

# For Leninism! Against Trotskyism!

(Continued from last issue)

## 9. The Discussion of 1924.

At the 13th Congress of the R. C. P. Comrade Trotsky refused to admit the errors committed in the discussion, errors which might have confronted the party with menacing danger if they had not been met with a sharp resistance on the part of the Bolshevik nucleus of the party, supported by the entire party masses.

From 1903 to 1917 Comrade Trotsky belonged to the most bitter opponents of Bolshevism. His standpoint at that time was appraised by Lenin as a shade of Menshevism. Trotsky has been a member of the party since August 1917. But during the whole of the seven years of his membership in the party, he unavoidably differed from Lenin in every sharp turn in the policy of the party, and fought against Lenin's attitude. If, therefore, Comrade Trotsky, in the best case, evades "belittles" or suppresses his mistakes, and directly and openly insists on them in a number of the most important questions—then that is nothing more or less THAN AN ATTEMPT TO SUBSTITUTE TROTSKYISM FOR LENINISM.

## III. Wherein Lies the Essence of Trotskyism?

The fundamental elements of Trotskyism, which separate it from Leninism, which in the past made it a form of Menshevism, and which is being revived now by Comrade Trotsky, are the following:

### 1. Underestimation of the Role of the Peasantry.

This runs like a red thread through the whole political activity of Comrade Trotsky.

Lenin's fight against "the theory of permanent revolution" centered around this very point: A fighting alliance with the peasantry or "leaving the peasantry out of account," Trotsky's mistakes at Brest had the same origin: ignoring the frame of mind of the peasant army which did not wish to fight. Trotsky's mistake in the trade union discussion again lay in miscalculation the frame of mind of the peasants who cast aside the landowners and demanded the creation of a worker-peasant alliance on a new basis. Even after the discussion Trotsky fought at first with Lenin and then with his pupils (during the party discussion) on the question of the plan of

economy, Trotsky demanded the formulation of a thorough, orderly hard and fast plan, forgetting that in a country, in which economy is built up on petty-peasant agriculture, and extremely careful approach to the question of the plan is necessary; one which takes into consideration the needs of peasant economy. On the other hand, Trotsky opposed the introduction of the currency reform, which exercised a beneficial influence on the whole economy of the country by the very fact that it was a real approach to the formulation of a plan of national economy, and a real strengthening of the bond with the village. As propagandist, Trotsky was able in a number of addresses to develop more or less happily the necessity of the alliance of the workers and peasants. But as a politician, Trotsky always leaves out of account in his tactical constructions the peasantry, its needs, and its frame of mind.

### 2. Enmity to the "Old Guard" of the Bolshevik Party.

This course of Comrade Trotsky manifests itself in the negation of the pre-revolutionary bolshevist tradition, in the fight against the old bolshevist cadre, and in the fight against the Bolshevik Party regime.

Comrade Trotsky for many years fought in the ranks of the Mensheviks against the Bolshevik Party. Once in the Communist Party, he did not consider this fact, as his last outbreak shows, as his transition to Bolshevism as a result of a change of his views, but as a union of the Trotsky Group with the Bolshevik "fraction", as also a result of change in the sky systematically and conviews of Lenin. Therefore Trotsky scissiously belittles the significance of Lenin's work in creating the Bolshevik Party—a work without which the October victory would have been impossible. In Trotsky's opinion the when he joined it. This negaparty was finally created only tion of the role of the Old Bolshevik Party manifests itself in his "New Course" (the belittling of the significance of the preparatory period of 1903 to 1917) and in the "essons of October" (the false description of the role of the Bolshevik Party and the pushing into the foreground of the leaders—especially of Trotsky himself, without whom everything

would have collapsed . . .) The Russian Bolshevik Party is confronted with this question: does it trace back its existence to the year 1903, the first split with the Mensheviks, or to 1917, on the day that the Party was supplemented by Trotsky? The Russian brother party answered this question without difficulty.

On joining the party, Trotsky maintained a hostile attitude towards the Old Guard of the Bolsheviks. In 1921 he tried to "wrangle" the Leninist elements in the trade unions out of the leadership. In 1923, he tried to "wangle" the old Bolshevik cadre out of the party apparatus. In 1924 he calumniated the old bolshevist guard in his "Lessons of October."

For a number of years, together with the Mensheviks, Trotsky fought "the state of siege" (as the Bolshevik formness and discipline was called in the Menshevik-Trotskyite jargon) in the Bolshevik Party. In order to carry out his "conciliatory policy" he preached the creation of a mixed party in which all fractions, groups and various shades were to be represented on a basis of equal rights. Once in the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky, in spite of the formal admission of the "organizational mistakes," suffered a relapse into the Menshevik antecedent of his defence of fractions and groups in the party discussion, of the attempt by tracing back data, of creating a "right wing" of Bolshevism, which could not have existed in a unified, disciplined Bolshevik Party, in order now to justify the formation of his Trotsky fraction, of his representation of Trotskyism and Leninism as "two shades" of one policy, in spite of the irreconcilable differences of opinion between the two, etc., etc. Trotsky is trying to transform the Russian Communist Party from a unified, firmly moulded Bolshevik Party, based on iron discipline, into a "broad" party of the social-democratic type, admitting of groupings, fractions, sustained conflicts on policy, etc. In a word, negation of the Bolshevik traditions, the challenge of the Old Guard of the Bolsheviks, fight against the Bolshevik organizational doctrines, attacks on Bolshevism along the whole lines.

### 3. Left Phrases and "Right" Deeds.

This is the denomination with

which Lenin marked Trotskyism. The starting point of Trotskyism, the under-estimation of the peasantry, condemned him to eternal vacillation between adventure and indecision, between the "criticism from the left" and the facile transformation to opportunism, between left phrases and "right" policy. "Revolutionary phrases" are the permanent revolution, the extremely left position during the years of war, the victory of left phrases in Brest, and the criticism "from the left" in 1924. "Right" deeds are the long struggle in the Menshevik ranks against Bolshevism, the fight against the Zimmerwald left, the straining of the bow in the questions of specialists in the army towards an exaggerated extension of their rights and the limitation of the role of the commissaries in the years of civil war, and the drift toward petty-bourgeois tendencies in the party discussion. The whole history of Trotskyism consists of such and similar examples. The undervaluation of the role of the peasantry leads unavoidably either to an ultra-left adventurous position (plunging into battle without the support of the peasant masses), or to opportunism (repudiation of the Revolution, as a consequence of which no support can be expected from the masses). Trotskyism is held fast in a ring of contradictions. An exit is possible only by Lenin's teaching, so combated by Trotsky, on the alliance of the workers and peasants.

For a number of years, the Bolshevik Party passed over in silence the question of former mistakes of Comrade Trotsky on the assumption that he entered the ranks of the party with the desire of becoming a Leninist. But Trotsky remained a Trotskyite. He now states this himself directly and clearly. The new Trotskyism allowed all the landmarks of the old Trotskyism to arise. There is only this one difference. The old Trotskyism openly challenged Lenin and made unheard of attacks on him. The new Trotskyism is trying to exploit the great name of Lenin, which has become world-famed, in order to revise the teachings of Lenin. The new Trotskyism is endeavoring to separate Lenin from Leninism, to oppose Lenin to the Leninist Party. The new Trotskyism is attempting to appear in a Leninist mask. But in

essence the new edition of Trotskyism—to the same degree as the old—is an anti-Leninist, anti-Bolshevist tendency.

## 4. Trotsky's Position in International Questions.

Whereas the differences of opinion between Trotsky and Bolsheviks in the Russian questions have attained a certain degree of age, the parting of the ways in questions of the International Communist movement, comparatively speaking, began to develop only a short time ago. Therefore they are insufficiently formulated, detailed, and rounded off. Still the course of Trotskyism already described—the contradiction between the left phrases and the "right deed"—is very evident even here.

Comrade Trotsky is endeavoring to criticize "from the left". He reproaches the leaders of the Comintern of having "missed" the moment for the German revolution (he emphasizes all the difficulties which confronted the proletariat in October 1924). He demands in place of these leaders a choice of such a cadre of leaders who will not "recant" at the moment of their October. We have had a very large dose of the left phrase.

In practice, on the other hand, Comrade Trotsky unavoidably strays to the "right" position.

Firstly, what was Comrade Trotsky's position in 1923 in the question of the German revolution? He supported Brandler and his group and obstinately fought the left wing of the German party. As late as January 1924 he fully and completely justified Brandler's position. In practice, Comrade Trotsky stood to the right of the Executive of the Comintern.

Secondly, what are the objective conclusions to be drawn from Comrade Trotsky's scribblings?

The October triumph in Russia was not attained by the Bolshevik Party, but by individual leaders and heroes. The German October was not lost because there was no real Bolshevik Party in Germany—this decisive factor is not mentioned by Comrade Trotsky with a single word—but because the Comintern had "bad leaders."

Certainly, the question of the staff of leaders, as part and parcel of the question of the bolshevization of the party, is of tremendous significance (but it

is important that these are not heroes of left phrases and "right" deeds, or parliamentary heroes like the former leaders of the German party). But this is merely an essential part of the whole question of the bolshevization of the party, because the leaders grow together with the party, and stand at the head of the party, and not above it. Comrade Trotsky, on the contrary, puts the problem thus: if there had been leaders, the rest would have taken care of itself. Thus Comrade Trotsky side-tracks the thought of the West European parties from the fundamental question of the reorganization of the parties on the pattern of bolshevist organization, and of the creation of a revolutionary Leninist ideology, on the search for the Messiah. And that furnishes water for the mill of the opportunist wing of the Communist International.

Thirdly, what perspectives does Comrade Trotsky outline for the immediate future?

In his speeches in July and August, he expressed the view that the defeat of the German proletariat was a decisive defeat and that the new waves of revolution had been postponed for a long time. On the backs of the defeated proletariat, international capitalism is reconstructing its economy. American capital is appearing in Europe and "rationing" it. Under the heel of American imperialism the antagonism between the European states are becoming reconciled. In proportion as the proletariat has been defeated and the bourgeoisie has established itself, fascism will become unnecessary for the domination of the bourgeoisie. For fascism is just such a provisional and transitional weapon for the bourgeoisie as the armed uprising is for the proletariat. After the defeat of the working class and the pacification of Europe under the yoke of the American money bags, the bourgeoisie can rule with "normal" democratic methods. Well? We are confronted with a more or less lengthy period of democratic pacifism and a more or less lengthy postponement of the revolutionary fights. That was Trotsky's scheme. Life has already grimly laughed at this liquidationist scheme. But it is not difficult to see that this scheme had absolutely no "left" content.

Fourthly, on what elements of the International Communist movement does Comrade Trotsky lean?

Everyone will remember how (Continued on Page 4.)

# For Leninism Against Trotskyism

(Continued from page 3)

in last year's party discussion the Trotskyist opposition was supported by all the "right" elements of the Comintern and cast aside by all the left wings of our parties, and especially by the sections of the Y. C. I., which in the majority of the countries are the creators of the fight against opportunism. The representatives of the right wing in Comintern—comrades Brandler, Thalheimer and Varski—hurried to dissociate themselves from Comrade Trotsky in his present outbreak. But first of all, whereas comrade Varski's dissociation from Trotsky took the form of self-criticism of the past policy of the Polish Party, Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer, after dissociating themselves from Trotsky, took the opportunity of making a number of vindictive attacks on the left Central Committee in Germany. For them the dissociation from Trotsky is nothing more than a manoeuvre for the purpose of throwing off the Trotsky burden which compromises them in the eyes of the other parties of the Comintern, in order to be more free to fight for a "right" policy within the C. P. Secondly, it is characteristic that Comrade Kreibich, the "right" Czechoslovakian, takes the support of

Trotsky, as one of the central points of his article against the Comintern. And last of all, the bourgeois and social democratic press of the various countries greeted Comrade Trotsky's new book with delight. Our enemies know where the dog was buried: undermining the principles of Leninism and an attack against the Old Bolshevik Guard are death-blows to the Communist International.

## Orthodox Leninism

More than a century ago, international opportunism proceeded to subject revolutionary Marxism to criticism. The orthodox Marxists—and Lenin above all—fought and conquered to the point of a life and death struggle against the revolutionists on behalf of revolutionary Marxism, the banner bearers on which the present time is the Communist International.

Comrade Trotsky has now undertaken to revise Leninism in every limb, and to substitute Trotsky's view for the most important elements of Leninism. He is becoming the rallying point of all anti-Leninist elements in the Communist International. And the tasks of Leninism now consist in defending the ideas of its teacher with the same passion and irreconcilability, with which Lenin himself fought for the ideas of Marx against the revisionists.

In Russia the revision of Leninism begun by Trotsky has al-

ready ended in a fiasco. As a result of his open, anti-Leninist position, he has repelled all the elements, party members, who formerly were to a certain extent his followers. While in the former discussion the overwhelming majority of the party and of the Communist Youth was opposed to Comrade Trotsky's policy, we can state that Trotskyism has now been unanimously cast aside by the Youth League.

It is necessary that the Communist Parties and the youth of all countries clearly comprehend what tremendous danger of opportunism is contained in the revision of Leninism by Trotsky, and must enter upon a decisive struggle against it. In the struggle the sections of the Y. C. I. must not be behindhand. They must stand in the front ranks of the fight against the attempts to misrepresent and twist the theory and practice of Leninism, of the fight for the bolshevisation of the International Communist Movement. Long live orthodox Leninism! That is our motto.

During the short period of its existence, the Y. C. I. has already succeeded in forming a revolutionary tradition, which consists of a merciless fight against opportunism, no matter from whence it proceeds and no matter under what banner it attempts to hide. The executive of the Y. C. I. knows that this time also all its sec-

no particular person or persons could be held responsible for them. Therefore capitalist justice decrees that the whole body of workers should be penalized. The municipality has been asked to raise this sum by a punitive tax to be levied from the working class quarters of the city. Significantly, title-holders, government servants and municipal employes are exempted from the tax. It will be interesting to see how the Bombay municipality acts, because it is controlled by the nationalists.

## SLICK WAGE CUTS PUT OVER ON WORKERS IN CLEVELAND

CLEVELAND, Ohio:—The industrial situation is growing very serious in Cleveland. Instead of openly slashing wages, the White Motor Co. and other large Cleveland plants which employ thousands of young workers, have just laid off large numbers of workers re-hiring a few weeks later. Either the old workers are forced to return at lower pay due to unemployment, etc., or as is often the case the older workers who have been getting higher pay are laid off and replaced later by younger and cheaper slaves.

So far this old trick of the bosses has succeeded and the workers in Cleveland have again been caught unawares and are in no way organized as yet to resist the wage cuts. The Young Workers' League and Workers (Communist Party) are active in the fight against wage-cuts in Cleveland as well as in the textile industry, and are calling upon the workers young and old to put up a united front fight against these reductions in wages that are threatening in all industries.

tions will be at their posts.  
With Revolutionary Greetings,  
E. C. of the Y. C. I.  
Secr. Vuyovitch, Gessen Gyptner.