proletariat and thus fostered the decomposition of the invading imperialist armies who sought to destroy the Workers State. This was an essential part of the struggle for the world revolution. In turn the pursuance of the struggle for the world revolution was an integral part of the fight to hold power in Russia. The successful defense by the ragged and hungry Red Army in 1918-21 against the mighty armed onslaught of world imperialism would have been inconceivable without the revolutionary political line of Bolshevism. From this angle, then, there was an inescapable connection between Lenin's line of the world revolution and the preservation of proletarian power in the first workers state. What does the L.R.W.P. imagine Lenin was doing from October 1917 to the end of his political life in March 1923? If we follow the L.R.W.P., then during these five and a half years in which the Russian workers faced the task of holding power and spreading the world revolution Lenin must have been fast asleep. During this period in reality, Lenin not only formulated the theory of how to hold power and spread the world revolution, but he took the lead in the effort to put this theory into practice.

PRESERVATION OF POWER
AND WORKERS DEMOCRACY

Already under Lenin, the workers'

state had begun to develop a bureaucratization of its apparatus. This was due primarily to the extreme cultural backwardness of the Russian masses, a backwardness which prevented the workers from directly functioning within the state apparatus. Thus the Russian workers were constrained to permit the major portion of the apparatus to fall into the hands of ex-Tzarist and ex-bourgeois bureaucrats; exorbitant salaries were used to engage bourgeois technical experts for the state, etc.

Lenin's program for combatting this initial bureaucratization had, central to it, widespread education of the workers to raise their cultural and technical level to the degree where dependence on the former bourgeois bureaucrats would be eliminated. To quote but one passage from Lenin's program:

"Certainly nothing can be done here in a short period of time. Here we must work many years in order to improve the apparatus, to change it and to enlist new forces. Soviet schools and Workers Faculties have been formed; several hundreds of thousands of young people are studying, studying too fast perhaps, but at all events the work has been started, and I think it will bear fruit. If we do not work too hurriedly, we shall within a few years have a large number of young people who will be capable of radically changing the apparatus." (V.I. Lenin, "Selected Works," Eng. Edition, Vol. X, pp. 330. My emphasis - A.B.)

Meanwhile, Lenin advocated whatever measures were feasible to control the bureaucrats, such as electoral devices, sheer intimidation, their replacement by class conscious workers wherever possible, etc. In addition, on Lenin's initiative a resolution was introduced and adopted laying down a course toward Workers Democracy (10th Congress of the R.C.P., 1921). Lenin's program of Workers Democracy was integral to "the theory of how to hold power," a fact which the L.R.W.P. completely buried.

PRESERVATION OF POWER

AGAINST STALINISM

The original bureaucratization of the proletarian state was superseded by and incorporated into the bureaucratic conspiracy which developed within the Politburo of the R.C.P. itself. This was the organized and consciously directed Stalinist bureaucratization which began with a plot on the part of the top section of the Bolshevik leaders to usurp power in the Party and State.

Lenin's line on the Stalinist bureaucratization was embodied in his "will" calling for the removal of Stalin, his letter breaking comradely relations with him, his documents on the national question which were to provide a "bomb" against the usurping General Secretary, his various proposals for democratizing the party, (the workers and peasants inspection, etc.). In the face of increasing illness, he entrusted the execution of this line to Trotsky. Unfortunately Lenin's line was never carried into effect due to his complete physical collapse and to Trotsky's betrayal of Lenin's trust. In addition to his line for Workers Democracy, against bureaucratization and against Stalinism, we may recall Lenin's basic formulations on the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry, and on the N.E.P., to mention only two outstanding contributions to the problem of holding power. A scientific examination of Leninism reveals that it dealt with every fundamental problem of holding power in the Workers State.

LENIN AND THE CRITERIA

OF A WORKERS STATE

As we have quoted above, the L.R.W.P. claims that it accepts the teachings of Leninism. We have shown that on the question how to hold power and how to spread the world revolution the L.R.W.P. distorts the facts about Leninism. A further investigation of the L.R.W.P. line will provide more proof of the fact that the L.R.W.P. rejects the basic principles of Lenin-

ism. Let us examine the L.R.W.P.'s position on the Marxist teachings on the question of the state.

Marxism maintains that the state is a product of class society and that each specific class society produces a distinct class state. Marxism knows of an ancient slave state, a feudal state, a bourgeois state, and a proletarian state. Any non-class characterization of a state is sheer petty-bourgeois twaddle which only brings confusion to the minds of the workers. The L.R.W.P., however, falling in line with the anti-Marxist tendencies, analyzes the state of the Stalinized Soviet Union in non-class terms. The L.R.W.P. calls it a "totalitarian state" (Workers Anti-War Bulletin, Vol. 1, #2, p. 16). Such a characterization does not define the class nature of the Russian state; it conceals it. The L.R.W.P. with reference to Russia is simply repeating the performance of many liberal petty-bourgeois muddleheads who conceal the class nature of the state in Italy or Germany with the term "totalitarian" or "dictatorship."

To add to the confusion, the L.R.W.P. characterizes the Stalinist bureaucracy as "a ruling class which is not a capitalist class as yet" (Ibid. p. 22. My emphasis, A.B.) If it is a class, but not a capitalist class as yet, then what sort of a class is it? Obviously in the eyes of the L.R.W.P. it is not a proletarian class because the L.R.W.P. speaks of it as a ruling class and at the same time denies that Russia is any form of a workers state. The L.R.W.P. conceives of a ruling class which is not proletarian and not capitalist as yet. Apparently this alleged ruling class stands in between the proletariat and the capitalist class. Leninism teaches that there is no third class standing in between the proletariat and the capitalist class. Each class has its groups, sections and sub-divisions. In the proletariat there is the aristocracy of labor, the lumpen proletariat and the basic body of the wage laborers; in the capitalist class there is the financial oligarchy, the petty-bourgeoisie, including the professionals, and the main body of

the capitalist exploiters. Not one of these sections constitutes a class in itself, scientifically speaking. The L.R.W.P.'s in-between, third class which is not proletarian and not capitalist is a pure myth.

Thus we see that on the question of holding power, of spreading the proletarian revolution, of the state, of classes, the L.R.W.P. has nothing in common with Leninism.

LENINISM ON THE MAIN TASK

Let us take a glance at still another aspect of the L.R.W.P.'s "Leninism" — the question of the building of a revolutionary party. The L.R.W.P. proceeds from the following premise:

"The main task of the workers is to organize their own political party. Once and for all we must break from the racketeering Democratic and Republican parties." (Workers Anti-War Bulletin, April 1940, p. 17.)

Thus, the L.R.W.P. in approaching the task of building a revolutionary party "forgets" the gigantic opportunist forces which control the decisive vanguard sections of the proletariat, i.e., those sections which have already broken with the bourgeois parties. It is only out of the vanguard, as history proves, that the crystallization of the organized political leadership of the working class, the revolutionary party, can take place. But the L.R.W.P. in its orientation to the task of building a revolutionary party addresses itself to the raw and backward workers who have not as yet even broken from the bourgeois parties!

Lenin framed his struggle for the building of a revolutionary international in terms of a battle against the opportunism of his day. At the historic Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 Lenin defined opportunism as the principal enemy in the proletarian ranks and the struggle against it as the main task:

"Opportunism is our principal enemy. Opportunism in the upper ranks of a working class movement is not proletarian socialism but bourgeois socialism. Practice has shown that the active people in the working class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself. Without their leadership of the workers the bourgeoisie could not have remained in power..... This is where our principal enemy is; and we must conquer this enemy. We must leave this congress with the firm determination to carry this struggle to the very end in all parties. This is our main task." (Lenin, Selected Works; English Edition, Vol. X, p. 196. My emphasis - A.B.)

If this was true when there existed a genuine Bolshevist Party, when the Third International was under Lenin's influence, when the main opportunist force of that period, the Second International, was in the process of rapid disintegration, when pseudo-Bolshevism, such as we know today, had not as yet made its appearance, how much truer is it today when no Bolshevist Party exists, when the Second International has regained its strength to a great extent, when there exist powerful pseudo-Bolshevist forces such as the Stalinized "Comintern" and the Trotskyist "4th International," to say nothing of the numerous lesser pseudo-Bolshevist groups and organizations! Lenin conceived the task of Marxists to be first and foremost the winning of the vanguard to a Marxist position, for it is only through the vanguard that Marxism can be brought to the backward masses of the toilers. While the vanguard of the proletariat is in the toils of opportunism, the duty of Marxists is to destroy the influence of the opportunists over the vanguard, for:— "Unless the revolutionary section of the proletariat is thoroughly and seriously trained to eject and suppress opportunism it is absurd even to think of a dictatorship of the proletariat." (Lenin, Selected Works, English Edition, Volume VI, p. 486. Emphasis in the original.)

In naked contrast, the "mass liners" of the L.R.W.P. type attempt to leap over the heads of the opportunist forces today and seek to orient not to the advanced workers, but to those raw and backward workers who have not as yet broken subjectively with capitalism.

* * * * *

TO recapitulate:- On the question of holding power, on the class character of a state, on the spreading of the world revolution, on the problem of orientation to the task of building a party, to mention only some basic aspects of the L.R.W.P.'s position, the L.R.W.P. is in sharp antagonism to the fundamental principles of Leninism. In the struggle to reestablish the Leninist teachings within the proletariat, it is necessary to combat such positions as advanced by the

L.R.W.P. It is essential to make clear to the workers the true Leninist positions on these basic questions. The Russian state is a product of proletarian revolution. In its class character it is proletarian due to the fact that it is based on socialized property relations. It is being strangled by an opportunist force, the Stalinist bureaucracy, and thus is a bureaucratized workers state whose development is towards the destruction of socialized property and the reestablishment of bourgeois-private property. With respect to the orientation to the task of building a new revolutionary party, Leninism faces the necessity of annihilating opportunism in the vanguard proletarian ranks. Only in the process of destroying opportunism can the new revolutionary party be built.

Arthur Burke,
June 1, 1940.

FREE

BACK ISSUES OF

THE BULLETIN

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STAMM "EDITS" HISTORY

Stamm Exhumes a "Harbinger
of the Proletarian Revolution"

IN the September 14, 1940 issue of Stamm's Revolt, there is an article with the headline, "Mass Action Can Stop the Draft." The article consists of extracts from the June-July 1934 issue of Class Struggle, extracts which fill four and one-half columns of Stamm's Revolt with a description of the anti-draft riots in New York City in 1863 during the American Civil War.

These anti-draft riots are described by Class Struggle and presented by Stamm without a single qualification as "one of the harbingers of the proletarian revolution." (Revolt, p. 2.) Stamm offers these riots as an inspiration to the workers of the present day. This "inspiring" example is well worth an examination for it will provide light on the character of Stamm's politics. Is it true that the anti-draft riots during the American Civil War were "one of the harbingers of the proletarian revolution"?

Unlike any war which the present imperialist government of the United States or any other reactionary government would conduct, the war fought by the North during the Civil War was historically progressive. The war against the Southern slave oligarchy received the support of Marx and Engels. The Northern bourgeoisie, however, acted in a vacillating, cowardly, even treacherous manner. Marx and Engels fiercely castigated the Lincoln government. They demanded that the war be pressed in a vigorous and decisive manner, above all, along revo-

lutionary lines. Marx and Engels insisted upon the formation of a large and powerful Northern army. The volunteer method of obtaining soldiers for the Northern army was considered by Marx and Engels as highly unsatisfactory. They looked upon it as a symptom of the temporizing, weak-kneed methods of the Lincoln government. Far from opposing compulsory conscription in the North, Marx and Engels considered conscription an urgent necessity. They sharply denounced the timidity of the Northern government in the matter of passing a conscription law:- "Furthermore, what cowardice in government and Congress. They are afraid of conscription, of resolute financial steps, of attacks on slavery, of everything that is urgently necessary." (The Civil War in the United States, by Marx and Engels, p. 251. My emphasis — J. C. H.) The anti-conscription forces were falsely arguing that conscription was wrong because there were no precedents for it in the history of the U.S.A. Marx and Engels exposed this argument of the anti-conscription camp:- "Ignorance and hatred have decried conscription as an unheard-of occurrence in the history of the United States. Nothing can be more mistaken. During the War of Independence and the second war with England (1812-14) great bodies of troops were conscripted, indeed, even in sundry small wars with the Indians, without this ever having encountered opposition worth mentioning." (Ibid., p. 210.) It is a noteworthy fact that militant European Socialists were volunteering for the Northern army, so

remote were they from opposing participation in the war conducted by the North.

The New York draft riots during the American Civil War were the result of the dilatory, sluggish way in which the Northern bourgeoisie were conducting the war. By the middle of 1863, when the draft law after so much hesitation was put into effect out of sheer desperation, the North had already piled up a big record of defeats for itself. Virtually no effort was made to stir up a powerful sentiment amongst the Northern masses for victory over the slave oligarchy. As a result the Northern masses were extremely negativistic toward the war as a whole. The passage of the draft law in this situation naturally excited a furor amongst the depressed and misled masses. In the light of the position taken by Marx and Engels, it is clear that this anti-draft sentiment was utterly mistaken, for the correct Marxist position was in favor of pressing the war against the slaveholders by every possible means, including conscription.

The character of the draft riots clearly denoted their reactionary tendency. An outstanding feature of these riots was the lynching of Negroes. The liberal-bourgeois historian, Beard, reports:- "Negroes were seized, hanged and shot." (The Rise of American Civilization, Vol. II p. 73.) The writer in the Encyclopedia Britannica reports:- "The mob was especially furious against negroes, a number of whom were hanged or beaten to death." (Article, "New York City," Vol. 19, p. 623. Eleventh Edition. My emphasis - J.C.H.) Other historians report that Negro residences and a Negro Orphan Asylum were burned and destroyed. A veritable pogrom atmosphere against the Negroes was created by the rioters who were being told by reactionary instigators that "this is a nigger war" (as, for example, by The N.Y. Commercial Advertiser of July 1863). The riots so seriously affected the living conditions of the Negroes of New York that a special relief fund had to be established to ease their suffering. It is a noteworthy fact

that the article in Stamm's Revolt which calls these anti-draft riots "one of the harbingers of the proletarian revolution" makes no mention of this lynching and victimising of Negroes by the rioters. The fact that the rioters were incensed by the clause in the draft law which enabled the rich to buy their way out of the army by paying a fine of \$300, did not in the least make their opposition to the draft a revolutionary tendency. Basic to the entire uproar against the draft was the reactionary mood of the Northern masses, a deadly condition produced by the miserable policies of the Lincoln government which were so abhorrent to Marx and Engels. The sentiment of the rioters, of course, had nothing in common with the Marxist standpoint of the proletarian revolution, but was merely that of the confused pacifist type, a sentiment whose basically reactionary nature manifested itself in the fact that Negroes were being made the scapegoat for the war.

This is the "inspiring" example of how to fight the draft that Stamm offers the workers!

The present draft is, clearly, not to be confused with that of the Northern government during the American Civil War. The present draft is entirely imperialist, i. e., reactionary in character. It must be combatted, but it can be fought only along revolutionary lines, by masses led by a genuine Bolshevik Party. An interesting sidelight on Stamm's "Marxism" is cast by the fact that he lumps the historically progressive war fought by the North together with a war which may be fought by the present American imperialist government. Stamm's Revolt writes that though things are different in 1940 from ~~what~~ they were in 1863, yet "one thing is consistently true. The workers have no interest in conscription by capitalist governments to fight wars in its interests. They are justified in opposing and resisting it." (p. 1. My emphasis - J. C. H.) It would seem, therefore, according to Stamm's version of "Marxism," that the workers in 1863 had no interest in the war fought

by the North and were right in opposing conscription then. It is in this light that Stamm re-peddles the drivel printed six years ago in the ultra-Leftist Weisbord's Class Struggle. Workers seeking the correct Marxist path today must not confuse the war of the North with any war which the present imperialist government may wage; nor confuse Stamm's distortions of Marxism with genuine Marxism.

OPPORTUNISM AND THE
TASK OF THE PRESENT

Today, in the face of Wall Street's first peacetime conscription measure, the American workers find themselves utterly paralyzed politically and unable to make the slightest effective oppositional move. Despite the widespread resentment against the draft, the imperialists' militarization programme proceeds without a hitch.

The cause of the workers' paralysis is that their most advanced section, those workers who consider themselves the continuers of the October Revolution, are in the clutches of pseudo-Bolshevik opportunists. If these revolutionary-minded workers were organized in a genuine Bolshevik Party, then revolutionary leadership could be given to the mass of the more backward toilers who now in a mute, motionless way are against the draft. The situation being what it is, the masses remain bound hand and foot to Wall Street's war machine, because the vanguard workers are tied to the opportunists.

The present draft, like every other form of bourgeois oppression, forces upon the class-conscious, thinking workers the need to take cognizance of this disastrous situation which exists within their own ranks. The pressing need to free the vanguard workers from the control of the opportunists stands to the fore again in a most striking manner. At present, an effective struggle against the draft can be waged only in terms of winning away the vanguard workers from their present pseudo-Bolshevik misleaders and reorganizing them in a new Bolshe-

vik Party. These workers, followers of Browder, Cannon, and Shachtman, primarily, do not have explained to them the imperialist, reactionary character of the draft. They already know that. Their confusion consists in the fact that they imagine that Browder, Cannon, and Shachtman are leading them in a genuine Bolshevik struggle against the imperialists and their war machine. It is not so much the nature of the draft, as the fakery of Browder, Cannon, Shachtman and other pseudo-Marxists which has to be exposed to these workers. The recognition of this constitutes the only possible basis of a correct orientation to the struggle against the draft at the present stage.

Stamm is one of those endeavoring to divert the attention of the workers from the fact that the new revolutionary party can be built only in terms of a struggle against the Stalinist system and the other major forms of opportunism in the working class ranks. Stamm directs his followers to the backward masses of the toilers, instead of to the already advanced, class-conscious vanguard workers. Hence, he talks a great deal about "mass action," giving the impression that not only is it possible to carry this out now when the workers have no revolutionary party, but that he, Stamm, is in fact engaged in such mass action. As an "inspiration" to the toilers in the case of the present draft, Stamm, of course, is unable to point to "mass action" of any sort, not even the kind of fake mass action led at times by the opportunists. Stamm's talk of "mass action" can therefore be only the most empty, abstract sort. To make his talk about "mass action" seem somewhat concrete, Stamm is forced to point to an "inspiring" example, the anti-draft riots during the American Civil War.

Stamm's reprinting of the anti-Marxist claptrap about the draft of 1863 is no accident. To divert the advanced workers from the Marxist understanding of, and struggle against the Stalinist system of opportunism, the only path which can lead to the creation of a new Bolshevik Party,

must inevitably lead to one kind of another of anti-Marxist ideology or action. Such diversion is the essence of Stamm's "mass line," as well as of the "mass line" of all those pseudo-Bolshevik opportunists that pose as the builders of a new revolutionary party.

— — —
ANOTHER ASPECT OF

STAMM'S DISTORTIONS

When Stamm deals with the forces of the Stalinist system against which the struggle for a new Bolshevik Party must be directed, his reactionary tendency is again sharply revealed. In the same issue of Revolt which reprinted the anti-Marxist deception on the draft riots of 1863, there is an article dealing with the assassination of Trotsky. Speaking of Trotsky's activities after the October Revolution, Revolt writes:- "Then for seven years to Lenin's death in 1924, he fought side by side with him." (p.3.) That from 1917 up to about 1921 Trotsky, generally speaking, fought side by side with Lenin is a fact. But the story after that is quite a different one. It was precisely in the years 1921-1924 that Trotsky laid the basis of his renegacy which made him a Stalinist conspirator and eventually an ex-partner and scapegoat of the Stalin clique. We have presented material proving this fact. (See especially, "The Murder of Trotsky and the Fight Against Stalinism," "After Sixteen Years of Silence," "Trotsky and the Suppression of Lenin's Testament," and various issues of THE BULLETIN of the Leninist League, U.S.A.). We have established that Trotsky deliberately deceived Lenin by giving him the impression that he intended to carry out Lenin's line against Stalinism, while in actuality he collaborated with the Stalinist plotters; that Trotsky, particularly at the XII Congress of the R.C.P. in April 1923, sabotaged Lenin's line to remove Stalin from his post; that Trotsky aided the Stalinist conspirators to suppress Lenin's anti-Stalinist documents; that Trotsky concealed from the workers his knowledge of the Stalinist conspiracy to usurp power; that Trotsky palmed off the

Stalin-Zinoviev gang as Bolsheviks, when he knew they were renegades and counter-revolutionaries; that Trotsky urged the workers to have confidence in and to support the Stalinist renegades; that Trotsky with the Stalin gang betrayed the German revolution in 1923. These are only some of Trotsky's treacherous acts during Lenin's life which we have proved with documentary evidence. We have shown how for sixteen years Trotsky kept to himself his knowledge of facts pointing to the probable assassination of Lenin by the Stalin gang. Yet Stamm's Revolt writes about Trotsky that "to Lenin's death in 1924, he fought side by side with him"!

"Mass-lineism" of the Stamm sort is the derivative of a policy which prevents the exposure of and struggle against the entire pseudo-Bolshevik system, of which the Trotsky movement is so vital a part. Indeed, this fraudulent "mass line," which Browder, Lovestone, Cannon, Shachtman and all the other pseudo-Marxists employ, is a technique by which such a struggle is prevented.

To those honest, revolutionary-minded workers who are eager for mass action against the bourgeoisie, we say: Yes, it is true that mass action can and will defeat the class enemy. But before there can be genuine revolutionary mass action, there must be a genuine revolutionary party to lead it. This Party can be genuinely Marxist only if it is armed with truth. Otherwise, slogans of "mass action" are the merest pseudo-Marxist phrasemongering. A Stamm who to "inspire" you holds up a reactionary example of mass action as a "harbinger of the proletarian revolution" and who paints Trotsky's renegacy as a case of "fighting side by side with Lenin" will lead you to neither a genuine revolutionary party nor to genuine revolutionary mass action. The "mass line" of such people is simply part of the pseudo-Bolshevik system which has brought about the present political paralysis of the toilers in the face of almost unprecedented bourgeois reaction.

J. C. H.
September 28, 1940.

SHACHTMAN, TROTSKY
and the
"THIRD CAMP"

Having captured THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, the Shachtmanite faction launched the April 1940 issue under the slogan, "For the Third Camp!" The Shachtmanite organ defines this "Third Camp" as the proletariat opposed to "the two imperialist camps" in the so-called "Second World War."

"We say there is in this war a third camp independent of either of the two warring imperialist camps, the camp of the world working class" (p. 68.)

A consideration of this position will reveal that Shachtman did not utilize a Leninist "arithmetic" when he counted up three camps in the present situation.

Leninism maintains that in capitalist society there are only two camps, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the imperialist war of 1914-1918, Lenin considered all the warring parties to constitute one camp and worked for the defeat of this single imperialist camp on a world scale. The only other camp in the war of 1914-1918 Lenin held to be the revolutionary proletariat. In defining the camps in the war situation, Lenin used class features as his criterion, and not the inter-imperialist rivalries nor extraneous and irrelevant items like a declaration of war, the demarcation of battlefronts and so forth.

Trotsky, who now had a factional bone to pick with Shachtman, was quick to notice the opportunist character of the Shachtmanite slogan and promptly attacked it:

"The very first 'programmatic' articles of the purloined organ already reveal completely the light-

mindedness and hollowness of this new anti-Marxist grouping which appears under the label of the 'Third Camp.' What is this animal? 'There is the camp of capitalism; there is the camp of the proletariat. But is there perhaps a 'third camp' — a petty-bourgeois sanctuary? In the nature of things, it is nothing else." (Socialist Appeal, May 4, 1940, p. 1.)

It would seem that Trotsky actually exposed some of Shachtman's opportunism and therefore made a bonafide contribution to Marxist clarity. This will seem so especially to those who are afflicted with a short memory and who have forgotten that the SOCIALIST APPEAL, that one hundred per cent Trotskyist organ, ever since September 1939 has been shouting the slogan of "The Third Camp." Trotsky never uttered so much as a whisper against this anti-Marxist drivel when it appeared in the SOCIALIST APPEAL.

We reprint here a few samples of the "Third Camp" antics of the SOCIALIST APPEAL. In September 1939:

"The fight against war and the war-mongers can be conducted only by the third camp — the camp which has not been given any publicity, and which both of the other two camps hope will remain silent and docile. The third camp is the camp of labor! The third camp is the camp of the toilers!" ("The Third Camp," an editorial in the Socialist Appeal, Sept. 18, 1939, p. 4. Emphasis in the original.)

In October:

"The third camp — the camp of the genuine fighters against war,

against all imperialisms - is the only camp worth supporting and fighting for." ("There Is a Third Camp," an editorial in the Socialist Appeal, October 13, 1939, p.4. Emphasis in the original.)

Again in October:

"We do not choose between two camps, Hitler or Roosevelt, Hitler or Chamberlain, because that is not the choice before the workers. There is a third camp, the camp of the workers, of the peasants and of the colonial slaves throughout the world. That is our camp." (Editorial, Socialist Appeal, Oct. 27, 1939, p. 4.)

On November 7, 1939, it is stated editorially that "the Socialist Workers Party is committed irrevocably to the support of the world-wide THIRD CAMP." (Socialist Appeal, p. 4.) On November 10, that sterling proletarian of the Cannonite persuasion, Felix Morrow, proclaimed:

"Neither the camp of Hitler-Stalin nor that of Daladier-Chamberlain-Roosevelt! The third camp, the camp of revolutionary struggle against war - that is the place for the workers of the world." (Socialist Appeal, Nov. 10, 1939, p. 3.)

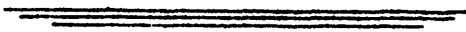
In the New York City elections, proudly asserts the S.W.P.:

"We emerged as the fighting representatives of the third camp that uncompromisingly fights all the war-makers and strikes for a workers' peace through workers' power." ("The New York Vote," an editorial in the Socialist Appeal, Nov. 17, 1939, p. 4.)

And a week later, a headline over an article by Morrow stated reassuringly: "Third Camp Raises Its Head in First Weeks of War," (Socialist Appeal, Nov. 24, 1939, p. 1.) There is no point in further multiplying these examples.

It can be easily observed that this "Third Camp" howling of the SOCIALIST APPEAL is no accident. Expressed week after week in prominent editorials and leading articles, the opportunist slogan of the "third camp" was part and parcel of the S.W.P.'s line. There were months of sufficient time for Trotsky to protest against this crass anti-Marxism, but not a word of objection came from the so meticulously "critical" Trotsky. Is it unjust to hold that if a factional fight had not broken out in the S.W.P., the "third camp" fakery of the SOCIALIST APPEAL would have continued? ^{Are we} without basis in believing that only factional interests evoked from Trotsky this seeming attack on Shachtman? In his "attack" on Shachtman, Trotsky made not the slightest reference to the SOCIALIST APPEAL'S consistent propagation of the opportunist slogan of the "third camp." Can such tactics as Trotsky's be taken as a serious, bonafide effort at establishing Marxist clarity?

And finally, it is clear that Cannon who published Trotsky's factional attack on Shachtman and who, like Trotsky, conceals the opportunism of his own SOCIALIST APPEAL stands on the same factional and opportunist grounds as Trotsky.



THE S.W.P. LEADERS BURY AN "ANALYSIS"

N October 1938, Trotsky told the workers that the Stalin gang was beginning to lose control over the "Comintern":-

"Entering the path of social patriotism, the Third International is now being clearly torn from the hands of the Kremlin clique." (New International, Oct. 1938, p. 293.)

This process, according to Trotsky, was engendered by the Rightist Popular Front line in which the Stalinist bureaucrats cooperated openly and closely with the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie, the reformists, and the various institutions these tendencies controlled. The Stalinist "Comintern" bureaucrats, Trotsky stated, were becoming entrenched in lucrative positions in various bourgeois-democratic states and organs and hence were coming to base themselves more on these interests than on their attachment to Stalin and his immediate clique:

"....the growth of the Communist parties in recent years, their infiltration into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, their installation in the state machinery, the trade unions, parliaments, municipalities, etc., have strengthened in the extreme their dependence on national imperialism at the expense of their traditional dependence on the Kremlin." (Ibid., Dec. 1938, pp. 363-4.)

Consequently, predicted Trotsky, the various Stalinist parties would evolve a patriotic policy on their own account and in a war between imperialism and the U.S.S.R. would be found supporting the former instead of the latter:-

"....in countries of the hostile camp, i.e., precisely where Moscow will be in greatest need of defenders, the ex-communist parties will be found completely on the side of their imperialist Fatherland." (Ibid.)

Echoing Trotsky's "analysis," the S.W.P. leaders said that the Stalinist line in the U.S., for example, would evolve toward an increased support of American imperialism:

"In this country you may expect that you will be called on to make yourselves more than ever devoted patriots, ardent partisans of Roosevelt, of American imperialism, which is now Stalin's best bet." (Socialist Appeal, Oct. 5, 1938. My emphasis - A.B.)

The "Comintern" bureaucrats, the workers were told by the Trotskyite leaders, would break away from "their traditional dependence on the Kremlin." Indeed, "Browder is an unmistakable symptom of a change from 'Moscow' to a 'National' organization" (New International, Dec. 1938, p. 363-4).

It should be noted that this prognosis of an increasingly Rightward trend of the Stalinist was presented by Trotsky and his followers as a scientific analysis of Stalinism. No mere guesswork gave rise to this prognosis; it arose from what the Trotskyites claim to be their Marxist-Leninist portrayal of Stalin's "Comintern."

Yet such is the "scientific" character of the Trotskyite "analysis" of Stalinism, that one month after the Trotskyites made their prognosis of an

increasing Rightward swing of the Stalinern, the latter began to change its line towards Leftism. The Stalin clique in Russia, through the mouth of its Dimitroffs, began to shout against bourgeois-democracy. The official organ of the American Stalinist party immediately picked up the new line and loyally passed it on to the workers:-

"Why has this series of bloody fascist crimes become possible? It has become possible because the ruling circles of the so-called democratic states have systematically retreated before the fascist aggressors." (Daily Worker, November 14, 1938.)

The Stalinist "Comintern" bureaucrats now "found out" that the social-democrats -- with whom Stalinism had been in close collaboration since 1935 -- were agents of the bourgeoisie:-

"Without a resolute, day by day struggle against these enemies of working class unity, these agents of the bourgeoisie, it is impossible to achieve cohesion of the ranks of the proletariat." (Manifesto of the E.C.C.I., Daily Worker, Nov. 7, 1938.)

By the first quarter of 1939, the Stalinized "Comintern" had already moved markedly toward the Leftist line. The Zinoviev-Stalin fakery of 1923-24 which proclaimed social-democracy a wing of fascism had officially inaugurated the first ultra-Leftist zigzag of the Stalinized "Comintern." This fakery, which was also used to confuse the workers during the second Leftist zigzag ("Third Period"), is now dusted off again by the Stalinist bureaucrats and brought into use with a somewhat different twist. The social-democrats are once more "discovered" to be agents of fascism:-

"The capitulators do not merely cooperate with the bourgeoisie but they cooperate with fascism. The capitulators are the agents of fascism. These capitulators are the agents of fascism in the labor movement, acting under the mask of 'pacifism' for the deception of the

masses." (Daily Worker, March 15, 1939.)

Stalin's "Comintern" flunkeys, far from deserting Stalin and his Leftist baggage, are unfolding the Leftist line with customary loyalty to Stalin. In the United States and elsewhere, the Stalinist leaders, far from evolving to the "social-patriotic policy" of which Trotsky told the workers, have already stopped using honeyed phrases about bourgeois-democracy, national defense, and social-democracy. And, it should be carefully noted, they have done this to the injury of whatever interest they had gathered in the bourgeois-democratic state apparatus and organs during the Popular Front line. To this extent have they, contrary to the Trotskyite prognosis, been loyal to Stalin. Remnants of the Popular Front maneuver continue to exist in accordance with the exigencies of the objective situation. History permitting, there is every indication that most of these remains of ultra-Rightism will gradually disappear and the Stalinized "Comintern" will be perpetrating a wide ultra-Left zigzag.

The Leftist swing of the "Comintern" is too obvious to be ignored even for the most "diplomatic" of reasons. Hence, the Trotskyite leaders, who in their own way must take account of reality, are no longer talking about Stalin's "Comintern" flunkeys breaking with Stalin and going over to the national bourgeoisie. On the contrary! Completely reversing Trotsky's previous prognosis, the S.W.P. leaders now declare that the Stalinist parties bear a slavish relationship to the Master in the Kremlin:-

"It reveals once more the utterly slavish relationship between the Stalinist parties and the Kremlin. The Communist parties, which are neither Communist nor parties, but mere instrumentalities of the Kremlin, dare not utter a word on any important question until the Kremlin tells them what to say." (Socialist Appeal, Oct. 5, 1940, p. 4)

So far is Browder, for example, from

breaking with Stalin and attaching himself to the American bourgeoisie, that:-

"Browder and his associates are as independent of the Kremlin as a muzzled dog firmly held on an unbreakable leash is independent of his master." (Ibid.)

Thus do the Trotskyite leaders reverse their story — for "diplomatic" reasons. And "diplomatically," they keep mum about the utter falseness of their "scientific" prognosis.

Lest it be attempted to excuse Trotsky on the alleged basis that the prognosis of a continued Rightist movement of the "Comintern" was predicted on the then-existing pacts of Stalin with the "democracies" (France, Czechoslovakia), the following should be borne in mind:- At the same time that Trotsky was prognosticating a continued Rightist movement of the "Comintern" in October 1938 and thereafter, he was predicting a reorientation of Stalin's foreign policy toward a rapprochement with Hitler:-

"We my now expect with certainty Soviet diplomacy to attempt rapprochement with Hitler at the cost of new retreats and capitulations which in their turn can only bring nearer the collapse of the Stalinist oligarchy." (Socialist Appeal, Oct. 8, 1938. My emphasis (A.B))

Nevertheless Trotsky persisted in his prognosis that the Stalinist "Comintern" bureaucrats would in a continued Rightist swing break with Stalin for the sake of their interests in and dependence on the various national imperialisms. Obviously, in Trotsky's "analysis" the prognosis that the "Comintern" flunkys would tend to tear away from Stalin was not intended to be limited to a period in which Stalin had a pact with the "democracies." It was meant to hold as well for a period in which Stalin's foreign policy turned toward Hitler. The fact that in the present period of a Stalin-Hitler pact the Stalinist bureaucrats of the "Comintern" are doing just the opposite of ^{what} Trotsky prognosticated is, therefore, from any angle an irrefutable proof of the false character of Trotsky's "scientific" analysis of Stalin's "Comintern." And the continued silence of the Trotskyite leaders on the falseness of their prognostication is a sure testimony to the "Marxist" character of their politics.

These contradictions, distortions and evasions are palmed off by the Trotskyite leaders as Marxist enlightenment to guide the workers against the Stalinists and imperialists!

Arthur Burke,
October 13, 1940



T R O T S K Y S C H O O L O F F A L S I F I C A T I O N

T R O T S K Y A N D T H E L E G E N D O F " L E N I N ' S M A N T L E "

TROTSKY has asserted categorically that at every stage in the struggle of Lenin against Stalinism, "Lenin sought my support and found it" (Suppressed Testament of Lenin, p. 32). Trotsky further maintained that Lenin, incapacitated by illness, entrusted to him the leadership of the fight against Stalinism (See MY LIFE, pp. 482-3), and that he accepted this leadership and faithfully carried it out. Indeed, it is as the historic continuer of Lenin's proposed battle against Stalinism that Trotsky presented himself to the workers.

In one place in his autobiography (dated 1929), Trotsky stated that Lenin intended him to be the successor to Lenin's post of chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars:

"Lenin suggested that I think over the organization end of the question. He planned to create a commission attached to the Central Committee for fighting bureaucracy. We were both to be members. This committee was essentially to be a lever for breaking up the Stalin faction as the backbone of the bureaucracy, and for creating such conditions in the party as would allow me to become Lenin's deputy, and as he intended, his successor to the post of chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissaries." (MY LIFE, p. 479. Our emphasis.)

From Trotsky's statement we see that Lenin's intention to have Trotsky the successor to the post of chairman of the People's Commissars was intimately connected with Lenin's plan to give Trotsky the leadership of the fight

against Stalinism. Trotsky knew of this intention of Lenin's from his personal negotiations with him during the period of Lenin's illness in 1922-1923.

Amongst the party tops of that period this intention of Lenin's was quite well known. In 1924, Max Eastman, acquainted with some of the leaders of the already Stalinized party of the S.U., also learned of Lenin's intention. In his book, SINCE LENIN DIED, Eastman revealed this intention in addition to many facts about the Stalinist conspiracy to usurp power and to destroy Trotsky as a political power.

How remote Trotsky actually was from accepting Lenin's offer of conducting a fight against Stalinism is clearly shown by the fact that, as a gesture of what he himself termed peacemaking and conciliation toward the Stalin clique, Trotsky publicly repudiated all of Eastman's authentic exposures of Stalin and his gang of conspirators. Eastman's revelation that Lenin intended Trotsky as his successor to the post of chairman of the People's Commissars was amongst the facts denied by Trotsky in his slanderous assault on Eastman:

"Eastman is again wrong in asserting that Comrade Lenin offered me the post of chairman to the council of People's Commissars, and of the Council for Labour and Defence. I hear of this for the first time from Eastman's book." (L. Trotsky, Inprecorr, Sept. 3, 1925.)

Trotsky presents two contradictory,

mutually exclusive stories: one, that Lenin intended him for the post of chairman of the People's Commissars, and the other, flatly denying this. If one of Trotsky's assertions is true, the other must be a fabrication. In defense of the Stalin clique of power-usurping renegades, Trotsky cast aside Lenin's plan of a fight against Stalinism and took to the road of cooperation with Stalinism. Buried beneath a heap of malicious abuse by Trotsky, Eastman's vital revelations could, of course, have no value to those honest workers who sincerely desired to destroy Stalinism. Lenin's anti-Stalinist plans, trampled upon by Trotsky, had to give way to the triumph of Stalinism. The post of chairman of the People's Commissars naturally went to one of Stalin's henchmen, Rykov. That Trotsky two and a half years after the end of Lenin's political life repudiated his designation as successor to Lenin's post of leadership, meant in effect his sanctioning of the Stalinist usurpation of that position.

Thus did Trotsky don "Lenin's Mantle"!

In whitewashing his avoiding to press Lenin's fight against Stalinism, Trotsky offered the following excuse:

"Independent action on my part would have been interpreted, or, to be more exact, represented as my personal fight for Lenin's place in the party and state. The very thought of this made me shudder." (MY LIFE, p. 482.)

"What restrained me was the fear that any sharp conflict in the ruling group at the time when Lenin was struggling with death might be understood by the party as a casting of lots for Lenin's mantle." (SUPPRESSED TESTAMENT OF LENIN, pp. 32-3)

At first glance, this seems quite plausible. Careful investigation, however, reveals that these excuses are merely shrewd inventions designed to conceal the real situation.

In the first place, it was not independent action on Trotsky's part that was the essence of the matter, for

no independent action by Trotsky was required. Lenin himself took the independent step of preparing voluminous documents against Stalin as a basis for the fight against the bureaucratic usurpation of power this renegade was effecting. Especially on the national question, Lenin provided Trotsky with detailed material which only had to be presented before the XII Party Congress in April 1923 as Lenin's -- (and not particularly Trotsky's) -- battle against the Stalin clique. Trotsky had merely to carry out Lenin's line. At the XII Party Congress, however, Trotsky took a very "independent" step, a step remarkably independent of Lenin. Trotsky lined up with the Stalin gang to suppress Lenin's anti-Stalinist documents on the national question. Further, independently of Trotsky, Lenin wrote the so-called Testament, in which he proposed the removal of the disloyal Stalin from the post of General Secretary. And again, Trotsky took an "independent" step, like that at the XII Congress. At the time of the XIII Party Congress in May 1924, Trotsky stood together with the Stalin clique to suppress Lenin's "Testament".

We observe that Trotsky was not at all bashful about "independent" action. Unfortunately, all this "independent" action was against Lenin, and with Stalin. When Trotsky "explained" his failure to press Lenin's fight against Stalinism as a matter of avoiding "independent" action which might have been interpreted as casting lots for Lenin's mantle, he subtly distorted the entire history of his role in the rise of Stalinism. Trotsky's role was not a mere failure to fight Stalin. Trotsky's role was one of active sabotage of Lenin's proposed war against Stalinism. Trotsky's role was one of what he himself characterized as conciliation with the Stalin gang (See his statement on Eastman, New International, Nov. 1934, p. 126), a conciliation which proceeded on wholly Stalinist terms, for Trotsky's efforts at conciliation meant sabotaging Lenin's line against Stalinism. In brief, Trotsky's role was the attempted formation of a bloc with the Stalin clique. Only the treachery of the double-crossing Stalin gang which was irrevoc-

ably bent on destroying the powerful political figure of Trotsky and raising itself to supreme power rendered Trotsky an "Opposition." And as Trotsky was the sham "inheritor" of "Lenin's Mantle," so he was, and could only be a sham "Opposition" to Stalinism, for in the epoch of the Stalinist conspiracy, to inherit "Lenin's Mantle" genuinely meant in the first place to conduct a relentless war against Stalinism.

There is still another essential angle to this detail of Trotskyist history. It should be recalled that the documents entrusted by Lenin to Trotsky were directed primarily and in fact almost wholly against Stalin. "By taking the example of Stalin's policy," says Trotsky, "he [i.e., Lenin] wanted to expose to the party, and ruthlessly, the danger of the bureaucratic transformation of the dictatorship." (MY LIFE, p. 484.) "Vladimir Illyich is preparing a bomb for Stalin at the congress." (Ibid., p. 482.) At that time (1922-1923) Stalin was a relatively insignificant figure in the Soviet Republic. "Stalin, beyond the narrow circle of the old Bolsheviks, was almost unknown," says Trotsky speaking of this period (Ibid. p. 491). Trotsky, on the other hand, was a man of colossal power and prestige. Trotsky pretends that if he had come forward on Lenin's line, this would have been interpreted as casting lots for "Lenin's Mantle." Casting lots with whom — with the unknown and insignificant Stalin? The notion that Trotsky's presenting Lenin's documents at the Party Congress and pressing Lenin's line would have been interpreted as Trotsky's casting lots with Stalin for "Lenin's Mantle" stands as amongst the most fantastic of all the inventions Trotsky has concocted to conceal his treachery. In the eyes of the masses, as a candidate for "Lenin's Mantle," Stalin simply did not exist. No fight against Stalin whatsoever, whether alone or in collaboration with Lenin, could possibly have been represented to anyone but a raving madman as a casting of lots between Trotsky and Stalin for "Lenin's Mantle." Indeed, had Trotsky come forward with Lenin's documents, there would have been created a Lenin-Trotsky combination which would have utterly annihi-

lated the relatively paltry Stalin. Nor is this merely our contention. Trotsky himself asserts that even alone, had he come forward representing a Lenin-Trotsky bloc, he could have defeated the Stalin gang:

"And what is more, I have no doubt that if I had come forward on the eve of the twelfth congress in the spirit of a 'bloc of Lenin and Trotsky' against the Stalin bureaucracy, I should have been victorious even if Lenin had taken no direct part in the struggle." (Ibid.p.481).

The fact is, however, that Trotsky did not come forward. With victory for Leninism assured — "I have no doubt" — Trotsky preferred to sabotage Lenin's line and to side with the Stalin gang in an effort to establish a collective bureaucratic usurpation of power.

While Trotsky was collaborating with the Stalin clique, the latter was engaged precisely in an effort to present themselves to the masses as the bonafide successors of Lenin:

"The whole plan of the conspirators was that after they had mustered enough support in the organizations, they would be crowned legitimate successors to Lenin." (MY LIFE, p. 485.)

The success of the Stalinist conspirators in usurping the entire Leninist tradition was due to a major extent to Trotsky's abandonment of cooperating with Lenin and adoption of a policy of cooperating with the Stalinists.

All these facts must be kept in mind when reading Trotsky's alibi for failing to stand on Leninist grounds against the Stalinist conspirators. The assurance of victory over Stalinism which Trotsky claims, the fact that Stalin could not possibly have been presented to any sane person as a contender for "Lenin's Mantle," the fact that Trotsky alone in the eyes of the overwhelming mass of the toilers was the logical inheritor of "Lenin's Mantle" all prove the utter falsity of Trotsky's glib alibis. And finally, the fact that Trotsky's role was not merely one of throwing away a sure chance of victory because of excessive caution, but was one of active sabotage of Lenin's line is the key to the whole story of the myth of Trotsky as the inheritor of "Lenin's Mantle."

S. E. Benson

CANNON MAKES USE OF LOVESTONE

On the occasion of the assassination of Leon Trotsky, Cannon printed in the Socialist Appeal on August 31 a number of statements from various organizations expressing sorrow and indignation at Trotsky's death. Among these statements was one from Lovestone's Independent Labor League of America. With seemingly profound feeling, Lovestone eulogized Trotsky. "Leon Trotsky ranks amongst the outstanding historical figures in the revolutionary movement of all times," stated the Lovestonite organization. "The Independent Labor League of America conveys its heartfelt condolences to Comrade Mrs. Trotsky." In addition to this eulogy, Lovestone refers to Trotsky as a victim of "the degeneration of what was once the international communist movement."

Those who know something about Lovestone's political past will have well-founded doubts about the sincerity of his "grief" and "condolences." Lovestone says that Trotsky is a victim of "the degeneration of what was once the international communist movement." What Lovestone conceals, however, is that he was himself instrumental in helping to bring about that degeneration.

When Stalin, in centralizing his power, ousted Trotsky from the bureaucratic leadership, he used Lovestone as his "hatchetman" in the United States. As the price for being permitted by Stalin to retain for a while his bureaucratic leadership in the American "Party," Lovestone inaugurated a pogrom against the followers of Trotsky. On November 16, 1928, Lovestone's Central Committee expelled the Trotskyites. "No tolerance of Trotskyism in the ranks of the Party," was Lovestone's slogan. "Unity against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism."

The introduction of hooliganism and gangster assaults on Trotskyite workers was another of Lovestone's achievements in his role of Stalin's bribed agent. On February 26, 1929 at the Labor Temple in New York and on April 9, 1929 at the Hungarian Hall, gangs sent out by Lovestone and armed with black-jacks, knives, lead-pipes and clubs attacked Trotskyite meetings. Several workers were seriously injured. Herberg, one of Lovestone's allies, explained: "Why we break up Trotskyite meetings - they are demonstrations against the Soviet Union of the same type as Monarchist, Socialist demonstrations." (Outlines for Speakers on Trotskyism.)

In behind-the-scenes machinations in 1927, Lovestone and a number of other "Comintern" flunkys, as a gesture of loyalty of Stalin, participated in a move for the expulsion of Trotsky. Lovestone, of course, engaged in this factional maneuver as his payment to Stalin for being allowed to retain his leading position in the American Stalinist Party. In 1937, Lovestone revealed this deed of his, keeping silent the fact that it was part of his policy of licking Stalin's boots in return for a leading post in the bureaucracy.

"It might interest you to know that at the full meeting of the executive committee of the Communist International, held in Moscow in July 1927, Thaelmann and I were elected to meet a sub-committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.S.U. consisting of Stalin and Bukharin, to demand that the Russian party expel Trotsky forthwith." (Jay Lovestone, "Letters to the Editor of the Times," The New York Times, Feb. 14, 1937.)

Is Cannon familiar with Lovestone's

criminal political history? Without a shadow of a doubt! Here is what Cannon's paper, The Militant, stated about Lovestone:

"It was the Lovestones throughout the International who were the heartiest protagonists of the regime of terror against the Leninist Opposition. It was they who stifled discussion. It was they who expelled their Leninist critics, made gangster attacks upon them, imprisoned and exiled them. Lovestone applauded this regime for years, and even called for more violent measures; in the United States he practiced these methods upon us." (August 15, 1929, p. 7.)

The old factional war-horse, Cannon, knows that Lovestone has not changed his spots, that, although Lovestone has donned a new "revolutionary" mask, he remains a cast-off promoter of Stalinist gangsterism. Cannon knows only too well, something which his honest followers do not know, that along the complex path of the Stalinist degeneration starting in the Politburo of the R.C.P. in 1921-22 and leading to the assassination of Trotsky in 1940, Lovestone's guilty footprints will be found in many places.

Yet Cannon, who is thoroughly familiar with Lovestone's criminal history, reprints without a single word of comment the hypocritical "lamentation" of the former Stalinist gangster, Jay Lovestone. Cannon, by his "strategic" silence, leaves covered the fact that the purpose of the careerist Lovestone gang in "lamenting" over Trotsky's assassination is, of course, to add another splash of whitewash on its Stalinist past. Lovestone, like all the bureaucrats who were eliminated in the course of the

Stalinist centralization of power, is always trying desperately to bury his criminal past as Stalin's agent. That his schemings in this direction find an outlet in Cannon's Socialist Appeal is a revealing commentary on Cannon and his unprincipled tendency. It is an accurate measure of the utter deceptiveness of Cannon's claim that he provides the workers with a genuine and complete exposure of the Stalinist system and of opportunism in general.

Cannon has the effrontery to reprint Lovestone's statement because he feels he can rely on his ability to keep his honest rank-and-file followers in the dark with regard to the past history of the Stalinist movement. Indeed, it is only because the honest revolutionary workers are generally not familiar with the history and career of Stalinist opportunism that hypocrites and swindlers can still conduct their machinations at the expense of the toilers.

Cannon uses Lovestone's hypocritical statement to boost Trotsky, and a boost for Trotsky is, of course, a boost for Cannon. That Cannon for his opportunist purposes uses a despicable scoundrel like Lovestone, is a correct gauge of the political character of this new head of the Trotskyist so-called 4th International.

FOR AN EXPOSURE OF ALL THE CANNONS AND LOVESTONES IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS, AND FOR THE BUILDING OF A TRUE LENINIST INTERNATIONAL!

J. C. Hunter

