

IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM

FOR A NEW LENINIST INTERNATIONAL

Why the Mock War in the West

By George Marlen

**The Socialist Workers Party
and the Ludlow Referendum**

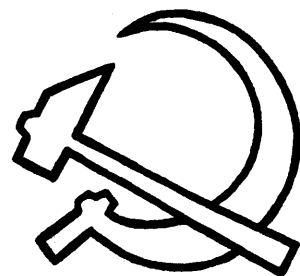
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**THE LENINIST LEAGUE U. S. A.
P. O. BOX 67, STATION D NEW YORK**



WHY THE MOCK WAR IN THE WEST

By George Marlen

THE workingclass is surrounded not only by facts but also by illusions and deceptions. To be able to ascertain correctly what is fact and what is illusion is a hallmark of a Marxist. Only by separating the real from the imaginary can the workers clearly see the course of history, and consciously pursue their fight against their enemies.

When Chamberlain on Sunday September 3, 1939 declared that "a state of war" existed between Hitler and himself the impression was created that humanity is faced with the Second World War, basically the same as the war conducted by the imperialist powers in 1914-18. The general reaction has been to accept uncritically this impression created by the imperialists.

The fact is that this declaration of war was a subtle deception of the masses concealing from their view what is actually in preparation, an imperialist drive, with Nazi Germany as the spearhead, against the Soviet Union. Having become accustomed to see war without formal declaration of state of war, the superficial minds are unable to envisage the possibility of the reverse, namely, a declaration of war without actual war.

The scheme of a Nazi drive against Russia which the world bourgeoisie adopted after the rise of Hitler has not changed one whit and has really received an emphatic reiteration in the new maneuver. By making adroit use of such a device as verbal declaration of war, Chamberlain and Hitler with superb craftsmanship are engineering an intricate Second Munich. Through this

masterly strategem the international bourgeoisie, led by the British political wizards, is accomplishing the difficult task of bringing its spearhead, Nazi Germany, to the border of the Soviet Union. A brief survey of the most vital angles of the present historical setting will reveal whether the workingclass is facing an inter-imperialist war or a concerted effort of the entire imperialist world to attack and divide the bureaucratically strangled proletarian State.

Issuing directly out of the World War of 1914-18, the proletarian revolution in Russia wrenched a huge chunk of the globe out of the clutches of international imperialism. The barring of the international trusts from the free use of Russia's vast sources of supply of raw materials, the dam of foreign trade monopoly and the closing of Russia to the exploitation by foreign capital added to the intensification of the crisis of capitalism. The capitalist countries have been convulsed by their own contradictions of social production and private accumulation and class divisions. Yet the basic contradiction of modern society since October 1917 has been the difference in the form of property existing in the capitalist countries on the one hand and in the Soviet Union on the other. An attempt to resolve this contradiction was made by the imperialists in 1918-20. The attempt was defeated by the Russian masses, who at that time were guided by a revolutionary policy.

The contradictions within their own system drive the bourgeoisie

of different countries to war among themselves. But the dread of proletarian revolution, weighing like a horrible nightmare upon the minds of the capitalist exploiters has restrained them and has been driving them to seek the means of ensuring a new stability to their system through the opening of Russia to capitalism and wiping out socialized property. The memory of the Russian Revolution halting the first world war has not been completely eradicated from the minds of the German, French and other workers. With the remnants of October standing as a witness of the successful rising against the capitalist class, for the major imperialist powers to engage in an inter-imperialist war would be tantamount to suicide, no matter what imperialist power emerged victorious. An attack on the Soviet Union, however, if successful, would give the decaying capitalist system a new lease on life. An unsuccessful attack upon the Soviet Union the bourgeoisie would hope to terminate in a compromise with Stalinism.

Since the termination of the war of 1914-1918 the weakest link in the capitalist system has been Germany. The German bourgeoisie, tottering on the brink of proletarian revolution, was saved again and again only by the opportunist forces within the German and international workingclass. The advent of Fascism in Germany marked a turn in the policy of the British and French imperialists. To continue applying the blood-out-of-a-turnip policy of Versailles would inevitably result in a new and extremely powerful revolutionary convulsion which might engulf France itself and all Europe. German imperialism must be given a breath of air and sustenance without thereby sacrificing the interests of the British and French imperialists. The problem could be solved by carving up Russia among the big powers and allowing the German capitalists to build an empire with the rich Ukraine forming a

crown colony of the new Germany. The economic and political gains of the capitalists in their scheme of securely enslaving the toiling masses would be incalculable.

One of the fortunate features attending the rise of the Russian proletarian State was the fact that not a single major European imperialist power bordered on the Soviet Union. This constituted a degree of safety for the Soviet State, both under Lenin and under the Stalinist bureaucracy. For many years the French imperialists endeavored to give body to their plans to invade and destroy the Russian proletarian State. The landmark on the pathway of the French imperialist design was the now extinct Little Entente which was to serve as the springboard for the attack upon Russia. The chief obstacles were: the division among the imperialists themselves caused by the treaty of Versailles: and, above all, the powerful, revolutionary-minded, pro-Soviet German workingclass situated between France and her vassals on the Russian border. The rise of the Nazis transformed the situation, offering a feasible setting for doing away with the alien body in the comity of states based upon private property of the means of production and exchange. The Little Entente was discarded. Instead a plan was evolved to forge Nazi Germany into a spearhead for an attack against the Soviet Union. This necessitated the rearming of Germany, still in an acute stage of crisis, and bringing her to the Russian frontier.

The treaty of Versailles was torn up — not only by Hitler but also by the British and French imperialists. German imperialism was given a free hand to rearm.

Logically, the Nazis could march upon Moscow with the greatest effect only through Poland. The obstinate Polish bourgeoisie had to be subdued. A decisive attack upon Poland could be organized by creat-

ing a nutcracker through the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. And this in turn had been prepared by almost complete encirclement of Czechoslovakia through the seizure of Austria. The tragedy of the Austrian workers set the pattern for the ordeal the masses of the small states lying east of Germany were fated to endure. The suspicions of the workers in these countries as well as in France, England, United States, and in the Soviet Union itself the imperialists averted by means of the smokescreen of "appeasing" Hitler. In this work of shrouding in obscurity the sinister significance of the connivance of France and England in the rearming of German imperialism and its steady advance in the direction of the USSR the bourgeoisie were assisted by the Stalinists themselves.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has always been conscious of the two dangers threatening its very existence. The danger from the proletariat was successfully warded off by the Stalinist Comintern employing a zigzag policy of diverting the workers from the Leninist path. The peril of an imperialist attack Stalinism attempted to hold in check by utilizing the divisions among the imperialists, playing now with one, now with another capitalist power. Thus from 1922 up to 1934 Stalin played the German bourgeoisie against the French. From 1934 to 1939 he bent his efforts to consort with French imperialism against the possible anti-French orientation of Nazi Germany.

But the growing acuteness of the situation within the capitalist system compelled the French, following the lead of the astute British, to abandon the Treaty of Versailles and work with Hitler and Mussolini. The Munich Accord, its "mysterious" secret annexes, made it perfectly clear to Stalin that the imperialists had at last arrived at a full understanding regarding the Soviet Union. The ominous situation was driving the Soviet U-

surper to make one last desperate endeavor to divide the imperialists and prevent their concerted action against the Soviet Union. In sharp contrast to the recent orientation he made a bid for a rapprochement with the German imperialists, offering them tremendous material inducement to turn their cannon upon the Western imperialists. Hitler seemed to have accepted the offer, but there can hardly be any doubt that the Hitler-Stalin Pact was secretly worked out by Hitler and his allies, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier. By manipulating the Pact Hitler and Chamberlain temporarily dispelled any suspicion among the revolutionary workers of Germany, France and other countries that there has been hatched a monstrous plot to attack and divide the Soviet Union.

Straining all the vital facts of the situation through the sieve of Marxist analysis, should we conclude that German imperialism at the present historical juncture can be sold the idea of really engaging in an inter-imperialist war? Absolutely not.

The German bourgeoisie know that the British and the French imperialists took precautionary measures and armed themselves to the teeth. Unlike the Kaiser's Germany, the Nazis can have no illusion on the score of American imperialism entering the struggle on the side of France if Hitler ventures upon a foolhardy orientation against the West. Even in a prolonged war they cannot hope to vanquish American imperialism which is much more powerful today than twenty-five years ago. Besides, a prolonged war would without doubt mature the revolutionary crisis in Europe, especially in Germany. It is clear that, unless the leaders of German imperialism suddenly lost all ability of gauging a given situation, German imperialism must continue in its Eastern orientation.

Stalin, shrewd and penetrating, is, of course, not fooled by the mock war in the West. The striking si-

lence of the most gigantic war machinery in western Europe speaks eloquently for itself. To any sober observer the vague and terse French communiques of "contacting the enemy," of occupying a wood in the Saar Valley, as well as the British acts of "relieving" pressure on Poland by the sinking of a few boats in the Atlantic are wholly unconvincing. To a Marxist these are obvious means to delude the masses. One recalls to mind the business investments in destruction in the movie industry. In the process of producing a motion picture, to give a touch of reality, houses are burned down, trains wrecked, planes burned, ships sunk. And the profits collected in dimes and quarters are hardly to be compared to the immense booty the world imperialists are looking forward to through the dismemberment of the Soviet Union.

But if the imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union, the homeland of Stalinism, in line with the peremptory command of the interests of capitalism, is threatened, why then do the Stalinists hide from the workers this ominous aspect of reality? The reason is obvious. The

eyes of the Stalinist and of many other confused radical workers for many years have been focused on the bureaucratically strangled Soviet Union, viewing it as the bright beacon of hope for oppressed masses. The knowledge of the fatal truth of the possibility of the approaching end to all their ardent hopes would stir their minds. They would begin to sense that only a revolutionary struggle against the imperialists can forestall the attack upon the Soviet Union. But Stalin fears revolution above all, for that would arouse the Russian masses against the bureaucracy.

It is the deep-rooted dread of revolution that prompts the Stalinist bureaucrats to blindfold the workers. That is why the headlines in the Daily Worker are bristling with fakery such as "French Army Strikes at Nazis on Western Front" (September 5, 1939) which coincides with the deceptions of the capitalist press concerning the "War on the Western Front."

Numerous signs, multiplying, unmistakably attest to the fact that the actual war is confined to Fo- (Continued on next page)

NOTICE TO READERS

Beginning with the next issue, this publication will appear as: -

T H E B U L L E T I N

of the

Leninist League, U. S. A.

land, while the "war" between German and French and British imperialism is a make-believe war. Certainly sharply different were the very first days of the war of 1914-1918 with the bitter, envenomed struggle between the rival imperialist gangs. This has been noted also by bourgeois writers. Reviewing the first nine days of the "Second World War," The New York Times on September 10, 1939 wrote: "The virtual 'all quiet' on authentic news from the western front contrasted sharply with the first days of August 1914, when the World War began."

Neither in 1914 nor at any time during the World War did the embattled German and French soldiers leisurely indulge in swimming parties in full view of each other as in the present "war" (New York Times, Sept. 9, 1939). While in 1914 neutrals were stunned by the rapidly unfolding titanic struggle on both Eastern and Western Fronts, in the present fake war there is perplexion over the obvious inactivity on the Western Front. "Japanese public opinion is perplexed by the apparent inaction of Germany as well as of the Allies on the western front and the press is asking whether the Anglo-French Coalition and Germany really mean to fight." (Hugh Byas, New York Times, Sept. 9, 1939)

Thus the bourgeois press itself, incautiously, offers clues to the greatest capitalist swindle in all history.

Clearly the strategy and tactics of the bourgeoisie have been changing in accordance with the exigencies of circumstances. It conducts war without declaration, as in the case of Germany against Poland; it declares war without prosecuting it, as in the case of England and France "against" Germany. The Stalinist bureaucrats here and there indicate that the situation is perfectly clear to them. They see that over eighty per cent of German armed forces are thrown upon weak Poland nearly seven hundred miles from the Western Front, with

Hitler taking personal command in the drive towards the Soviet frontier.

In a very tricky way, intentionally confusing, the treacherous Harry Gannesses put out crumbs of truth so that later they can have something to fall back upon and claim that they have warned the workers.

"It is well to repeat here the important maxim of the famous military strategist, Clausewitz — 'War is the continuation of politics by other means.'

"Thus, Neville Chamberlain, Daladier,, Sir John Simon, Bonnet — all these Munichmen who brought on the extension of this second imperialist war — are still in office, in power.

"Have they given up their hopes of stirring up a powerful storm that would fan the flames of war only in the direction of the Soviet Union?

"The answer must be, by no means.

"That the original schemings of these gentlemen who encouraged the Nazi barbarians to attack Poland this time have been destroyed by the formal outbreak of war there is no doubt." (Harry Gannes, Daily Worker, Sept. 6, 1939. My emphasis-G.M.)

Bits of truth are well mixed with falsehoods. The perspicacious Stalinist expert admits that Chamberlain and other leaders of the Western imperialists encouraged the attack upon Poland. He also knows that "the original schemings" were to attack the Soviet Union, that "War is continuation of politics by other means," yet he adds the chloroform that the outbreak of war put an end to the politics of Chamberlain-Daladier-Hitler-Mussolini.

But only a day before Gannes wrote:

"However British reaction even now would gladly come to terms with other representatives of German reaction for channeling the war exclusively against the

USSR at the immediate expense of Poland.

"Anglo-French Munich treachery has by no means been exhausted by the outbreak of extended imperialist war.

"Then, there can be a Munich peace."

"Oddly" enough the Stalinist bureaucrats are not the only ones who fear to tell the workers that the "war" in the West is a plausible-specious cloak for the attack against the Soviet Union, with the war against Poland being a phase of removing the geographical obstacle lying between Nazi Germany and the USSR. Trotsky, for the reason that he is the original and direct partner of the Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev gang which tore down the Bolshevik Party and counter-revolutionized the Comintern, follows along in the general path of the Stalinist system. Essentially a Stalinist; Trotsky must as always politically collaborate with the Stalinist bureaucrats. Therefore he must support the fake that Hitler is fighting England and France, that the pact with Stalin gives Hitler this opportunity.

"In order to attack Poland and to conduct a war against England and France, Hitler needed the friendly 'neutrality' of the USSR, plus Soviet raw materials. The political and commercial pacts assure Hitler of both." (Leon Trotsky, Socialist Appeal, Sept. 9, 1939)

Trotsky's henchmen, the Cannons and Shachtmans, following their Master's line, have swung into a new campaign of deception of the workers with the cry "The Second World War Began Friday at 5:45 A.M. (New York Time). Two gigantic combinations of world powers are locked in mortal combat." (Socialist Appeal, Sept. 5, 1939) "This war is being fought solely to decide which imperialist power shall dominate the world." (Ibid.)

Far be it from us to accuse such well-informed people as the Trot-

skyite leaders of not knowing the British, the French and the German imperialists. That the British and French bankers have been financing the rearmament of Germany and virtually own German heavy industry is common knowledge among people who have taken the trouble of surveying the imperialist relations in Europe since the advent of Hitler. Nor are the Trotskyite leaders unaware of the fact that the "war" is being "fought" chiefly in the headlines of the capitalist and the opportunist press. But the task is to carry out Trotsky's policy of tailending the central features of the Stalinist line. In consequence the Trotskyite leaders, while virtually admitting that there is hardly anything that looks like a mortal combat of imperialist giants, brazenly copy the bourgeois, Stalinist fakery and pass it on to the bewildered workers.

"So far the war has been fought more fiercely in the headlines than at the front. Batteries of four-inch type have been rolled out by the newspapers and they are keeping up a steady screech of lies. Denials come back at them in tiny paragraphs like the unheard clicks of a pop-gun.

"Nevertheless, the reality is sufficiently there. Hitler's armies are approaching Warsaw. Franco-British troops are moving gingerly across the German frontier in the Saar where miles rather than yards separate the Siegfried and Maginot lines. British planes have carried out a number of tentative raids over German territory. The British fleet is in its blockade positions in the North Sea and eight merchant ships have been sunk by one side or the other. Only the pacifist liberals of yesterday — today the loudest of the warmongers — are beginning to screech hoarsely for more gore. Those who are conducting this war know it is going to be a long and bloody one and the Franco-British strategy is based entirely upon that per-

spective." (Behind the Lines, by George Stern, Socialist Appeal, Sept. 11, 1939)

Spreading the bourgeois illusion that there is a war between the German and the British imperialists, Trotsky goes to such lengths of confusing the workers as even to tell them that the Soviet Union has taken Japan's place in the axis!

"In reality the USSR took Japan's place in the structure of the axis. The help of the distant Mikado to the military operations of Hitler in Europe would have an almost illusory character. On the contrary, the help of Stalin has a deep, real value." (Leon Trotsky, Socialist Appeal, Sept. 9, 1939)

Trotsky avoids ~~warning~~ the workers that the Mikado ~~will aim to strike~~ at the Soviet Union in the Far East to synchronize the attack with that of Hitler. Trotsky does not tell the workers that not only is Japan very much in the Axis, but that the British, French and American imperialists are the invisible partners in the "Anti-Comintern Pact." All opportunists are helping the bourgeoisie to muddle the understanding of the workers by spreading the illusion that there is a Second World War between imperialist camps. Lovestone, up to his ears in Stalinist crimes, chimes in with Stalin and Trotsky:

"War Breaks Out in Europe, Imperialist Powers Lock in Fight for Domination." (Workers Age, September 9, 1939)

The deception about the war on the Western Front spells fatal consequences for the world proletariat. Inflexibly firm clarity is an indispensable condition for the workers, lacking which they are doomed to perpetual enslavement.

Had the workers been enlightened regarding the true facts of the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the true nature and method of

the Stalinist desolating scourge, they would have been spared the bloody disasters which capitalism, aided by the opportunists, inflicted upon one section of the international proletariat after another. They would not be standing now at the threshold of the most horrible nightmare of oppression. The need of the hour is enlightenment of the workers, particularly of the advanced workers who follow Stalin, Trotsky, and other deserters of Marxism. The situation must be made clear to them. A specific historical circle is coming to an end. Thanks to the Stalinist reaction, the flower of the European proletariat has been crushed. The German proletariat, the most powerful in Europe, because it was prevented from overthrowing capitalism during the revolutionary crises in 1918-1919 by Kautsky, Hilferding, and other Socialist renegades, and ~~again~~ in 1923 and 1930-32 by Social Democracy, and primarily by Stalin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and other betrayers of Lenin and deserters of Bolshevism, lies prostrate under the bloody heel of Nazism. With a steady hand and an iron nerve Hitler has terrorized the German masses and transformed them into military robots to be used to destroy root and branch every vestige of the October Revolution. Hitler and the world bourgeoisie count upon the Nazi military machine frantically tearing through toward Moscow and Leningrad. Aside from gathering the tremendous material and political gains, the world bourgeoisie seeks to wreck their sanguinary vendetta upon a million objects abounding in memories of the greatest revolution of all times. Hitler's dynamite thrust will be too powerful for the Russian masses, unless they and the entire world proletariat adopt the Leninist policy of the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the extension of October throughout the world.

Stalin, far from having "abandoned" the proletariat, will hand down to the remnants of the Comintern an ultra-Leftist line of purely mili-

tary sabotage in capitalist countries and of vicious hounding of revolutionary workers. Trotsky, Lovestone and their lieutenants, notwithstanding their hollow declamations against Stalin, will in one way or another hang on to Stalin as before, for they are intensely intertwined in the crime of building the Stalinist reaction.

Driving the Russian masses by word and whip Stalin will conduct a reactionary war to compromise with the imperialists and thus attempt to preserve his bureaucratic system on the backs of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

For the workers of the Soviet Union the revolutionary policy must be: Against the ultra-Leftist policy of defeatism for the Stalinist army, because Russia is a proletarian State,¹¹⁰ horribly distorted by the bureaucratic disease. No confidence in the criminal Stalinist gang which bargains with capitalism

behind the backs of the masses, selling them out to the bloody imperialists. No compromise with Stalinism — under Stalinism a victory for the Russian and international proletariat is excluded, and a defeat a certainty. Expose Stalinism, build the new Bolshevik Party in order to eradicate the Stalinist cancer, and transform Stalin's bureaucratic war into a revolutionary war against imperialism.

In the capitalist countries the supreme Leninist task is to tear the masks of Marxism off the faces of Stalin, Trotsky, Lovestone and other betrayers and confusers! This is the only means left to forestall a century-long agony of the toiling masses, to win the vanguard of the proletariat and the masses for the revolutionary struggle against capitalism!

New York City
September 11, 1939

NOTICE TO READERS

Beginning with the next issue, this publication will appear under the name of:-

THE BULLETIN
of the
Leninist League, U. S. A.

STALIN'S ARMY CROSSES THE BORDER

In connection with the march of Stalin's army into Poland, the following points must be held in mind in order to understand the new complexities created by this event.

1. The mock war in the West has been serving as a cover for the Nazi drive toward the Soviet border. The connivance of the Franco-British imperialists with the German in perpetrating the fake war in the West serves to aid the German imperialists to bring Central and Eastern Europe under domination of the German military machine as a preliminary for the Nazi-led war against the Soviet Union.

2. The Stalin gang, understanding the game of the imperialists, has moved into action. Not waiting for the German military machine to establish a base on the Russian border, Stalin has marched his army into Poland with the object of making that country rather than Russia the initial battleground of the imperialists' war against the Soviet Union. The Stalinist bureaucrats have at last stated in plain language the nature of the imperialists' maneuvers. The Daily Worker's Harry Gannes makes it clear that the Stalin gang understands the fake nature of the war in the West and its purpose as a cover for the Nazi drive against the Soviet Union:

"Poland with its vast borders on the Soviet Union had been chosen as the broadest roadway for imperialist fascist aggression against the USSR.

"The Anglo-French Munichmen were deliberately stalling on the Western Front criminally withholding any aid from the Polish people, awaiting with expectation the moment when they hoped the Nazi army would reach the Soviet border with no defense steps taken by the USSR." (Harry Gannes, Daily Worker, Sept. 18, 1939. Our emphasis - L.L.)

The Stalinist bureaucrats have no illusions about the Franco-British imperialists actually trying to defeat the German bourgeoisie in the present historical period. They realize that the imperialists are in cahoots in a plot to attack with Hitler as the spearhead, and dismember the Soviet Union.

3. The German imperialists, requiring a powerful bargaining card for their plan to liquidate the so-called "war" in the West with various peace proposals, are pretending great joy over Stalin's march into Poland. Thus they give the impression of having a tremendous coalition which seems to threaten the Franco-British gang. Naturally, it is the masses, and not the Franco-British imperialists, for whom this deception is intended. With Poland wiped out, and with seeming alliance between Russia and Germany, Hitler will have a very plausible argument before the masses in the form of the question: What's the use of France and England fighting Germany now?

4. It is obvious that the instability of this present situation makes it the acme of naivete to imagine that the "friendship" of Hitler and Stalin is permanent. Only German imperialism can be the real spearhead of a war on Russia. When the "war" in the West has been eliminated, an entirely new tone will appear in the relations of Hitler and Stalin. The fundamental contradiction of the present historical period, that between the socialized property relations of the Soviet Union, despite their bureaucratic Stalinist distortion, and the bourgeois-private economy of the rest of the world will appear again in all its bloodiness. While on the surface it seems that the imperialist assault on the S.U. has been postponed due to the "friendship" of Hitler and Stalin, in reality it has been brought closer, historically speaking, for the German and Russian armies are now face to face.
September 19, 1939

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
and the
LUDLOW REFERENDUM

By J. C. Hunter

THE American bourgeoisie, now ruling through the "democratic" form of their dictatorship, recently sent out a feeler on the war question in the form of the proposed Ludlow Referendum. In typical bourgeois-democratic manner, the capitalists created the momentary impression that there could be brought into existence a mechanism by means of which the masses would be able to decide for themselves whether or not U.S. imperialism would engage in war. The response in general showed clearly that this liberalist demagoguery is still highly effective. Should the bourgeoisie meet with a situation in which a dose of "democratic" calico reform like the Ludlow Referendum has to be applied, it could be done with the greatest of ease and success. The results of the feeler having been observed and stored away for possible future use, the noise about the Ludlow Referendum was quieted down as far as the bourgeoisie themselves are concerned.

Nevertheless, the atmosphere has not yet been cleared entirely of the Ludlow Referendum for the reason that the Trotskyites have taken to whooping it up in favor of it. The "Bolshevik-Leninists" pop a question:

"What could be more democratic than to decide the most important of all questions, the question of war, by a direct vote of the people?" (James Burnham, "Let the People Vote on War!" p. 8.)

Quite clearly, Burnham in this question conveys the impression that the issue of war can be decided by a direct vote of the masses, which decision would be the height of what he calls democracy. Burnham confidently as-

serts that the overwhelming majority of the "people" are opposed to war (Ibid. p. 12). Hence, the logic of his position leads to the conclusion that by a direct vote of the "people" the issue of war can be decided by the thunderous "Nay!" which Burnham alleges would come from the preponderant proportion of the masses. In brief, the implication is that war can be stopped by a popular referendum. Later on, however, contradicting his previous position, Burnham states:

"Revolutionary socialists, and their party, the Socialist Workers Party, do not think that a popular referendum can, in and by itself, stop war." (Ibid. p. 12.)

If a popular referendum cannot stop war, why then do the Trotskyites favor the proposal of such a referendum? Burnham answers:

"The proposal for a war referendum is truly democratic, and revolutionary socialists favor every genuinely democratic process." (Ibid. p. 13.)

The whole story, then, boils down to the position that the proposal for a war referendum is "truly democratic" and so deserves the blessings of "revolutionary socialists."

In arguing in support of the Ludlow Referendum, the "Bolshevik-Leninist" Burnham, has not hesitated to identify democracy with voting and an increase of democracy with an extension of voting power. In fact, Burnham states that the Ludlow Referendum, although "truly democratic" is not exactly democratic enough because it does not broaden the voting base suf-

ficiently. Ludlow's proposal only provides for voters' participation in the referendum. Burnham is quick to point out that under the present laws those between the ages of 18 and 21 cannot vote though they are called upon to fight. Hence, Burnham calls for "democracy" to be extended even unto the 18-year olds:

"In the war referendum, the right to vote should be given to all of the age of 18 and over."
(Ibid. p. 14.)

To sum up, if the population of 18 and over could vote on whether American imperialism should or should not enter a war, democracy, according to Burnham, would be extended to such a point that our Trotskyite "theoretician" could but gasp admiringly: "What could be more democratic!"

The relation between the position of Burnham and some of the ultra-right fakery perpetrated by the Stalinists will become apparent from an examination of both. Like the Stalinists in the ultra-right zigzag, Burnham uses the term, democracy, without giving it any class characterization, i. e., he uses it as democracy-in-general. Thus, he is able to describe a proposal made by a bourgeois political flunkey as "truly democratic." Democracy, however, is not something which ranges itself along a scale from falseness to truthfulness. Democracy is a form of state, and nothing else. The only possible characterizations are bourgeois or proletarian. Only by concealing the class character of Ludlow's proposal can Burnham speak of it as "truly democratic." In a similar way, the Stalinists shout about Roosevelt's "New Deal" measures as "truly democratic"; the more relief funds handed out, the more W.P.A. jobs distributed, the greater and truer is Roosevelt's "democracy" said to be. For Roosevelt's proposals, Burnham has substituted Ludlow's and palms off the bourgeois-democratic Ludlow Referendum as "truly democratic."

It is important to note that while the Stalinists in their present ultra-rightist zigzag are deceiving the masses into supporting the "democ-

atic" form of bourgeois rule, they oppose the bourgeois-democratic Ludlow Bill. The "difference" between the Stalinists and Trotskyists on this point is like that of those bourgeois politicians who attack the Ludlow Bill and those who support it. Both of these camps of bourgeois politicians agree on supporting bourgeois-democracy in general, but disagree for the moment on the single detail of the Ludlow Bill. The Stalinists and Trotskyists are both supporting bourgeois-democratic fakery, though in different ways. Thus, the Stalinists who oppose the Ludlow Bill support the O'Connell "Peace" Bill, another bourgeois-democratic fraud. One of the "objections" of the Stalinist bureaucrats to the Ludlow Bill is that it makes the "decision of the people" come too late, i. e., when war is already at hand. What is necessary, says Hathaway, is to "give the people the right to decide on our country's foreign policy today; let them decide now...." How can "democracy" be broadened, asks Hathaway? "The question so far as democracy is concerned is: how can the people be given a greater say now in stopping war....." (C.A. Hathaway, "Collective Security; the Road to Peace," p. 14). Both Stalinists and Trotskyists practice the deception of identifying "democracy" under capitalism with voting and give the impression that the issue of war or the struggle against war can somehow be decided or furthered by supporting some variety of bourgeois-democratic trap which they pass on to the toilers as democracy-in-general, as "truly democratic." It is clear that the pattern of deception followed by both Trotskyists and Stalinists is the same. The incidental disagreement on what specific piece of bourgeois-democratic deception is to be palmed off on the masses as "truly democratic" is aside from the main point. In fact the trick of picking some bourgeois-democratic device other than what the Stalinists are peddling only serves to give the false impression that the Trotskyist line is different from the Stalinist. The thoughtful reader, however, will not let himself be misled by such maneuvering.

What part does such a proposition

as Ludlow's play in American politics? A war referendum carried out through the agencies of bourgeois-parliamentarism is an organic portion of the bourgeois-democratic state machinery. From this state machinery there can issue only such expressions of "public opinion" as are acceptable and necessary to the bourgeoisie. If the imperialist clique decides on war, then only the expression of an opinion in favor of war can ever come out of the mechanisms of bourgeois-parliamentarism. A war referendum, transformed into a portion of the bourgeois-democratic state apparatus, can be only a means of mobilizing the masses for war, if war is the policy of the imperialists. The bourgeoisie have at their disposal a thousand and one devices whereby a war referendum, effected through the bourgeois-democratic state, can be made part of a recruiting drive. As long as the capitalist-democratic state exists in a more or less stable form the bourgeoisie will be able to utilize these devices.

Lenin expressed very excellently this character of bourgeois-democracy as a form of the capitalist state:

"If we argue in a Marxian way we must say: the exploiters inevitably transform the state (we are speaking of democracy, i.e., one of the forms of the state) into an instrument for the rule of their class, of the exploiters, over the exploited. Hence, so long as there are exploiters who rule the majority, the exploited, the democratic state must inevitably be democracy for the exploiters." (V.I.Lenin, Selected Works, English Edition, Vol. VII, p. 137. Our emphasis.)

Every part of the machinery of the bourgeois-democratic state, every law, every referendum, every office, every election, is a means by which the bourgeoisie re-enforce and execute their rule. Burnham, using a trick familiar to those who have studied the deceptions of the Kautskys and MacDonalds, identifies voting with democracy, using the latter term as a general expression. The voting which Burnham makes synonymous with democ-

racy-in-general was described thus by Lenin in his attacks on Kautsky-MacDonald:

"Comical pedants! They failed to understand that voting within the limits, the institutions, the customs of bourgeois parliamentarism is part of the bourgeois state apparatus which must be broken up and smashed from top to bottom in order to effect the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to pass from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy." (V.I.Lenin, Selected Works, English Edition, Vol. X, p.51. Emphasis in the original.)

To Leninism, any plebiscite conducted by capitalism is part of the bourgeois state machinery — both fascist and "democratic" — which must be exposed and smashed to bits. To Burnham, a proposal by an agent of the bourgeoisie designed to enable the imperialists the better to tie the masses to their war machine is something to be fed to the masses as "truly democratic." This "democracy" under capitalism was well understood by Lenin to be a means by which the masses are prevented from deciding any issues independently or from participating in the administration of political affairs. Speaking once more against Kautsky, Lenin wrote:

"He fails to see the class nature of the state apparatus, of the machinery of state: under bourgeois democracy the capitalists, by a thousand and one tricks — which are the more artful and effective the more 'pure' democracy is developed — keep the masses away from the work of administration and frustrate the freedom of the press, the right of assembly, etc." (V.I. Lenin, Sel. Wks., Eng. Ed., Vol. VII, p. 134. Emphasis in the original.)

Burnham peddles the fraudulent notion that a broadening of the voting base means an extension of "democracy" to be looked on by the masses as a blessing. Lenin, on the other hand, knowing "democracy" under capitalism to be simply a form of the iron dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, explained that the

more highly this "democracy" was developed, the greater was the danger of pogroms against the masses directed by the bourgeoisie:

"The more highly developed democracy is, the more imminent is the danger of pogroms or civil war in connection with any profound political divergence which is dangerous for the bourgeoisie." (Ibid. p.132)

The passage of a proposition like the Ludlow Bill would be a certain sign that the bourgeoisie are on the verge of plunging into war and that the situation is such that the referendum would let loose a powerful pouring of the masses into the imperialists' war machine. The war referendum would be the final stone in the imperialist war structure, the signal to start hostilities.

The reader of Burnham's pamphlet should ask himself: why should a couple of faithful bourgeois hounds like Ludlow and LaFollette toy around with the idea of a war referendum? Are these agents of Wall Street really interested in giving the masses the ability to decide the war issue for themselves? A study of the political scene will bring the answer to these questions. The bourgeoisie, long skilled in ruling their society, seek for every possible device to deceive the proletariat and enforce their dictatorship. To date, the mechanisms of American bourgeois-democracy have been found quite adequate for this purpose. Foreseeing the possibility of being engaged in war, the bourgeoisie hold in readiness every device available. Should a situation arise in which it will be necessary to make it appear that the masses themselves have sanctioned the imperialists' war, a war referendum would fit in perfectly. The bourgeoisie realize that as long as "democracy" is still feasible as a form of their state, their "democratic" political steamroller will inevitably be able to squeeze an over-whelming "Aye!" from the masses. When bourgeois-democracy is no longer workable as a form of capitalist rule, i.e., when a trick like the Ludlow Referendum would not serve to mobilize

the masses for the imperialists' war, then the problem of the bourgeoisie will be to change their form of rule. But as long as bourgeois-democracy is still useable as a form of capitalist rule, the Ludlow Referendum, or any other bourgeois-democratic mechanism, will function only to enable the imperialists to execute their will. The Ludlow Referendum or any similar device, while it appears to be a proposal to extend "democratic rights," is actually part and parcel of the imperialists' war preparations. The masses are given the treacherous impression that they have the right to decide issues for themselves under capitalism. Meanwhile, the bourgeois state apparatus, designed only to serve the capitalists, lines the masses up in favor of war. The war referendum inevitably becomes a sweeping campaign for war. The upshot of the entire affair is that the masses are dragooned into expressing themselves in favor of war, and "democracy" has once more triumphed!

On the surface, it looks as if Burnham is merely supporting a "democratic right," an extension of the voting power. But "democratic rights," like the proposal of the Ludlow Referendum, do not exist in a vacuum. They constitute parts of the bourgeois-democratic state machinery. The task of Marxism is to expose these "democratic rights" for the frauds that they are. The "democratic" fakery of the bourgeoisie does not in itself constitute an issue between the proletariat and the capitalists as, for example, a strike does. In reference to a strike, which is a concrete struggle of the workers against the bosses, it is necessary for Marxists to take a definite position of support when the strike is correct or of opposition when the strike is incorrect. But in regard to bourgeois-democratic devices, Marxism confines itself to exposing their class nature and in that sense opposes them. Marxism explains to the workers that "democracy" under capitalism serves only the bourgeoisie, and that only in a proletarian dictatorship can democracy, i.e., workers-democracy operate in the interests of the toilers. Consequently, as far as the spe-

cific proposals of the bourgeois-democratic Ludlow Bill are concerned in themselves, it is not the task of Marxism either to oppose or to support them. Marxism confines itself to making clear their class character. The practical consequences of flatfooted opposition to these bourgeois-democratic devices in themselves would be to make it seem that one is opposed to the masses having the "right" to express their opinion on an issue. Naturally, to the masses who are filled with bourgeois-democratic illusions, this would be abhorrent. On the other hand, to support the Ludlow proposals in themselves, is anti-Marxist because the bourgeoisie through the Ludlow Bill endeavors to deceive the masses into believing that the war issue under capitalism can be decided by a popular vote. By means of a strategem like the Ludlow Referendum, the capitalists try to conceal the fact that it is the bourgeoisie, and especially the imperialist clique, who decide the policy of the capitalist society. Hence, to support the Ludlow Bill assists the bourgeoisie in feeding the "democratic" illusions of the masses. A blunt opposition to the Ludlow Bill in itself would be ultra-leftism; to support it, as the Trotskyites do, is ultra-rightism. Therefore, the only possible position for Marxism with reference to the Ludlow Bill is to expose it as a portion of the capitalist state machinery and in that sense to oppose it. The Marxist road consists in what Lenin termed "patiently explaining" the bourgeois character of the Ludlow Bill, as of all "democratic rights" under capitalism.

Very often it happens that the bourgeoisie themselves or their agents, the opportunists, put forth some deceptive program or slogan which appeals to the illusions of the masses. The correct Marxist tactic in such a situation has been well illustrated in the past by Lenin. We cite one example. Toward the end of 1915, the Austrian and German social-democratic traitors to the workers, acting under the instructions of the Kaiser's government, issued the slogan of establishing peace amongst the warring nations. The German and Austrian imperialists, so far

the victors in the contest, were quite willing to have peace established in terms of the status quo, and utilized the social-democrats as a means of sounding out the Franco-British imperialists as well as the masses in general. This peace slogan was naturally very acceptable to the millions of toilers who were being torn to bits by the imperialists' war. What was Lenin's position in this situation? Obviously, he could not come out like a bull in a china-shop against the slogan of peace in general, for the war-torn masses would have considered him some kind of raving maniac. On the other hand, he could not support the bare peace slogan because in the specific situation in which it was issued it was an imperialist slogan. While imperialism existed, the only kind of peace that could be established was an imperialist, predatory peace. Lenin, therefore, adopted the tactic of neither opposing nor supporting the peace slogan in itself, but instead engaged in exposing its character as a bourgeois maneuver, as an imperialist strategem. Lenin's task was to "explain patiently" the class nature of that slogan. And above all, his line was to expose the opportunists who were assisting the imperialists in deceiving the masses with this imperialist slogan.

The above-outlined position on the Ludlow Bill would be the task of a Marxist Party which operates in direct relation to the masses in general. A Marxist Party would have to "explain patiently" to the masses in general the treacherous, capitalist nature of the Ludlow Referendum. Unfortunately, today there exists no Marxist Party. The political field within the proletariat which should be occupied by a Marxist Party is in the possession of the Stalinist system. Marxism in Party-form does not exist for the reason that the Stalinist reaction developing since 1921-1922 has destroyed it completely. The primary task of Marxism today is to re-create itself in Party-form. The path to the re-building of a Marxist Party is through the exposure and destruction of the opportunist forces poisoning the proletarian ranks. The exposure of the Lud-

low Bill directly to the masses in general on the grounds of Marxism, a task which could be carried out only by a Party, is therefore today an impossibility. The Ludlow Bill for the time being has to be tackled by exposure of the deceptions practiced by the opportunists in regard to it. On such grounds, the criminality of the opportunists can be made plain to the most advanced sections of the proletariat, rather than directly to the masses in general.

The question arises: What is behind the fact that the Trotskyist movement, posing as the inheritor of the Leninist tradition, has an ultra-rightist position on the Ludlow Bill? Trotskyism on the Ludlow Bill has adopted a policy which follows the pattern of the ultra-rightist zigzag of Stalinism, with its fraudulent use of the term, democracy, as democracy-in-general, its preaching of confidence in bourgeois-democratic fakery, its concealment of the "democratic" devices by which the bourgeoisie cheat the toilers into supporting the capitalist system. Is it an accident that Trotskyism falls in line fundamentally with the ultra-rightist zigzag of Stalinism or is there an organic connection between the Stalinist and Trotskyist movements?

History proves unequivocally that the answer is the latter of these two alternatives. The Trotskyist deceptions on the Ludlow Bill are not the first specimen of Trotskyist cooperation with the Stalinist "Comintern." A study of the degeneration of the Bolshevik movement since 1922 reveals that the role of Trotsky has been first that of outright and direct ally of Stalinism and then of "indirect" assistant. Present-day Trotskyism has its origin in Trotsky's endeavor to become a member of the Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin clique which in 1921-1922 embarked on the counter-revolutionary path of bureaucratically centralizing personal power in its own hands. Pursuing a policy of appeasing and mollifying the Stalin gang, of struggling against Lenin's attempt to destroy the roots of Stalinism which were ominously sprouting already toward the end of

his life, Trotsky transformed himself into the Stalin clique's chief buffer against the masses and the Leninist line. Just as it is no accident that today Trotskyism falls in line with the ultra-rightist zigzag of Stalinism, so it was no accident that in March 1923 Trotsky assured Stalin's henchman, Kamenev, that "I am against removing Stalin." (See Trotsky's "MY LIFE," p. 486). Both policies express the basic nature of Stalinite Trotskyism, an organic part of the Stalinist system which adapts itself to whatever situation history presents. The historical road from Trotskyism's opportunist support of the Ludlow Bill runs back to Trotsky's support of the first ultra-right zigzag of Stalinism in 1922-1923. It was at the 4th Congress of the C.I. in November 1922 that, during Lenin's absence because of illness, the Stalin clique, through its then political spokesman, Zinoviev, laid down its first ultra-rightist zigzag designed to protect its bureaucratic power against the threat of revolutionary developments amongst the workers throughout the world. Under the deceptive slogan of supporting a "non-Communist workers' government," the Stalin gang tricked the workers into supporting the bourgeois-democratic government of Germany. Trotsky, who knew of the criminal machinations of the Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev clique in buying up flunkies whom they put in positions of power in the Stalinized Comintern, preached confidence in the Brandler-Thalheimer leadership of the Stalinist Party of Germany and promised the workers that Brandler-Thalheimer, whom he knew to be bribed henchmen of the "Troika," would lead them to final victory over the bourgeoisie.* Directly cooperating with the Stalin clique in carrying out this first ultra-rightist zigzag in Germany in October 1923, Trotsky bears a major responsibility for the betrayal of the German workers in that period. Naturally, he is obliged to conceal as well as he can his part in the Stalinist conspiracy. Head over heels in crime with the Stalin clique, Trotsky continued to give direct support to the Stalinized Comintern in every feasible way. Later converted into the first and chief scape-goat of the

* See IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM, Vol. II, #3, April-June 1939, pages 2-3, for material on this aspect of Trotsky's treachery.

Stalin gang, Trotsky established himself as a loyal "Opposition" of Stalinism. For a long time breathing fire against even the shadow of an idea of destroying the Stalintern and recreating a Bolshevik International, Trotsky gave Stalin direct and valuable assistance in tying the workers to Stalin's "Comintern." As late as 1932 when the Stalin gang through an ultra-left zigzag was busy selling the German workers to Hitler, Trotsky issued as his policy the following:

"The candidacy of Thaelmann to the presidency is, self-evidently, the candidacy of the Left-Opposition. In the struggle for the mobilization of workers under the banner of the official Communist candidacy, the Bolsheviki-Leninists must be in the front line." (L. Trotsky, GERMANY, WHAT NEXT, p.191) *

In fact a recruiting sergeant for Stalin, Trotsky, with this open aid to Stalinism as the basis of his line, was simply continuing under new conditions his 1922-1923 policy of supporting the Stalin clique.

Foiled in his effort to become a permanent member of the Stalin clique; transformed into a scapegoat and whipping-boy with the baiting of whom Stalinism strives to conceal its crimes; but unable to break his historical attachment to Stalinism because of his initial policy of directly con-

* That the German Stalinist Party was a counter-revolutionary trap was of course well-known to Trotsky and his henchmen. And as for Thaelmann, the Trotskyites were aware that this opportunist was, in addition to Stalin's chief agent in Germany, an embezzler of Party funds to such an extent that at one time, in order to divert the stench from the workers' nostrils, Thaelmann was actually expelled from the Central Committee of the German Stalinist Party — only to be immediately reinstated. See The Militant, January 15, 1929, p. 3 for this choice morsel of the history of Stalinism. Nevertheless, four years later we find Trotsky "in the front line" herding the German toilers into the claws of Stalin-Thaelmann.

niving with Stalin, Trotsky as a face-saver has to give the appearance of fighting against Stalinism. This he does chiefly by fraudulently criticizing Stalin's fake "theory" of building Socialism in one country. Stalin's actual aim, which Trotsky conceals, was to centralize bureaucratic power in his own hands and prevent the building of socialism whether in Russia by itself or anywhere else in the world. Another device used by Trotsky to give the impression that he is fighting Stalinism is to "criticize" what he calls the Stalintern "mistakes," again "criticizing" fraudulently by shunning to expose the consciously counter-revolutionary intent of Stalinism in perpetrating these "mistakes." When the present Popular Front zigzag was engineered by Stalin, Trotsky at first pretended that Stalinism was actually moving in the correct, i.e., Leninist direction and "acclaimed" it for so doing:

"We are ever ready to sincerely acclaim every step the Stalinists take on the correct road." (L. Trotsky, "Whither France," p. 26.)

But later, when the Popular Front maneuver became fully developed, Trotsky, as a self-protective cover, issued a great deal of surface "criticism," but always refrained from proving and explaining the consciously counter-revolutionary intent of this treacherous move of the Stalintern.

In line with this deceptive Trotskyist "criticism," Burnham in 1937 wrote a pamphlet called "The People's Front - the New Betrayal." If we compare the position taken by Burnham in this pamphlet with that on the Ludlow Referendum, we have clear evidence that Burnham is faking when he urges support to the Ludlow Referendum. Under the guise of "criticizing" Stalinism for supporting bourgeois-democracy, Burnham, in 1937, wrote:

"The bourgeois state, its entire apparatus and mechanism, exists to enforce the rule of the bourgeoisie" (J. Burnham, "The People's Front — the New Betrayal," 1937, p. 23. Our emphasis.)

Burnham is fully aware that the whole

machinery of the bourgeois state operates in the service of the capitalists. In urging support of the Ludlow Referendum Burnham argues that a referendum on war is a "democratic right" and therefore deserves the blessings of "revolutionary socialists." The reader may ask himself the question: perhaps Burnham is simply confused and does not understand the bourgeois nature of these "democratic rights" under capitalism. If this be so, then he cannot be accused of conscious fakery in supporting the Ludlow Referendum on the grounds that it is a "democratic right." A study of his earlier pamphlet, however, written in the Trotskyist tradition of superficially "criticizing" Stalinism to conceal Trotsky's role as an assistant of Stalinism, will dispel this hypothesis. We find Burnham stating the following about these "democratic rights":

"In bourgeois society these rights are manipulated by the ruling class to its own ends."
(Ibid. p. 34.)

Does Burnham, therefore, know that a "democratic right" like the proposed Ludlow Referendum is "manipulated by the ruling class to its own ends"? Yes, beyond the shadow of a doubt! There is nothing ignorant about Burnham. His recent prating about "revolutionary socialists" supporting "democratic rights" is not the result of any illusions or backwardness on his part. Burnham is entirely aware of the bourgeois character of these "democratic rights" and of the thousand and one ways in which they "are manipulated by the ruling class to its own ends." He knows that the task of revolutionary socialists is not to support these "democratic rights" but to expose their class character. That the Ludlow proposal can be nothing but an integral portion of the imperialists' war machine is as clear to Burnham as that he is consciously lying when he pretends otherwise.

Trotskyism, like the Stalinist system-as-a-whole of which it is an organic part, operates under the mask of Bolshevism. Trotsky's chief stock-in-trade is the illusion in the mind

of those workers who break with Stalinism that Trotsky represents the Leninist heritage. Even in the extreme phases of an ultra-rightist zigzag, the Stalinist system in general, and Trotskyism in particular, still rely on the mask of Leninism to maintain their prestige amongst the workers. Thus it happens that when the Ludlow Amendment first appeared on the scene the Trotskyite bureaucrats met it actually with a deluge of criticism phrased in Leninist language. Skilled in manipulating Leninist phraseology, the Trotskyite chieftains proclaimed that to support the Ludlow resolution filled the workers' mind with anti-class struggle illusions:

"In sum, to support the Ludlow resolution is to inculcate in the minds of the workers the idea that war can be 'prevented' or fought by some means other than the class struggle that imperialist war can be averted otherwise than by the revolutionary socialist overturn of capitalist rule." (The New International, February 1938, Editorial, p. 40. Emphasis in the original.)

During this same period the Ludlow Bill was denounced by the Trotskyites in revolutionary phrases as a specimen of pacifist fakery which diverted the thoughts of the masses from the true Marxist path:

"The Appeal has pointed out that regardless of the faultless intentions of the supporters of the Ludlow Amendment for a popular referendum on war, especially of the masses of the people who see in it a way of preventing the American warlords from hurling the workers and farmers into a new imperialist slaughter, we cannot become the advocates of the Bill. And that for the simple reason that we regard it as another of the many pacifist illusions by means of which the masses are distracted from the only means whereby imperialist war can be fought, namely, the continuous prosecution of the class struggle against the system which inevitably breeds war." (Socialist Appeal, Feb. 5, 1938, p. 4, Editorial, "The Ludlow Amendment." Our emphasis.)

That the Ludlow Bill acted as a drug to the masses which would only paralyze their political senses was loudly asserted by Trotskyism:

"To imagine that after all such preparations have been made for a new war the imperialist masters of the country would hold off final action because of a 'scrap of paper, is simply to drug the masses into the paralysis of false security. That's the trouble with the Ludlow Bill." (Ibid.)

Such an analysis of the Ludlow Bill, in words undeniably Leninist, acted, like all the Marxist phraseology utilized by the Stalinist system, to fortify in the mind of the Trotskyite workers the harmful illusion that their leaders have indeed inherited the mantle of Lenin. That the Bolshevism of the Trotskyite leaders is only a false-face is strikingly evidenced in innumerable instances, one of them being their present support of the Ludlow Bill on the grounds that it represents something "truly democratic." The same Burnham who now eggs on the workers to put confidence in the "truly democratic" Ludlow Bill was an editor of The New International which in February 1938 denounced this piece of bourgeois-democratic fakery as a trap which inculcated class collaborationist illusions amongst the workers. The reader will judge for himself the justice of the assertion that the Trotskyite bureaucrats embody to the fullest all those Stalinist traits which have brought such incalculable disaster on the toilers throughout the world.

In order to discover that Trotskyism is perpetrating a Popular Front zigzag in line with that of the Stalinist, one must dig down under a mountain of what seems to be powerful anti-Stalinism. Beneath the mass of "anti-Stalinist" face-saving yelling that Trotskyism does, a thoroughly Stalinist ultra-rightist line will be found. When Stalinism forms coalitions with Social-Democracy and issues the slogan of "an organically united socialist-communist party," the answer of the "anti-Stalinist" Trotsky is to bury his followers in the social-democratic

parties ("French Turn," France, Spain, U.S.A.). When Stalinism works in cahoots with the bureaucrats of the American Labor Party, the reply of Trotsky is to support the bureaucrats of the A.L.P. (Socialist Appeal, August 11, 1939, front page election statement of the S.W.P.). When Stalinism howls about stopping the war while capitalism still exists by supporting "democracy," Trotskyism urges support of the bourgeois-democratic Ludlow Referendum on the grounds that "the proposal for a war referendum is truly "democratic" and that for the masses to be able to "decide the most important of all questions, the question of war, by a direct vote of the people" is the very pinnacle of democracy. In the ultra-rightist zigzag, the Stalinist bureaucrats deceive the workers into placing confidence in the Church, pretending that the church hierarchy is divided into reactionaries and "progressives," i.e., priests who are pro-capitalist or pro-labor. The peddlers of religious poison are laden with friendly gestures by Stalinism in this period, as in the instance where a certain Bishop Lucey, after making a demagogic appeal for support to the workers, was told: "With these progressive Catholic sentiments the Communist Party heartily agrees" (Earl Browder, "A Message to Catholics," p. 4). And the Trotskyite bureaucrats? We find them not at all behind the rest of the Stalinist system in tricking the workers into imagining that the church hierarchy - its "pro-labor" section - can be of aid to labor. "We welcome the aid given labor by any individual, including members of the church hierarchy," announced the Socialist Appeal through its editors on August 11, 1939 (p. 2, editor's comment on a letter in "Workers' Forum"). The priestly bootlickers of the bourgeoisie will naturally be happy to learn that in the working class there are "Bolshevik-Leninists" who will skillfully palm them off as aids to labor. The cooperation of Trotskyism with the major aspects of the Stalinist ultra-rightist zigzag is undeniable. The collusion with social-democratic and bourgeois-democratic frauds by both Stalinism and its historical offshoot, Trotskyism, is an historical fact. All the "anti-Stal--

inist" shrieking of Trotskyism and the "anti-Trotskyist" bellowing of Stalinism cannot obliterate this fact. Trotsky shrewdly keeps just enough to the "left" of Stalinist Popular Frontism to avoid giving the game away to his followers. This maneuver, however, must not blind one to the fundamentally Stalinist nature of the Trotskyist line.

No, when the Trotskyite, Hal Draper, in authentic Stalinist Popular Front manner flings at the workers the demagogic bourgeois-liberal slogan, "Take the War-Making Power Away From Washington! Let the People Decide!" (Socialist Appeal, August 11, 1939), there is nothing accidental about it. Nor is ignorance of Leninism at the bottom of it. Conscious, premeditated, well-planned treachery is its only origin. Limitless treachery to the toilers having its roots in Trotsky's criminal role of co-plotter with Stalin and his clique in an effort to entrench a section of the leadership of the Russian Communist Party in permanent power by bureaucratic machinations stands behind the Trotskyist falling-in with the Stalinist zigzags. Ah historical and inescapable attachment to the Stalinist system by virtue of participation in its original crime is the factor that makes Trotsky organically a part of the Stalinist system.

A knowledge of how Stalinism since its origin in 1921-1922 has been disrupting the proletarian struggle against capitalist oppression is the key to the present-day problems of revolutionary Bolshevik policy. No individual and no organized tendency can even begin to recreate Bolshevism unless thoroughly versed in the history of the workingclass movement since the illness of Lenin in 1921. That history contains the story of the origin and development of a new brand of opportunism, Stalinism, which has come to occupy the centre of the proletarian stage. It contains the story of the greatest series of betrayals of the workers on record, a series starting with Bulgaria and Germany in 1923, running through China and England in 1925-1928 and again to Germany in 1933, appearing in France and Spain and

again in China in 1936 to the present and promising to continue until it has crushed the last spark of proletarian strength for the present historical period. Without an accurate and complete understanding of all aspects of Stalinism, - its counter-revolutionary nature as bureaucratic centralism of the workers state, its zigzag method of disrupting revolutionary actions, its perennial scapegoat-assistant, Trotsky, - the revolutionary worker, however sincere, however energetic, however self-sacrificing, will be working in utter darkness and will end his efforts as a victim of reaction. The first task of the present-day revolutionary is to achieve self-clarification on the nature of the forces operating in the ranks of the proletariat. The workingclass movement is now several generations old and has a long and complicated history. Since the Bolshevik Revolution alone, there is a period of 22 years. An indescribable torrent of workers' blood has covered the earth's surface in those two decades. Much of this bloodshed was engineered by sheer treachery on the part of those renegade Bolsheviks who, posing as the inheritors of Lenin's mantle, to this day are the prime betrayers of the toilers. Can any revolutionary who does not have a scientific knowledge of the nature of this treachery honestly consider himself fit for his task as a leader of the toilers? And if he has even the shadow of a doubt as to the adequacy of his knowledge of this treachery, is it not his first duty to correct this weakness? His tasks are clear:- first study independently and in cooperation with those who have already accumulated knowledge of the nature of the forces operating in the proletarian ranks, of Stalinism, Trotskyism, Lovestonism and the various other offshoots of the bureaucratic degeneration of the R. C. P. Participate in our work to re-create a Leninist movement on the basis of genuine Bolshevik clarity in knowledge and action. Next there is the task of enlightening the international proletarian vanguard, of destroying the influence of the opportunists and of arousing the masses for a struggle against their oppressors to establish a Socialist society.

TROTSKY, THE UKRAINE
and the
OEHLERITES

By George Marlen

AS the head of his international organization, Trotsky is compelled to write from time to time on some of the outstanding topics of the day. The question of the Ukraine is one of these salient topics. In dealing with this question Trotsky starts from the generally correct premise that "The latest aggravation of the Ukrainian question is most intimately bound up with the degeneration of the Soviet Union and of the Comintern, the successes of fascism, and the approach of the next imperialist war." (Socialist Appeal, May 9, 1939.)

This is indubitable. Had there been no degeneration of the Soviet Union, or more specifically of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party then Germany in 1923 would have become a Soviet State. Austria would have followed suit. Naturally between two powerful Soviet neighbors the weak and reactionary landlord--capitalist Poland would in a brief period have succumbed to the proletarian revolution. Rumania and Hungary would have collapsed under the revolutionary pressure and the different parts of the Ukraine would have become united in a Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

The first phases of the degeneration of the leadership of the Soviet Union proceeded along the lines of bureaucratic centralization of power in the hands of the General Secretary of the Bolshevik Party through the strangulation of the Soviet Republics, Georgia, Ukraine and others.

"In order to guarantee administrative needs, i.e. the interests of the bureaucracy, the most legitimate claims of the oppressed nation-

alities were declared a manifestation of petty-bourgeois nationalism. All these symptoms could be observed as early as 1922-1923." (Leon Trotsky, "The Problems of the Ukraine," Socialist Appeal, May 9, 1939.)

A careful investigation of the early period of the Stalinist transformation of the Soviet Union discloses the unmistakable fact that already in 1922 the Stalinist Central Committee was carrying on its destructive work. In his autobiography as well as in other works Trotsky states that at the end of 1922 and early in 1923 Lenin pursued a relentless struggle against Stalin in whose policy Lenin clearly perceived opportunism and bureaucratic degeneration:

"Vladimir Ilych attached enormous importance to the 'Georgian' question, not only because he feared the consequences of a false national policy in Georgia -- a fear which had been wholly confirmed -- but also because in that question was revealed to him the falsehood of Stalin's whole course on the national question." (L. Trotsky, The Stalin School of Falsification, p. 68. My emphasis - G.M.)

Although incapacitated by illness Lenin carried on an extensive correspondence with Trotsky on the national question, urging him to put up a fight against the Stalin--Zinoviev--Kamenev Central Committee.

On December 30 and 31, 1922, Lenin dictated his "bomb" on the national question directed against Stalin. This "bomb" was turned over to Trotsky on March 5, 1923. On March 6, Lenin in a

letter broke all comradely relations with Stalin. Trotsky saw this letter on the day it was sent to the bureaucratic General Secretary. (The Case Of Leon Trotsky, p. 25.)

In Stalin's policies Lenin saw a threat to the achievements of the Revolution. And he spoke to Trotsky of the need of reorganizing the apparatus of the party:

"Lenin keenly sensed the approach of a political crisis, and feared that the apparatus would strangle the party. The policies of Stalin became for Lenin in the last period of his life the incarnation of a rising monster of bureaucratism. The sick man must more than once have shuddered at the thought that he had not succeeded in carrying out that reform of the apparatus about which he had talked with me before his second illness. A terrible danger, it seemed to him, threatened the work of his whole life." (L. Trotsky, The Suppressed Testament of Lenin, p. 30.)

On March 16, 1923 Lenin's secretary wrote Trotsky and Kamenev a letter stating that Lenin authorized Trotsky to defend Lenin's position at the Twelfth Congress of the already Stalinized Party. On April 4, 1923, a few days before the Twelfth Congress, the Ukrainian Communist Party held the VII All-Ukrainian Conference at Kharkov. Many leaders of the Ukrainian Party had already been recruited by the Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev Central Committee. The Ukraine was at a point of being dragged into the Stalinist system. Trotsky, as we see from his above-quoted admissions, was well-informed of the criminal game of Stalin. He concealed the machinations of the Stalinist Central Committee. At the VII All-Ukrainian Party Conference he delivered a report on the tasks of the forthcoming Twelfth Congress of the Russian Bolshevik Party. What were the tasks of the forthcoming Twelfth Congress in the light of Lenin's policy? In his autobiography Trotsky makes these valuable admissions:

"Lenin's intentions NOW WERE

QUITE CLEAR TO ME: by taking the example of Stalin's policy he wanted to expose to the party, and ruthlessly, the danger of the bureaucratic transformation of the dictatorship." (L. Trotsky, MY LIFE, p. 484. Capitals mine - G.M.)

"Lenin was now preparing not only to remove Stalin from his post of general secretary, but to disqualify him before the party as well. On the question of monopoly of foreign trade, on the national question, on questions of the regime in the party, of the worker-peasant inspection, and of the commission of control, he was systematically preparing to deliver at the twelfth congress a crushing blow at Stalin as personifying bureaucracy, the mutual shielding among officials, arbitrary rule and general rudeness." (L. Trotsky, My Life, p. 481.)

The tasks of the Twelfth Congress as Trotsky himself testifies were quite clear to him in so far as Lenin's line was concerned. The two principal points were the complete reorganization of the apparatus and reversion to Bolshevik policies. When Trotsky had concluded the report, the VII All-Ukrainian Party Conference basing itself upon Trotsky's line, adopted a resolution APPROVING the policy of the Stalin Central Committee:

"The proceedings of the Conference began with Comrade Trotsky's report on the tasks of the XII congress of Russian Communist Party.

"...As a result of Comrade Trotsky's report a resolution was adopted, in which the conference greets the CORRECT line of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and with satisfaction records the firm and capable leadership. The Conference considers that the party is solidly united, the influence of the masses is growing everywhere." (Izvestia, April 11, 1923. My emphasis - G.M.)

Though he knew that Lenin's policy was to deliver a crushing blow against Stalin, Trotsky did not utter a

word against Stalin nor against Stalin's bureaucratic policies. The Ukrainian workers were led to believe that all was Leninist in the Central Committee, when in reality the cancer of Stalinist opportunism had already been planted in that body. With Lenin ill and out of political activity, the line of the Central Committee was Stalinist. By palming off the Central Committee as a Leninist body, Trotsky helped to plant the seeds of Stalinism in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

Such is the unvarnished truth. Trotsky was working with the Stalinists to strangle the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. He tricked the uninformed rank-and-file and the lesser functionaries of the Ukrainian Party into endorsing the opportunist policy which transformed them into victims of Stalinism.

A few days after the VII All-Ukrainian Conference, in the second half of April, 1923, at the Twelfth Congress, Trotsky not only did not take up Lenin's struggle against Stalin on the Georgian, Ukrainian and other questions, but voted together with Stalin, Bukharin, Molotov, Zinoviev, Ordjonikidze and all the others for the Stalinist resolutions, approving the line of Stalin.

"The Congress manifested such complete, profound unity of the Communist Party as until now it could not boast of in any of the periods of its existence." (U. Steklov, Ivestia, April 27, 1923. Emphasis in the original.)

Stalin's partner at that time, Zinoviev, in his speech announced that-

"All our resolutions have been adopted UNANIMOUSLY." (Pravda, April 26, 1923. Our emphasis -G.M.)

This included the resolutions on the national and organizational questions. And this was the Congress at which Trotsky was authorized by Lenin to hurl Lenin's "bomb" at Stalin and remove him from leadership!

Trotsky is guilty of heavy crimes against the workers. Long before the

Twelfth Congress, at the end of 1922, together with Zinoviev, Bukharin and other partners and helpmates of Stalin he laid down the Rightist trap at the Fourth Congress of the C.I. in 1928. This Rightist trap served the Stalinist bureaucrats to stop the revolution in Germany in October 1923. (See IN DEFENSE OF BOLSEVIISM, Volume II, #3, article "Cannon's 'Clean' Banner"). Together with Stalin, Trotsky concealed Lenin's Testament which was read secretly before the corrupt leaders of the Party on May 22, 1924.* Fearing his own exposure when Eastman revealed the truth about Stalin and the Testament, Trotsky rushed to the rescue, in the summer of 1925, and branded Eastman a liar.

"All talk with regard to a concealed or mutilated 'will' is nothing but a DESPICABLE LIE..." (Imprecorr, Sept. 3, 1925, p. 116. My emphasis - G.M.)

Trotsky incautiously admits that not only Stalin but he too is suppressing Lenin's writings. In an interview with a representative of the New York Post he showed pages from what he termed was Lenin's diary for December 1922 - the time when Lenin conducted the fight against Stalin, precisely on the National question:

"He produced what he said were extracts from Lenin's diary for December, 1922, that never has been published." (New York Post, October 6, 1937. Our emphasis.)

The more recent incautious remarks by Trotsky make it abundantly clear that Trotsky is suppressing some important documents pertaining to Lenin's correspondence on the national question. Among these documents, in all probability, is Lenin's "bomb" which Trotsky was authorized by Lenin to hurl at Stalin at the Twelfth Congress. Having kept the important documents concealed from the proletariat for OVER SIXTEEN YEARS Trotsky now expresses "hope" to publish them:

"The correspondence dealing with these matters has remained UNPUBLISHED to this day. We hope to publish

* That Trotsky heard the Testament read on May 22, 1924 he admits in his pamphlet "The Suppressed Testament of Lenin," pp. 11-12.)

a section of it — the very small section which is at our disposal." (Socialist Appeal, May 9, 1939. My emphasis - G.M.)

By stating that the section of this momentous correspondence he is suppressing is "very small" Trotsky seeks to arouse in the mind of his reader a feeling of extenuation. One recalls the anecdote Karl Marx tells in Capital of a girl giving birth to a baby out of wedlock — but really it was such a little baby!

By pointing his accusing finger at Stalin, Trotsky succeeds in producing the false impression that from the very inception he has fought the bureaucratic strangulation of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, whereas in reality he double-crossed Lenin and betrayed the Ukrainian and other workers to Stalinism and world reaction. There is hardly a more effective or more spectacular way for a political criminal to avert suspicion than to turn vociferous accusations against his partners-in-crime. But in doing so he must submerge his own role completely and thus give a false account of the crime, painting a hazy, indefinite canvass. His picture disintegrates under the eyes of objective investigators forcing a shift toward a correct direction in the course of investigation, leading to the full view of the crime and his participation in it.

The bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers State and the resulting paralysis within the proletariat opened a period of the most frightful bourgeois reaction in the history of capitalism. Astride the Soviet Union, clutching a huge section of the international proletarian vanguard by the throat, Stalinism is dragging the world toiling masses section by section into the pit of universal Fascism. Posing as Bolshevism it operates through a zigzag line which runs now to the Left, now to the Right of Leninist policy. It has been successful in preventing revolution in Germany, China, England, Austria, France, Spain and in other countries. Its success is due primarily to the fact that it stands unexposed. And it

is only on the basis of political exposure that the workers can be won away from Stalinism. Not only its own followers but also, and especially the revolutionary workers who have broken with it subjectively do not understand it, do not know its genesis and its method of operation. Most of these anti-Stalinist workers have fallen into the trap constructed by Trotsky. To avoid exposure, Trotsky prevents the leakage of truth. He does his utmost to defeat the development of a genuine Leninist Party whose foundation can be nothing but truth. The rise of a new Bolshevik party will spell the doom not only of Stalin but also of Trotsky — the entire truth of Trotsky's part in the destruction of Lenin's Party and the Comintern would become commonly known. Since he is tied to Stalinism with the iron chain of history, Trotsky, like Lovest one, must go along, politically collaborating with Stalin in the betrayals of the working class. He is not only a target for Stalin from 1923, on, but he is also a powerful shield for Stalinism. It is Trotsky who has been the chief savior of Stalin in the most dangerous passes.

One of the means Trotsky employs to prevent the workers from investigating and grasping the real character of the Stalinist reaction is to instill in their minds the costly illusion that Stalinism can be broken not by means of a direct campaign of exposure, but by competing with it for the influence among the masses. He diverts the workers from political thinking through a fake mass line. Having himself participated at the steering wheel of the Comintern during the betrayal of the German masses in 1923, Trotsky knows that with the workers ignorant of the nature and method of Stalinist reaction, they are helpless victims of this plague. He knows that no revolutionary party can be built and no revolution can take place anywhere if Stalinism as a whole, including his own role, remains unexposed. Precisely because he wants to prevent such exposure he poses the possibility of a proletarian revolution in Poland, Hungary and Rumania which would free western Ukraine, without stating that

as the prerequisite the revolutionary workers must first free the vanguard from the Comintern and from other opportunist forces. Upon his skillfully constructed deception he sets up the entrapping fantasy that after a successful revolution the western Ukraine would not join the Stalinist Soviet Union but would wrest the Soviet Ukraine from the Stalinist boot.

Trotsky accomplishes many things here for the prevention of detection of his crimes. No one who has not learned the facts will suspect that Trotsky himself placed the Ukraine as well as Georgia and the other Soviet Republics under the Stalinist boot. It will be remote from the minds of Trotsky's deceived followers that Trotsky is directing their thoughts along a non-existent path. Without their knowing it they are politically securely chained to Stalinism. Trotsky's politics is rooted in Trotsky's treacherous stand at the VII All-Ukrainian Conference, in his betrayal of Lenin and the masses at the Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party. The authentic Leninist line cannot be picked up in Trotsky's support to Stalin in putting over the bureaucratization of the Party under the sign "Leninist Recruiting" in 1924, nor in his suppression and later denial of Lenin's Testament, the existence of which he admitted publicly only after Stalin made this admission, (Pravda, October 1927), nor in Trotsky's shameful October 16, 1926 declaration, in which he pledged to Stalin "to lend every assistance in liquidating" the infringement of Stalin's discipline, nor in his miserable statement in August 1927, nor in his platform of unity with Stalin at all costs, nor in the wretched declaration of December 3, 1927 which he signed. The broken end of Lenin's line cannot be found in Trotsky's policy of telling the workers of Germany in 1932, "All eyes to the Communist Party," nor in his support of the Stalinist-directed Spanish Popular Front* - with fake "criticism." Nor can it be found in the present mass-line policy of building a bourgeois Labor Party or in the bourgeois

* See IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM, Vo. II, #2, S P A I N.

liberal slogan Let the People Vote on War - all reactionary traps meant to divert the anti-Stalinist workers from thinking correctly of the Bolshevik task today - the establishment of the whole truth about the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, and thus wresting the vanguard from Stalinism and from other opportunist currents through political exposure. The real Leninist line can be picked up historically only in the sickroom of Lenin. There he wrote his letters on the National Question against Stalin, letters that Trotsky suppressed and is still suppressing. There he stated his policy for the removal of Stalin which policy Trotsky opposed then, "I am against removing Stalin" (L. Trotsky, MY LIFE, p.486), and politically opposes today. The policy Lenin laid down in his sickroom is fundamentally the policy today - out out the Stalinist cancer which is eating at the vitals of the first workers State and the international proletariat! Organize a powerful campaign of exposure of Stalin, and of his chief target and lightning-rod, Trotsky. Only by breaking the Stalinist Comintern in at least one important country - France, United States, Soviet Union, China or some other - can the paralysis induced by the Stalinist devastating disease be broken and the world proletariat, limb by limb, released to fight its class enemy, the bourgeoisie. The breaking of Stalinism in one important country will cause it to totter at home. There will be no need then for an isolated action of wresting the eastern Ukraine from the boot of Stalin, since Europe and the entire world will be rising on new foundations - the international Soviet State.

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In connection with Trotsky's subtle concoction on the Ukraine, it is important to examine the position taken by Hugo Oehler and his group, the Revolutionary Workers League, in an article in The Marxist of July 1939, "An Answer to Leon Trotsky and Others," in which they "refute" Trotsky on this issue. Oehler offers himself to the workers as an opponent of Trotsky along fundamental lines. Just how "fundamental" Oehler's opposition to

Trotsky really is can be gathered from the fact that, though history proves Trotsky was one of the original participants in the Stalinist conspiracy in 1922-23, Oehler insists the Trotsky "opposition" represented the "Marxian Trunk" of the Stalinist Comintern and that Trotsky was a Marxist up to 1934. It is only to be expected that, on the basis of such a position, the Oehlerites fail in their article to present a single particle of genuine exposure of Trotsky's fakery in the Ukrainian issue. In dealing with Trotsky's article in which Trotsky incautiously makes the astounding admission that he has been withholding Lenin's correspondence on the national question for over 16 years, the Oehlerites make no mention of this damnable fact. That the Revolutionary Workers League presents not a syllable of the historical material which proves Trotsky's complicity in the Stalinist bureaucratization of the Ukraine goes without saying. Wrapped up in their opportunist "mass line," the Oehlerites are not concerned with establishing historical fact. Not historical fact but the myth that Trotsky fought against Stalinism is Oehler's "contribution" to the workers' understanding of the betrayal of the Ukrainian toilers. Presenting no genuine exposure of Trotsky, Oehler, palming himself off as a Marxist, has to concoct issues on the basis of which to "combat" Trotsky. The Oehlerites restate in their own words what purports to be Trotsky's position as follows: "First the Soviet Ukraine must be freed from the rest of the Soviet Union, then we will have the proletarian revolution and unification of the rest of the Ukraine." (The Marxist, July 1939, p. 5. Emphasis in the original.) We do not find such implication in Trotsky's article. On the contrary, when speaking of a united, and independent toilers' Ukraine Trotsky says "This program is in irreconcilable contradiction first of all with the interests of the three imperialist powers, Poland Rumania and Hungary....The program of independence for the Ukraine in the epoch of imperialism is directly and indissolubly bound up with the program of the proletarian revolution." (My emphasis - G.M.)

Following this clear declaration comes Trotsky's remark on the oppressive internal regime in Stalin's Ukraine; then the following statement, quoted by the Oehlerites:

"In the face of such an internal situation it is naturally impossible even to talk of Western Ukraine voluntarily joining the U.S.S.R. as it is at present constituted. Consequently, the unification of the Ukraine presupposes freeing the so-called Soviet Ukraine from the Stalinist boot." (Our emphasis-G.M.)

That Trotsky here discusses whether Western Ukraine would or would not join the Stalinist Soviet Union after the Western Ukraine has freed itself from capitalist Poland and Hungary, is clear. How can one even begin to speak of the free will on the part of Western Ukraine in the task of unification of the Ukraine, if it continue under the bloody heels of the Polish, Rumanian and Hungarian landlords and capitalists! But the Oehlerites pick out in Trotsky's statement the word "presupposes" and assert that this negates Trotsky's foregoing declaration that the question of independence of the Ukraine is bound up with the program of proletarian revolution. In the same article Trotsky makes yet another clear statement: "The genuine emancipation of the Ukrainian people is inconceivable without a revolution or a series of revolutions in the west....." We are not out to "defend" one opportunist against another; we are interested in establishing facts as they are. It is obvious that the Oehlerites have seized upon Trotsky's cover-issue, distorted certain meaning in it and then attacked the distortion to show their followers that they are "fighting" Trotsky. This kind of trickery is typical of the opportunists.

The Oehlerites' distortion naturally plays directly into Trotsky's hands, for in this case he does not require a Shachtman to give a "Marxist" explanation to an audience of misinformed workers of some subtle opportunist maneuver, like the French Turn or support to a bourgeois-reformist

labor party. The Oehlerites' distortion is quite transparent for any politically-mature worker to see.

The whole "fight" of Trotsky "against" Stalin and of Oehler "against" Trotsky with the fake issue kicked about as a football is reminiscent of the early days of the Stalinization of the Comintern. Lovestone, Foster, Cannon, and the leaders of smaller cliques were at each other's throat on issues that completely screened the steadily growing cancer in the Soviet Union and the Stalinist betrayals of one section of the world proletariat after another.

The problem of the Ukraine as it is presented by Trotsky and his "opponents" the Oehlerites, diverts the workers' attention from the actual problem of the toilers of France, China, America and of all other countries. The problem is to break the grip of Stalin's Comintern, which parades as a Bolshevik organization, upon the decisive section of the world proletariat. The concrete need of the present is to uncover all the vital facts about the bureaucratic degeneration of the first successful proletarian revolution to expose the participants in the Stalinist bureaucratic development and tear away from the opportunists their misled followers. The fundamental cause for the present unprecedented wave of capitalist reaction, the Stalinist reaction within the proletariat, must be made clear to the workers. They must be brought to the realization that if Stalinism is not broken, then not only will there be no revolution in any country, but on the contrary, every vestige of the gains the international proletariat has made in the last hundred and fifty years will be wiped out in toilers' blood by the bourgeoisie.

Teach, explain, expose, wrest the workers from the clutches of Stalin, Trotsky, Lovestone, and other betrayers of the masses - that is the problem of the international "Ukraine"! The exposure of the true nature of Stalinism, its method of preventing revolution as it is recorded in its horrible betrayals in Germany, China, Spain - this is the problem before the workers. The

tearing of the Bolshevik mask off Trotsky's face through the complete exposure of his criminal role as the partner of the renegade Stalin, as the betrayer of Lenin and the knifer of the Georgian, Ukrainian, German and other workers - this is part of the task of destroying Stalinism of which Stalinist Trotskyism is but a political branch. And part of this general task is the exposure of various Left Trotskyists, Oehler, Field, Stamm and others who shield Trotsky, thus hiding the truth about the rise and development of the Stalinist reaction.

There is no great difficulty in showing up Trotsky and Stalin once the facts are unearthed and placed side by side, revealing the picture of treachery, subtle hypocrisy, deception and crime. Oehler, Stamm and Field can be easily exposed as distortors of truth concerning Stalinism, particularly its Trotskyist angle. But it is infinitely more difficult to expose them on the basis of arguing against imaginary situations or to expose their fake mass line. And yet these are their strongest means with which they blind a section of the vanguard. Many revolutionary workers imagine it possible to reach the masses in competition with Stalin's Comintern are fooled by the "mass line" which really is no mass line, for all the "mass-line" groups operate in the main among advanced workers. But it provides the opportunist leaders, Trotsky and his Cannons, also his "opponents," the Oehlers, Stammers and Fields with a powerful will of the wisp to divert the workers from learning the true history of the degeneration of the first successful proletarian revolution and from pursuing the immediate, concrete task of gathering individual revolutionists to form a nucleus of the future Leninist Party and Leninist International. The real revolutionists will reestablish all the Marxist positions on fundamental questions of the struggle of the proletariat against its enemies, will pick up the line formulated by Lenin during the last days of his political life and standing on this Bolshevik foundation will carry on relentlessly and indefatigably until they accomplish the great task.

BETTY FISHER - VICTIM OF DECEPTION

By D. S.

THE Socialist Appeal of June 30, 1939 prints part of a statement by Betty Fisher, a former C. P. and Y.C.L. member who, no longer believing Stalinism to be a revolutionary agent, joins the Trotskyites whom she regards as the "Growing Parade of Revolutionists."

"Recent events," she declared, "have opened my eyes to the truth. The Communist Party has renounced its militant past. It has become the tail of the New Deal kite. It has become a bulwark of the status quo — 17 million unemployed, insecurity, and the threat of Fascism and war." (Socialist Appeal, June 30, 1939, p. 3. Our emphasis.)

The implications given here are that Stalinism was in actuality at one time a revolutionary force, that it has a revolutionary past, but that it has now renounced it through its support of "New Deal" bourgeois democracy. Nothing is further from the truth. But the truth about what the past of the Stalinist Party actually is has been concealed from Betty Fisher by Browder, by Trotsky and his American henchmen, Cannon and Shachtman, by Lovestone and all those to whose benefit it is to conceal this truth. The minds of the Betty Fishers have been so chloroformed by them that reality is hidden from the worker groping for the truth. The history of the development of Stalinism and Trotsky's actual participating role in the Stalinist degeneration are concealed from Betty Fisher by Stalin and Trotsky alike.

The American C.P. of which Betty Fisher speaks specifically has always been an opportunist force. Its leadership from the very beginning played along with Stalin in the process of his usurpation of power in the first

workers State. Stalin as early as 1922 was already bribing leaders in the C.I. The present leadership which has been in power, through Stalin's choice, since 1929 is an outright vicious arm of the Stalinist C.I.

To one who is familiar with the leadership of the American Stalinist Party as it was and as it is today, it is only necessary to recall who have been its leaders since the Party was organized. Among the first cliques to come into control of the C.P.U.S.A. was a Cannon-Lore-Foster-Olgin-Browder combination. The names speak for themselves. With the exception of Lore and Cannon who assumed different opportunist forms, the above-mentioned agents of Stalinism are to this day the leading betrayers of the American workingclass. Perhaps this was the "militant past" of the Stalinist party! Or perhaps it was during the Pepper-Lovestone-Ruthenberg supremacy in 1925 when Stalin, through his agent Gusev, switched the minority into a faithful majority which became the Pepper-Lovestone-Ruthenberg-Olgin-Cannon leadership. The mere fact that the foul adventurer Pepper stood together with Lovestone at the head of the C.P. precludes the revolutionism of the American Stalinist party during this period. Or perhaps it was revolutionary in 1928 when Cannon and Co., banking on Trotsky's return to power in the Soviet Union, became Trotskyites and were expelled. Or when Lovestone and Co. were ousted by the centralization process and Browder became the almighty representative of Stalinism in America!

The Betty Fishers have had the truth about the American Stalinist Party concealed from them and with it the entire history of the Stalinization of the Russian Party and the C.I.

Stalin, it is obvious, must conceal from the workers the selecting and ousting of leaderships. The process which went on in the American party was universal. Thus Stalin built his machine. The Olgins, Weinstones, Stachels, Bedachts, Garnesses, Kathaways have no Leninist, militant past to renounce. From the day they entered the Comintern they have always been seekers of posts of power.

And while the machinations for power were going on in the American Party, a political policy was being laid down for the workers to divert them from revolution. An ultra-Rightist policy was being established at the Fourth Congress in November-December 1922 by Zinoviev, Stalin and other bureaucrats. Trotsky, Browder, Cannon, Lovestone all have in common the necessity of concealing from the workers the truth about their participation in Stalin's first right zigzag. Trotsky must conceal his machinations with Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin. Cannon does not speak of his own bureaucratic maneuvers with the corrupt John Pepper in 1923, of his alliance with Lovestone, with Weinstone, with Foster-Browder for the control of the American section of the Stalinist International during which maneuvers all were participating in Stalin's criminal betrayal of the German and other workers, and at the same time hounding Stalin's chief scapegoat, Trotsky. The Rightist trap of supporting a "non-Communist workers' government" was utilized to betray the German proletariat in 1923 via a coalition with Social Democracy. The Stalinist Brandler-Thalheimer leadership which was in control of the German party (in the same process as had taken place in America) carried out the line of the Stalinized Comintern and participated as ministers in the coalition government; betrayed the German workers through the support of German bourgeois democracy and were given the enthusiastic support by all the leaderships in the entire Stalinist International, including the American. The year 1924 saw a short Leftist period with rightist features in some countries, during which the Estonian and Bulgarian workers were betrayed

through putschist methods. And then again another full Rightist zigzag was introduced which lasted until 1929. The American C.P. controlled by Stalin and his usurping clique in the Soviet Union, participated in these early Rightist zigzags by painting as friends of labor the "liberal" bourgeois La Follettes and launching fake Farmer-Labor parties.

America in 1929 saw the introduction of the ultra-Leftist period which remained until after the German betrayal — 1933-34. The "militancy" of the American Stalinist party and of its leadership remains unparalleled. Miner, Nessin and Anter fought the New York police force to a pulp. There was no end to "militant" demonstrations, marches upon the New York City Hall, attacks upon "social-fascism" which culminated in the disruption of the Socialist Madison Square Garden meeting in February 1934. Yet there was no more vicious counter-revolutionary force within the American working-class than the Stalinist Party of the "militant past."

In order to correct the illusion of Betty Fisher that the C.P. has a Leninist militant past and that only now has it ceased to be revolutionary because it has become a "New Deal kite," Trotsky and Cannon would have to explain to her that this is not the first time that Stalinism has supported bourgeois democracy; that even in its most "militant" phases Stalinism, in protecting its power in the Soviet Union by preventing the spread of October, always supports the bourgeoisie. Trotsky and Cannon would have to reveal to Betty Fisher their own role in this Stalinist degeneration; Trotsky his support of the ultra-Rightist line of the Fourth Congress in 1922, of his rejection of Lenin's policy of removing Stalin. He would have to reveal his support of Stalinism from its very inception, asking of Stalinism only that he be allowed to live and let live. In order to clarify the Betty Fishers about the Stalinist betrayals one must explain correctly the first one, the Comintern's support of bourgeois democracy in Germany in 1923. But this neither Trot-

sky nor Cannon can do because they participated in this and every other betrayal of Stalinism by concealing the truth and the true nature and methods of Stalinism.

Today the identical party is the chief misleader of the American workers which was so "militantly" fighting the cops in 1932, which so "militantly" called Roosevelt a Fascist, which so "militantly" called almost every bourgeois liberal, Socialist, Trotskyist and Lovestoneite a fascist in order to conceal reality from its followers. It is the identical party which in the first ultra-Right period of 1923 worked to organize fake Farmer-Labor parties and in the "militant" ultra-Leftist 1932 period condemned the Labor Party conception as fascist; which in the present ultra-Rightist period presents the AFL as honest and sincere and which in 1932 declared the AFL and its leaders to be Fascists. This party has never renounced its past. It was corrupted with Stalinism from the day it was born but because Betty Fisher is not permitted by Cannon and other opportunists to see beyond a small part of a certain phase of the present Rightist zigzag, the rottenness only seems to her to have set in recently.

And there comes a period as in the past when Stalinism can no longer feed the ultra-Rightist muck to the proletariat. Without understanding the real nature of Stalinism, workers begin to show resentment to its policies. Then Stalinism covers up its betrayal with the gradual introduction

of another Leftist line. Because the Cannons and Lovestones carefully conceal the truth from the workers, many of the unsuspecting Betty Fishers will again see a "militant" "Revolutionary" line pursued by Stalinism. Roosevelt and the AFL will again become Fascists. Again all the betrayals by Stalinism and Social Democracy will be heaped upon the head of "social-Fascists." And the chief target will remain as ever, Trotsky, with Lovestone thrown in for good measure.

The Betty Fishers, if their revolutionary inclinations are not to be betrayed, must beware of opportunism in all its forms. By joining the "Growing Parade of Revolutionists" Betty Fisher is marching out of one camp of opportunism into another. The Appeal reports that she "called upon all of her C.P. comrades to follow in her steps and join in the fight for a Socialist world." We hope that the honest members of the C.P. and of all the other opportunist traps break with their organizations and really join in the fight for a Socialist world — a Marxist fight of exposing all opportunism, of reestablishing a Leninist party to lead the workers in that struggle and that they will not fall into the error of Betty Fisher of unconsciously helping Trotsky to conceal his own true role and Stalin's exact methods in the betrayal of the proletariat in the past 17 years. Clarified, they will indeed take the Leninist road of throwing off opportunism and joining with Marxism — to fight for that Socialist world.

NOTICE TO READERS

Beginning with the next issue, this publication will appear under the name of:-

THE BULLETIN

of the

Leninist League, U. S. A.
