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IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM

For The Fourth = Leninist = International

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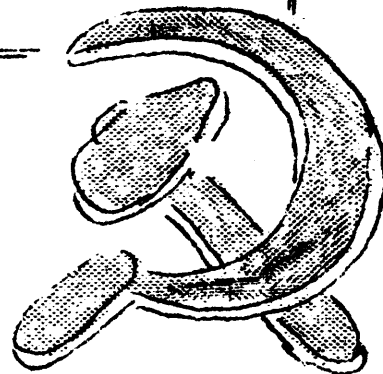
AROUND THE BLODY PURGE

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LENINIST LEAGUE U S

Box 615 Station D
New York NY



AROUND THE BLOODY PURGE

On the Nature of the Stalinist Reaction

The Party which leads the toiling masses in the struggle against the bourgeoisie can never cease to be Marxist after victory is achieved; and when classes disappear the Party together with the proletarian State wither away and entire mankind becomes Marxist, that is, it views the world and nature as a materialist dialectic process. It goes without saying, no opportunist force can lead the toilers to their emancipation. And if the leaders of the Marxist Party, after successful revolution, should slide down to some form of opportunism, they will inevitably drag the working class back to capitalism.

Under the leadership of Lenin the Russian workers and peasants overthrew their landlords and capitalists, took over the land and industry and established a proletarian State. When Lenin, gravely ill, was compelled to withdraw from active party work, the rest of the leaders deviated from the established Bolshevik methods of leadership. Excepting Lenin, virtually every ranking leader in the Bolshevik Party had at one time or another shown serious deviations from Marxism. This time the departure from Bolshevism occurred not in the theoretical but in the organizational field. In theory the Party continued for some time "to adhere" to Marxism. In practice a group of leaders, in fact the majority of them, headed by Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev, in order to secure permanent personal control of the Party and the State, introduced the practice of bureaucratic authority. There arose the system of appointing chiefs for all important executive posts of the State. A hierarchy with higher officials appointing subordinates who sought places in the bureaucratic sun, steadily choked

all inner-Party and Soviet workers' democracy. A number of factors facilitated this opportunist development, the most important among them being the complete absence of authentic Marxian opposition.

Little doubt that in the beginning not one of the bureaucratizers suspected that he was helping to set in motion a process which would allow unprecedented concentration of power in the hands of the man they were placing at the steering wheel, that the vast majority of them would be methodically eliminated by him from power and from life; that the process spelled the doom of the October revolution and fatal consequences for the world proletariat and all the oppressed.

To perpetuate its own existence, the bureaucratic system - Stalinism - as it began to take shape, evolved certain specific features. It established a perennial target, Trotsky, whose former anti-Bolshevism was attacked as though it were an immediate danger to the proletariat. With the alacrity assistance of a great variety of charlatans that invested the Comintern, the Browders, Lovestones, Cannons, Pollits and Thereses, Stalinism captured all the foreign sections of the Comintern and transformed it into an efficient machine for preventing successful revolutions. Otherwise a revolution, starting out with widespread self-activity and power to the workers, would imperil the rapidly rising bureaucratic pyramid in the first proletarian State

Stalinism has distorted the history of the October revolution and the roles of the participants, steadily magnifying, as years go by, the figure of Stalin, and reducing the figures of

all the other leaders, especially that of Trotsky who played a very important part. It introduced the "theory" of building Socialism in Russia alone. It has distorted Marxism through an admixture of bourgeois concepts. It practices barefaced lying.

In the first period of Stalinization, Trotsky, opposing Lenin's policy of uncompromising fight against Stalin, bent on peace with Stalinism, made strenuous efforts to win Stalin to a policy of harmony within the leadership. Attempting to negotiate compromises and freeze the centralization process, he was against Lenin on the question of removing the chief bureaucrat ("I am for preserving the status quo.....I am against removing Stalin." Leon Trotsky, MY LIFE, p. 486). And as time passed, other, direct supporters of Stalin such as Zinoviev and Kamenev were being elbowed out of the way. They, too, attempted to arrest the development at the point it had already reached. In vain. Once in possession of power, Stalin, ever less disposed to share it, would not relax his tenacious hold and would meet no one on equal terms.

By 1934 Stalin wielded sufficient power to raise himself to dizzy heights through the physical destruction of the entire generation which had actively and directly participated in the overthrow of Russian capitalism. To start the bloody ball rolling, Stalin from all indications arranged for the assassination of one of his lackeys, Kirov. The mystery of this assassination has at last been cleared up by one of the best informed lickspittles of Stalin, Yaroslavsky, who revealed that Yagoda, knowing of the forthcoming attempt upon Kirov's life ordered the G.F.U. men not to protect Kirov. No doubt the revolver shot of Stalin's assassin "saved" Kirov from "confessing" of being a Fascist agent, and death before a firing squad.

The bloody phase commenced. At first Stalin conducted secret "trials" of the leaders who in the past had re-

sorted to an effort to stem his advance. Later he elaborately staged "open trials" and extended the blood-letting to perfectly good Stalinists, replacing them with new, less prominent, therefore more dependable, opportunists.

Surrounded by a host of flunkies recruited from among people far less familiar with Marxism than such men as Zinoviev, Radek or Bukharin; constantly restocking his apparatus with elements alien and hostile to the interests of the toiling masses, alert Stalin will continue reintroducing bourgeois ideology and capitalist features into Soviet life. If no new Bolshevik force arises, the logical result of the retreat of the October revolution is obvious. The whole will end either in the Fascist dictatorship of Stalin or some other bureaucrat, or in the restoration of the Romanoff dynasty, or in the partitioning of the Soviet Union among the great imperialist powers.

Stalinism promotes reaction internationally. Employing its masked engine of counter-revolution — the "Comintern"—foisting upon the guileless masses now an ultra-Leftist, now an ultra-rightist policy, Stalinism betrays one section of the international proletariat after another: England 1926; China 1925-1927, 1938; Germany 1923, 1932; Austria 1933-1934; Spain 1931-1938. It is preparing the betrayal of the French, the British, the American and other workers. To throw back the powerful waves of reaction, to restore the horribly distorted and dangerously undermined Soviet State to Marxist health, it is necessary to unmask the Stalinists and free the proletariat from their clutches. Only when this, main-objekt to revolution is removed can the international proletariat resume its historical march towards Socialism. The elimination of Stalinism in at least one important country or universal Fascism—these are the only historical alternatives.

TROTSKYISM AND THE PURGE

The problem of exposing and driving out the counter-revolutionary agents of the Stalinist reaction is by far not a simple matter. The enormous task of tearing the red mask off the face of Stalinism is rendered more difficult by various pseudo-Bolshevik groups. These groups, without a single exception, play into the hands of Stalinism by instilling in the minds of the revolutionary workers the deadly illusion that the Stalinist scourge, and for that matter the other powerful agency of counter-revolution, Social Democracy, can be defeated by reaching the masses direct, behind the backs of Stalinism and Social Democracy.

The most confusing, most effective and therefore most dangerous pseudo-Bolshevik agency which in appearance promotes, but in reality sabotages the struggle against Stalinism is the tendency represented by Trotsky. Guilty of having at one time (1922-1926) actively and consciously, and afterward passively and unwittingly, contributed to the growth and savety of the Stalinist reaction, Trotsky continues along the road which he chose at the cradle of Stalinism. It is the road of concealing his own responsibility for the post-Leninist reaction, the road of spreading confusion and distortion of Leninism. The policy of Trotsky and his Cannons and Shachtmans accomplishes the purpose of shielding Trotsky, but at the same time it plays materially into the hands of the very enemies the Trotskyites profess to fight, Stalinism and its ally the bourgeoisie.

To give a few examples:

It does not require much penetration to realize that those who from the start sided with Stalin, who have been his personal friends and closest collaborators for fifteen years or more, people who have shared all his crimes, are the most corrupt renegades and vicious enemies of the proletariat. That their master, who is impelled by un-

quenching ambition, is now eliminating them does not alter the fact that these people up to the last moments of their lives have been betraying the Russian and international working-class. But the Cannons and Shachtmans, for a reason, do not present Stalin's henchmen in their true color. Let us take the case of Aveli Yenukidze. Here ~~was~~ a man who was Stalin's bosom friend for decades. Yenukidze assisted Stalin in betraying the Chinese, the German and the Spanish workers. He helped to organize the frame-up of Zinoviev and Kamenev. He was one of the most active participants in the sport of hounding and destroying the revolutionary workers in the Soviet Union. Says Shachtman:

"Aveli Yenukidze, another old revolutionist whose WHOLE LIFE was given to the cause of the working class." (Socialist Appeal, December 25, 1937. Our emphasis.)

This outrageous lie is no accident, as we shall show below.

Another example. It is obvious to any class-conscious worker that one cannot serve opportunism and revolution at the same time. But the Trotskyites teach the workers that it is possible to combine service to Stalinist reaction and to workers' revolution:

"Leo Karakhan...This old Bolshevik, who served the revolutionary movement and the revolution itself for decades, even in the horribly distorted form of WORKING SILENTLY FOR STALIN." (Ibid. Our emphasis.)

What rich sustenance for Stalinism this poisonous statement contains! In effect Trotskyites say to the workers: Do not condemn the Stalinist bureaucrats as hangmen of the revolution. Some of them work for you while serving Stalin. And those who founded the bureaucratic system, who destroyed work-

ers democracy and Lenin's Party, the moment they are liquidated by Stalin, are declared to have spent all their lives in promoting the cause of the toilers. For instance:

"No matter what one's attitude towards the defendants at the Moscow trials, no matter how one judges their conduct in the clutches of the GPU, all of them -- Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, Piatakov, Radek, Rykov, Bukharin, and many others -- have BY THE WHOLE COURSE OF THEIR LIVES proved their disinterested devotion to the Russian people and their struggle for liberation. In executing them and thousands less known, but no less devoted to the cause of the toilers..." (Leon Trotsky, Socialist Appeal, March 26, 1938. Our emphasis)

Trotsky is of course fully aware of the fact that he is falsifying history. The editors of the Socialist Appeal no less than Trotsky know that the Bolshevism of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov and of others who either sided with Stalinism when it sprang into existence, or pursued the policy of adaptation, was extinguished in 1922. Yet Trotsky and his hangers-on are distorting the truth. This grossly dupery causes enormous damage in the work of establishing the facts of the degeneration of the Russian leadership. The aim of the Trotskyites is obvious. Since Trotsky himself is guilty of having assisted Stalin during Lenin's illness and after (see our bulletin IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM Vol. 2, No. 3), it is necessary for them to whitewash every Stalinist opportunist who pays with his head for having betrayed workers democracy and the cause of the international workingclass. The line of honesty for renegades, against which Lenin fought relentlessly when the leaders of the Second International betrayed Marxism, is assiduously cultivated by Trotskyism. The policy is in complete accord with Trotsky's utterly false thesis that the Stalinist "leaders" are not treacherous careerists and opportunist scum, but are revolutionists or semi-revolutionists led astray:

"The Communist leaders, though confused, poor, and incapable, are revolutionists or semi-revolutionists that have been led from the right track." (Leon Trotsky, WHAT NEXT, p. 113.)

The workers must be warned again and again that the Stalinist hirelings are the most treacherous charlatans within the workers camp. Trotskyist deceptions must be counter-acted by merciless criticism. Opportunism is an ally of the bourgeoisie. Stalinist opportunism is an open ally of imperialist bourgeoisie. But the Trotskyites teach the workers the very opposite. Felix Morrow bemoans the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy "puts its faith not in its real ally the international proletariat, but in its maneuvers and combinations with capitalist 'allies'." (Socialist Appeal, December 1936. Our emphasis.)

Stalinism is of course not an ally but a masked enemy of the international proletariat. Trotskyist misrepresentations of the position of Stalinism in relation to the international proletariat helps Stalinism to convince the workers that they must support the Stalinist bureaucracy, their "real ally."

Lenin detested "world public opinion" which is nothing else than the opinion of the bourgeoisie. He addressed himself primarily to the working class. But Trotsky, especially in recent months, in connection with the bloody phase of the concentration of Stalin's personal power, has been directing his main efforts to reach "world public opinion." Trotsky writes:

"Thus, from the gaping contradictions and the heap of lies in the new trial, the shade of Marshal Tukachevsky steps forth with thunderous appeal to world public opinion." (The New York Times, March 7, 1938.)

And well it is for Trotsky to picture the shade of the Stalinist general ap-

pealing to the bourgeoisie instead of to the revolutionary workers. Tukhachevsky, not any less, perhaps more than many other Stalinist careerists, participated in all the lurid crimes of Stalinism and faithfully collaborated in wounding and murdering anti-Stalinist workers.

And speaking of Stalinist generals, no true Bolshevik can regard these putrid renegades and self-seekers as Reds. The word Red denotes revolutionary, and the Trotskyites leaders are familiar with this popularly accepted definition. But, while the Trotskyites recklessly and incorrectly describe the Stalinist regime as totalitarian - "Totalitarian regime of Stalin and Company" (Socialist Appeal, March 12, 1938)—the moment Stalin, to concentrate greater power in his hands, wipes out a few of his Company, these few are placed by Trotsky into the catalogue of Reds, the "marshals" of the Stalinist bureaucracy becoming "the best Red generals" (Leon Trotsky, Socialist Appeal, March 26, 1938).

From the day Stalin and his gang organized the conspiracy to usurp power in the first workers State, Trotsky kept alive among the militant workers the murderous absurdity that the gang could be induced to execute a turn towards Soviet democracy. As late as June 1937, after the Stalinist assassins had murdered their own generals, Trotsky offered the hardened bureaucrats support along the lines of reviewing their own frame-ups. He cabled to Stalin's "Central Committee" in Moscow:

"Stalin's policy is leading to complete collapse internal as well as external. The only salvation is a radical turn toward Soviet democracy, beginning with an open review of the last trial. ALONG THIS ROAD

I OFFER COMPLETE SUPPORT."

The attitude of the Trotskyites towards the Stalinist reaction in its bloody phase is along the old line of Trotsky's rendering valuable services to Stalinism in its earlier stages. This line, running from 1922 on through his refusal to agree with Lenin's demand for the removal of Stalin, his defeatist silence in the face of the Stalinist cry of the danger of "Trotskyism," his deception of the masses with respect to Stalin's "Leninist levy," his attempt to win a political holiday, his unpardonable act of shielding Stalin from Eastman's exposure by the brazen denial of the existence of Lenin's will in which Lenin for the last time told the party to remove Stalin: "Comrade Lenin HAS NOT LEFT ANY 'WILL'.... All talk with regard to a concealed or mutilated 'will' is nothing but a DESPICABLE LIE" (I. Trotsky, Inprecorr, Sept. 3, 1925, pp. 105, 106. Our emphasis. See IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM Vol. 1, No. 3); his shabby declaration of October 16, 1926 in which he unconditionally accepted Stalin's discipline. It is the line of rejecting victory and deliberately choosing defeat (Leon Trotsky, WHAT HAPPENED AND HOW, p. 34), the ruinous, opportunist policy of "correcting" and tail-ending Stalinism, of assuring the workers, prior to the advent of Hitler, that Stalinism would adopt a Bolshevik policy in Germany.

For the revolutionary workers the elementary lesson is obvious. It is impossible to defeat Stalinism which disorients the proletariat and promotes international reaction, it is futile to think of the possibility of reestablishing Leninism, without mercilessly combatting the pro-Stalinist clutter and confusion, distortions and opportunism of Trotsky and his Shachtmans and Felix Morrows.

LOVESTONEISM AND THE PURGE

The Lovestone leadership supported Stalin's frame-up of Zinoviev and Kamenev. "We are convinced that there is no adequate reason at hand to doubt the confessions made by the accused." (Workers Age, Sept. 5, 1936.) After the arrest of Bukharin, the execution of Tukhachevsky, the lumping together of the Lovestoneites with the Trotskyite "agents of Hitler," it began to dawn upon Lovestone that Stalinism was widening its net to include among its frame-up victims the staunchest Stalinists. If during the "Third Period" the Lovestoneites were classified by Stalin as a variety of "Social Fascism" on "theoretical" grounds, then, with the commencement of the bloody frame-ups, it became plain, Lovestone, Wolfe and others would be branded as actual agents of Mussolini, Hitler and Franco. The Lovestoneite leaders would like very much to wash their hands of the infernal Stalinist brew they themselves helped to concoct. But they can't. Historically they are branded, as are Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Kalinin and other direct and indirect, famous and obscure, discarded and employed, hounded and pampered builders, upholders and defenders of the Stalinist system.

To adjust themselves to the new condition, the Lovestoneites, somewhat belatedly, with an adroit and practiced hand executed a sly maneuver. They had, doubtless, perused the contradictory "confessions" of Zinoviev, Kamenev and others, had examined Trotsky's refutations of the flimsy "evidence," and they had read at least some of the literature which exposed Yagoda's crude frame-up. But all that, including their personal knowledge of Stalin's treachery, craftiness, and the bestial frame-up methods he generally uses, had failed to convince them. They declared that:

"The claims of Trotskyites to innocence are absurd not only in face of the evidence, but also because their theories and propa-

anda are a complete justification for the acts which the defendants confessed of having committed. Why plead so loudly one's innocence of the ONLY STEPS that could have been taken to follow out a certain line?" (Workers Age, May 15, 1937. Our emphasis.)

Then came the arrest and purge of the pure Stalinists. The Lovestoneites were impelled to find — miracle of miracles. — in Trotsky's testimony before the Dewey Commission, which essentially added nothing new to the original material given by Trotsky and others, that the trials were frame-ups.

"...Trotsky scores brilliantly. After reading these pages, there cannot remain the slightest doubt in the mind of any literate person that the charges and allegations made against Trotsky and the other better-known defendants at the Moscow trials, are just a tissue of not very cleverly concocted falsehoods." (Will Herberg, Workers Age, Dec. 18, 1937.)

Thus when it came to Bukharin "confessing," the Lovestoneites "discovered" the true character of the previous "trials."

"Without doubt, this 'trial' will proceed in the same old way. There will be abject 'confessions' consisting of a jumble of political and factual impossibilities concocted by the G.P.U., crude discrepancies and glaring self-contradictions. And there will be the same verdicts of guilty decided upon in advance and the same series of executions to follow. Another great 'triumph' will be chalked up for the Stalin-Yezhov regime of blood and destruction!" (Workers Age, March 12, 1938. Our emphasis.)

Prior to the frame-up of Bukharin the Lovestoneites, somehow, had failed to see these glaring contradictions and

factual impossibilities!

Does this mean the Lovestoneites are recanting, are going to make a clean breast of it and tell the truth, the whole truth? Those who will naively take such a view do not know that with Lovestone, Wolfe and Herberg, as well as with Trotsky and his Cannons and Shachtmans, systematic evasion and contradictory phrase-juggling have risen to the status of a fine art. Attempting to wriggle out of the responsibility for the horrible mess that Stalin, with their assistance, made of October, the Lovestoneites declare:

"We have never been the American offshoot or branch of any political group or tendency in the Soviet Union." (Workers Age, March 12, 1938.)

Is the statement above true or false? It is a lie from beginning to end. In the minds of the old-timers, Lovestone's accurate history is etched with vividness. When Stalinism was in its infancy Lovestone was an outstanding leader of the Ruthenberg-Lovestone-Pepper group, definitely supporting the Stalinist clique in Moscow, who in turn helped this group seize the leading posts in the American Party. Lovestone with alacrity accepted the anti-Leninist, bureaucratic method of solving the question of leadership when Stalin's emissary, Gussev, by the order of the "Comintern" (Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev) kicked out the Foster-Browder-Cannon gang and installed Ruthenberg-Lovestone-Wolfe-Stachel. The new Stalinist puppets in the American party repaid Stalin for his favors by endorsing the removal by the "Comintern" of the Brandler-Thalheimer and the Fisher-Maslow leadership in the German party.

Lovestone followed Stalin's clique all along in helping to build the bureaucratic pyramid in the Soviet Union, with remunerative political results for himself. He facilitated Stalin's task of capturing the sections of the Comintern. As efficient-

ly and conscientiously as any of the hard-working Stalinist flunkys he hounded Stalin's chief scapo-goet, Trotsky, Courting favor like a true lackey, he tried to be more vicious than his master and in opposition to Stalin himself Lovestone demanded the expulsion of Trotsky as early as in July 1927:

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

Surely Lovestone, an inside man of the Comintern, in close association with the foremost leaders of the Russian party, familiar with the inner-workings of the bureaucracy, was informed of Lenin's will, a "secret" known to the entire Russian top leadership and even to some outsiders, as the case of Max Eastman unmistakably indicates. Lovestone certainly read in the Inprecorr, November 17, 1927 Stalin's admission of the existence of Lenin's testament. Stalin declared:

".....It is said that in the 'testament' in question Lenin suggested to the Party Congress that it should deliberate on the question of replacing Stalin and appointing another comrade in his place as General Secretary of the Party. THIS IS PERFECTLY TRUE." (p. 1429. (Our emphasis.)

Lovestone together with Foster, Browder and others endorsed Trotsky's outrageous, lying statement on Eastman,

thus helping Stalin to suppress one of the most important documents of Lenin's. Lovestone never repudiated his endorsement.

Up to May 1929 Lovestone gave direct and uncritical support to Stalin's policies in the Soviet Union and the Comintern, and therefore bears a share of direct responsibility for the ravages wrought by Stalinism in England (1926), China (1927) and elsewhere. Lovestone supported not only the ultra-Right zigzag of chaining the Chinese toilers to Chiang Kai-shek but also the ultra-Left of spreading the Stalinist "Third Period" fake of social-fascism:

"There is a noticeable and rapid fusion of socialist reformism with the capitalist state and increasingly open collaboration between socialist reformism and fascism in all its forms. (Jay Lovestone, THE COMMUNIST, November 1928, p. 660. Our emphasis.

But he hardly got beyond this recording of his acceptance of the "Third Period" line, when the process of bureaucratic centralization reached a higher stage. Lovestone did much to placate inexorable Stalin, who was determined to tighten his hold upon all sections of the Comintern. To prove his loyalty to the powerful usurper in the Soviet Union, Lovestone sent hooligan gangs armed with black-jacks and lead pipes to break up Trotskyist meetings: the Labor Temple meeting on February 26, 1929 and the Hungarian Hall meeting on April 19th. Having helped Stalin to crush the leaders of the German Communist Party, Brandler and Thalheimer, Lovestone with cheerful readiness gave Stalin energetic support against Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky as representatives of the "Right danger":

"Our party has pursued an energetic policy in the struggle against Brandler and Thalheimer..... Our Central Committee gave prompt and energetic endorsement to the

struggle of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (Stalin) against the right danger." (Jay Lovestone, PAGES FROM PARTY HISTORY, p. 16.)

Crouchingly ingratiating, the Lovestone leaders in their wooing of Stalin's pleasure stooped even to such acts as the proposal to remove Bukharin from the Comintern. With utter contempt Stalin himself revealed this in his speech to the American Commission, May 6, 1929, while Lovestone was still at the head of the American Party. Lovestone never denied this. Lovestone knew of Stalin's "Corridor Congress" in the period of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. Instead of flashing a bright beam upon this shady business, Lovestone kept it secret from the workers. When he finally came out with an obscure reference to the "Corridor Congress," after he had been ousted from the Stalinist "Party," his half-disclosure failed to produce any effect. The rank-and-file was already under the sinister spell of Browder-Weinstone-Bedacht and had neither faith nor interest in

After Lovestone was expelled by his own double-crossing lieutenants, Lovestone, partly because he had to conceal his shady past, partly because he hoped that Stalin would eventually take him back, continued white-washing and tail-ending Browder and other "our official comrades" (Jay Lovestone, THE PEOPLE'S FRONT ILLUSION, p. 30).

With the frame-up of Bukharin, the Lovestoneites more vociferously than ever before, proclaim their political independence. They have nothing to do with Stalin, and thank goodness never had ("Out damned spot"—Macbeth). The Stalinist regime, they declare, is "an oppressive regime long obsolete, long deprived of whatever progressive function it may once have had." (Workers Age, March 12, 1938.) So, Stalinism, originating with the Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev plot, had at one time a progressive function — and we know when. When Stalin gave the American party to Lovestone, when Bukharin was

Stalin's main political tool, and up to Lovestone's expulsion. But hardly ten months ago Lovestone's paper assured the workers that Stalin's "obsolete," "oppressive" and reactionary bureaucratic "regime of blood and destruction" is building the new human society — Socialism:

"The essential correctness of the line of the leadership of the CPSU in building socialism in the Soviet Union. . . ." (Workers Age, May 15, 1937.)

The problem of removing the greatest (although not the only) obstacle to proletarian revolution, the destruction of the fountainhead of confusion, paralysis and reaction within the workingclass is pressing. The hour is grave. It is incumbent upon true Leninists to unfold a tremendous campaign to politicize the proletariat and free the thousands of honest workers, unsuspecting victims, from the clutches of Stalin's agents. But the Lovestoneites and the Trotskyites, fearing exposure, give Browder a free hand to continue his devastating work among the Leftward-moving workers and intellectuals. Instead of attempting to unmask and isolate Stalinism, to intercept the human stream that without interruption flows into the Stalinist reservoir, the Lovestoneites, the Trotskyites and all other pseudo-anti-Stalinists, spread illusions about Stalinism, adopt the sectarian orientation "towards the masses." This works out ideally for Stalinism which succeeds in playing its game undisturbed.

The influence of Stalinism, thanks to the tragic fact that it is in control of the only proletarian State, far outweighs its numerical strength. Independent activity to reach the masses while Stalinism is very effectively blocking the way, is an illusory policy, a phantom, an opportunist fraud. At present all energies of genuine Leninists must be

And even today, in the very issue of Lovestone's paper in which it is admitted that Stalinism is not progressive, that it is consequently reactionary, one reads:

"For the Soviet Union, despite Stalin's despotism and atrocities, remains a workingclass country where Socialism is being built." (Workers Age, March 12, 1938. Our emphasis.)

Such is Lovestoneite duplicity!

devoted toward the struggle of tearing down the strongest pillar of reaction within the proletariat — Stalin's "Comintern" — the mightiest opportunist obstacle to proletarian revolution, by unmasking the Browders, and toward exposing the hypocrites and opportunists who pretend to fight Stalinism, in reality shielding it and helping it to betray the international workingclass. An organization whose foundation is fraud must always avoid a revolutionary policy. The Lovestoneites and the Trotskyites cannot adopt the Leninist line because it would mean self-exposure. Distorting the truth about the rise, the nature and methods of Stalinism they treat it as a secondary, side issue. That is why the Lovestoneites and Trotskyite leaders, after every new turn their organizations make, misdirect their hopeful followers, under the guise of "activity," into the blind alley of stagnation, while the Stalinist plague marches on.

The road to the masses is through the advanced workers. The toilers can secure victory over the bourgeoisie — both Fascist and "democratic" — only over the dead bodies of Stalinism, Social Democracy and the other opportunist currents. By launching a war of exposure against all opportunism the honest revolutionists will succeed in winning the advanced workers, and through the advanced, the masses, to lead them against capitalist slavery.

W H Y T H E Y D I D N O T R E P L Y

The following letter was sent by THE LENINIST LEAGUE to the Independent Communist Labor League, Socialist Workers Party, League for a Revolutionary Workers Party, Revolutionary Workers League, and Marxist Workers League:

March 1, 1938

"The monstrous gang headed by Stalin, in its uninterrupted march of betrayal and terror, has opened another of its horrible shows before the amazed and confused masses and the rejoicing bourgeois reaction. It is necessary to lift a thunderous voice of protest, a voice of exposure of bloody Stalinist reaction to reveal the real issues behind its ghastly crimes. It is imperative to awaken the masses to the destructive and reactionary nature of Stalinist counter-revolution.

We propose immediate action along the following lines. Formation of a united front committee composed of representatives of all anti-Stalinist organizations that hold the position that the Soviet Union is a workers' State, to carry out the following minimum program:

- 1) The Committee to arrange a demonstration at the Stalinist Consulate.
- 2) A United Front mass meeting to be called at once in a centrally located public hall.
- 3) An open air protest demonstration to be staged in Union Square.

Upon receipt of the acknowledgement of the necessity of such action, a delegate from each group should be sent to form the United Front Committee. It is urgent that no time

be wasted in replying.

Fraternally yours,

THE LENINIST LEAGUE OF U. S. A."

Not a single one of the above mentioned organizations expressed agreement to form an anti-Stalinist united front. A reply came from the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party (the Field group) to the effect that they would send an observer. The Revolutionary Workers League (Stamm) wrote asking to be informed of the date and place of the meeting. The Trotskyites and the Lovestoneites did not reply. Some days following the dispatch of the letter, a note was sent reminding them that we had not yet heard from them. The Trotskyites and the Lovestoneites did not reply.

Why did they completely ignore this call for the formation of a sorely needed anti-Stalinist united front? There is no doubt in our mind as to the real reason. Because the "anti-Stalinism" of the Lovestoneites and the Trotskyites, contrary to the common impression, is nothing but revolting hypocrisy. Because the leaderships of these groups know that the bringing together of various tendencies will inevitably result in a thorough discussion — the logical climax of which will be the scathing exposure of these pseudo-Leninists. Their followers will make the dramatic discovery that the policies of Trotsky-Cannon and of Lovestone-Wolfe are dominated not by the interests of the international proletariat but by the requirement of safeguarding the "prestige" of the leaders. These leaders fear an honest, democratic discussion because they dread to face the truth.

FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST STALINIST REACTIO !

FOR A THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF ALL POINTS OF VIEW WITHIN THE WORKINGCLASS!

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