

For Leninism! Against Trotskyism!

The following statement by the executive committee of the Young Communist International gives a keen analysis of Comrade Trotsky's factional activities in the Russian Communist Party and not only points out his breach of discipline in re-opening the party discussion but shows, by tracing his activities over a long period of time in the Russian party, that his position within the party has been in contradiction to the true Leninist position.

I. The New Factional Attack of Comrade Trotsky.

The recent behavior of Comrade Trotsky is not merely of Russian, but also of tremendous international significance. Firstly, to the extent that the Russian party is the leading party of the Comintern, its further development determines to a great extent the fate of international Communism; secondly, Comrade Trotsky's outbreak brought forth for discussion a number of fundamental problems of the international Communist movement. In view of this, the executive committee of the Y. C. I. considers it indispensable to elucidate briefly for all its sections, the meaning and significance of the conflicts which are taking place at present within the Russian party.

The present outbreak of Comrade Trotsky is a direct continuation of the party discussion of last year and is comprehensible only in connection with the latter. In the former discussion, the opposition, under the leadership of Comrade Trotsky, carried on an attack, as far as internal party questions were concerned, along the following main lines:

1. The Trotskyites tried to effect a "restratification" of the party apparatus, i. e., that the present party leaders among whom the old Leninists constitute the nucleus, should be changed and dismissed from positions in the central committee and at the periphery.

2. Trotsky and his followers attempted to set the party youth against the old guard and to

4. Four weeks annual vacation with pay!

5. We demand the right to organize into a union (Retail Clerks International is the union for all department store workers.)

6. Demand right to call a meeting of all workers employed in the Boston Store to discuss these issues.

knock their heads together. For this purpose Trotsky, without a shadow of proof, alluded to the possibility of an opportunist metamorphosis of the "Old Guard" and began to play off the youth, setting them up, especially that section of the youth attending the universities, as the "Barometer" of the party.

3. The Trotskyites insisted on the right to build factions and groups, i. e., they tried to alter Lenin's resolution adopted at the Tenth Party Congress forbidding factions and groupings within the party.

4. Trotsky did not steer among the proletarian sections of the party but among its petty bourgeois sections. This was expressed, among other things: (a) In the statement he made several weeks before the Lenin

geous sections of the party, etc.

In brief, the opposition, with Comrade Trotsky at its head, led an attack against the old Bolshevik guard, supported by the petty bourgeois sections of the party. This attack was condemned by the party congress and by the Comintern congress as a petty bourgeois deviation.

The discussion was discontinued in 1923 because the opposition was decisively condemned by the overwhelming majority of the party (at the party congress it did not have a single vote). Moreover, Lenin's death aroused in the party such an irresistible striving for unity that anyone who had made an attempt to oppose the decisions of the party would have been ruthlessly swept aside. The opposition was compelled to sub-

Russian Communist Party and the executive committee of the Comintern in the question of the international Communist movement to the judgment of the international proletariat, Comrade Trotsky saw fit to speak during the congress to a non-party meeting, developing a platform on the international questions differing fundamentally from the standpoint of the central committee and the executive. Comrade Trotsky advocated these same ideas in a more or less diplomatic form in a number of his subsequent public addresses.

And finally, to crown his preparatory work, he published his "Lessons of October," which has already won such sad fame. This whole chain of oral and literary outbreaks of Comrade Trotsky, and the collected contents of his latest works, prove Comrade Trotsky did not for one minute discontinue his factional work, that he tried to smuggle in ideas under cover of history which were condemned by the Comintern and the party, and that with fresh means he is trying to continue the old struggle. And what is most important of all, in his latest outbreak before the party and the Comintern, Comrade Trotsky categorically put the question: Leninism or Trotskyism?

II. The History of Russian Communist Party in the Light of Comrade Trotsky.

The necessity for choosing between Leninism and Trotskyism arises from the fact that Comrade Trotsky, in all his works in which he touches upon this or that moment in the history of the Russian Communist Party, continues to defend his own views in connection with all questions in which he differed from Lenin, against Lenin's views, and that thus he presents a fundamentally false estimate of the role and significance both of Lenin, himself and of the Leninist (Bolshevik) party. But questions in the history of the Russian Communist Party have a real political significance, for out of the history of the Russian Communist Party, the young party members in Russia and the less experienced Communist parties of the west and of the east, will learn how to formulate the policies for the present day. Thus, every false presentation of the history of the R. C. P. threatens to shift the basis of Communist strategy and tactic for the present and for the future. And this will ex-

plain the passion with which the Russian Bolsheviks react to the false representation by Comrade Trotsky of the most important historical questions.

In what light do we see the history of the R. C. P. according to Comrade Trotsky's description?

1. The First Period of Fight Between Bolshevism and Menshevism (1903-1905).

in which Comrade Trotsky was one of the most bitter mensheviks, is avoided and neglected. In the book, "On Lenin," Trotsky carries his presentation just up to the moment of the first split—and a period of 14 years full of significance yawns thereafter. No light is thrown on the meaning of this period for the creation of a proletarian revolutionary party.

2. The Driving Forces of the Russian Revolution.

(The conflicts from 1905 to 1917.) In the ranks of Russian social-democracy during this time, there were three schemes with reference to the development of the revolution:

(a) **The Menshevik Scheme.** The proletariat is weak and small in numbers. The backward, benighted, vacillating peasantry cannot play a great revolutionary role. Hence the revolution cannot proceed beyond the bourgeois framework. For the proletariat there remains only the alliance with the bourgeoisie, the support of the bourgeoisie, and in the case of a victory of the bourgeoisie, the role of the left opposition to the bourgeois government.

b. **The Bolshevik Scheme.** The proletariat has a powerful ally in the peasantry. The foundation for strategy and tactics is that the proletariat will lead the peasantry. In order to lead the revolution to victory, the proletariat must continually observe its peasant reserves, adjust its pace to that of the peasantry, in order to avoid getting too far ahead and becoming isolated from the peasantry, and thus losing the leadership. Therefore the slogan "dictatorship of the proletariat," and the socialist revolution on the day after the overthrow of czarism misses the mark and is inadmissible. Lenin's slogan from 1905 to 1916 was "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." And after the conquest of dictatorship, the proletariat, in accordance with the concrete circumstances and with the support of the workers of the

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THE FIRST EDITION OF THE WEEKLY

(A Special Six Page Edition)

WILL BE ON HAND AT THE
MASS MEETINGS—FEBRUARY 28TH AND
MARCH 1ST

Which Should Be Arranged in All
Cities by All League Units

Besides announcing the standing of the different cities in the Weekly Young Worker Campaign, this first issue will contain special articles by the leaders of the communist movement of America.

enrollment, that the party could not expect any important expansion in the near future of its working class nucleus; (b) in the declaration he made at that time that the party must support itself equally on nuclei of varying social composition (in contradiction to the majority policy of the party to get its main support from the factory nuclei); (c) in the attempt described above to set up as the "party barometer" the students with their great mixture of petty bourgeois elements, which in the universities often play the first fiddle; (d) in the attitude of the various sections of the party during the discussion—all the central committees were in favor of the policy of the central committees of the Russian Communist Party; the opposition found support only in one part of the Soviet nuclei and to a great extent in the high school nuclei, i. e., in the petty bour-

side. Comrade Trotsky promised at the party congress (May 24), altho he refused to admit his mistakes in the discussion, to submit loyally to the decisions of the party. Nevertheless, under the cloak of loyal promises and apparent agreement with the party, Trotsky continued his factional labor.

Only a few months after Lenin's death he published a book "On Lenin," in which, from a factional angle, he twists a number of the most important moments in party history, neglects or glosses over his own mistakes, and in throwing light on several historical facts and fundamental questions, already anticipates much of what is said in a much more open way in his book, "The Lessons of October."

Furthermore, without appearing before the congress of the Comintern, refusing to submit his difference of opinion with the central committee of the

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West, begins to move toward socialism.

c. **The Trotzky-Pravus Scheme** adopted from the Bolsheviks the call to battle for power and from the Mensheviks the rejection of the revolutionary role of the peasantry. The slogan of Trotzky-Parvus was: Dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist revolution *immediately* after the overthrow of czarism. This theory was given the name of "Theory of Permanent Revolution."

"The theory of permanent Revolution" was often subjected to harsh criticism by Lenin because its authors undervalued the peasantry and left it out of account. After the February Revolution of 1917, Lenin again warned against it. A study of the Leninist tactics in the period between February and October 1917 shows how carefully Lenin led the proletariat to its dictatorship, how he sought to discover transition forms (transition of power to the Menshevik and socialist revolutionary soviets), in order to facilitate the transition to the proletarian dictatorship, and how at every fresh turn of events he sounded the concrete forms of alliance with the millions of peasants.

In the *whole series* of his works ("1905", "The New Course", "The Lessons of October", etc.) Comrade Trotzky represented the correctness of *his own* theory on the development of the Revolution and claimed that Lenin and the Bolshevik Party adopted his views as a basis in 1917 ("they armed themselves anew"). Thus again, to say nothing of belittling Lenin's significance as leader of the Revolution, and exalting his own person, Trotsky brings up a fresh the fundamental question of the role of the peasantry in the Revolution.

(1907- 1014).

3. The Fight for the Party

During this period Comrade Trotzky advocated unity with the liquidationists, who had betrayed

the Party and the Revolution. Externally playing the role of intermediary, Trotzky allied himself in reality with the liquidationists against the Bolsheviks. Now Comrade Trotzky either passes over the stand ("On Lenin") adopted at that time, or side-tracks it with phrases about his "organizational errors," whereas at that time the differences of opinion did not lie in the organizational sphere but in the political sphere, and in his differences of opinion with Lenin on the question of "the paths of development of the Party" (at that time, when there was a question of a struggle of two parties). Thus Trotzky glosses over his mistakes and overlooks the necessity of this fight for the forging of a real bolshevist party.

4. The War Period (1914-1916).

The differences of opinion between Trotzky and the Bolsheviks centered around the fundamental questions: 1) Trotzky advocated unity with the social patriots and combatted the immerwald Left; 2) Trotzky fought against the Lenin slogan "Defeat"; 3) Trotzky contested the Lenin slogan "Transformation of the Imperialist War into Civil War," and submitted therefore that pacifist slogan "Fight for Peace." In publishing his articles written during the period of war, Comrade Trotzky did not include his articles against the immerwald Left, and wrote not a single word admitting his mistakes. In this manner Comrade Trotzky misrepresents the historical perspective and brings inadmissible confusion to the most important questions of Communist tactics.

5. February to October, 1917.

This whole period of struggle, the role of Lenin, the role of the Party and the role played in it by Comrade Trotzky himself is presented by him in an absolutely false picture. The role of the Bolshevik Party and its illegal nucleus is passed over in silence. The mistakes of individual Bolshevik leaders are emphasized, dealt with at length, and exaggerated. The attempt is made to represent a "Right Wing" of Bolshevism, stubbornly shattering Lenin's policy. The attempt is

made to oppose Lenin to the Party and to charge the Central Committee which led the Party with vacillation and indecision. In this connection a number of misrepresentations are committed in recounting certain facts, misrepresentations which have already been unveiled in Bolshevik literature. In opposing Lenin to the Party, Trotsky, in order to lower the Party, uses every opportunity to belittle Lenin to his own advantage. He sketches Lenin as an advocate of a "military conspiracy" in contrast to himself, an advocate of the mass uprising. In connection with *his own* difference of opinion with Lenin in the practical questions of the organization of the uprising, he represents the advice of Lenin as injurious to the Revolution. Against the background of a vacillating, erring party, and alongside of Lenin, theoretically estimating the events correctly, but in practical question of fighting committing grave errors, rises the proud figure of Trotzky, the savior of the Party, the real leader of the October Revolution.

This whole picture, created by the factional illusions and the unlimited self-admiration of Trotzky, is a complete lie about Lenin, about the Party, and about the Bolshevik workers. It has already been unmasked and nailed according to its deserts by the Russian Bolsheviks.

6. The First Months of the Dictatorship.

In the book "On Lenin" Trotzky gives a caricature of Lenin and paints him as a bloodthirsty and violent advocate of terror, in representing him as deciding the most important questions without the Party, etc. On the other hand, Trotzky allows a number of ambiguous inaccuracies to appear (for instance, he attributes to Lenin a recantation of the popular slogan "Plunder the plunderers," which played an important role in bolshevist agitation).

7. The Brest Peace (1918).

The mistake of Trotzky, in pressing the formula "Neither Peace nor War" on the Party, which might have led to tremendous injury to the Revolution and to its complete collapse if Lenin had not

instigated a sharp struggle against Trotzky and against the "left communists," is so apparent that it is impossible openly to deny it. Therefore Trotzky minimizes his mistake by linking it up in comparison with the attack on Warsaw (1920) where, as he says, Lenin "in principle committed the same mistake, only with a smaller degree of risk."

8. The Discussion on the Trade Unions (1921).

The mistakes which manifested themselves in his attempt to develop the methods of war communism at the time when the condition of the country and the frame of mind of the peasant masses urgently demanded the transition to new forms of economy (NEP) up to his attempt in a bureaucratic manner to "nationalize" the trade unions at the very moment when the Party, in view of the temporary vacillations of the peasantry, urgently needed a close alliance with the broad masses of the workers, Comrade Trotzky nowhere has referred to by a single word.

(To be Continued in the next Issue)

**DETROIT JUNIORS RAISE
\$50 FOR YOUNG COMRADE
WHAT CAN YOU DO?**

A new branch of Juniors in Detroit has set **SOME** example for all League branches in their drive for the Weekly Young Worker. Here's their letter:

"A new junior group was organized in Detroit on the west side and we earned fifty dollars. We earned this fifty dollars by scrapping old newspapers, magazines and America novels in a week. The Juniors were assigned special streets to collect this paper, which was kept in a junior's barn. One junior collected many novels by capitalist authors. Another junior, whose name is George Smith collected many magazines and newspapers. The next City Central Committee was in favor of a united city paper drive and a man by the name of Mr. Sherwood took the paper to the junk yard and sold it for the juniors. We decided in the City Central Committee to have a paper drive every six months for the benefit of The Young Comrade."