

IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM

FOR THE FOURTH, (LENINIST) INTERNATIONAL

CAN AMERICA ESCAPE FASCISM

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OPPORTUNISM AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

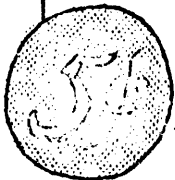
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CAN AMERICA ESCAPE FASCISM

AMERICAN CAPITALISM FOR nine years has been in the throes of the severest crisis in its entire history. In the early period of the crisis the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie, citing innumerable factors and precedents, looked hopefully ahead or rather around the corner where prosperity was or as Hoover promised would be in 60 days. But trade continued declining, banks crashing, and mounting unemployment was breaking all records. Hoover-villes, breadlines and apple-selling, bloody repressions against bonus marchers, seizure of supplies from shopkeepers by starving workers, by desperate farmers armed with shotguns (in England, Ark.), a rising wave of crime — all pointed towards a situation that, if not coped with in an effective manner, would get out of the control of the capitalists. Under constraint of the necessity to head off the threatening catastrophe, the bourgeoisie changed its policy, still regarding the crisis as a passing phenomenon.

The new administrator of the affairs of American capitalism, Franklin D. Roosevelt, taking what was declared by his enthusiastic backers to be a realistic view, undertook the task of stabilizing the tottering structure. Adopting some extraordinary measures designed to bring recovery, the Roosevelt administration with a prodigal hand poured a torrent of dollars into a thousand and one channels. The millions of the unemployed were to a considerable extent absorbed by the various government enterprises created by the New Deal. Relations between the bourgeoisie and the toiling masses were regulated with some sops thrown to the workers in the form of Section 7-A, recognizing the right of organization and collective bargaining.

With the torrential rush of money through the W.P.A., C.C.C., P.W.A., A.A.A., R.F.C., power projects, bonus payments, armament expansion and other channels, the demand for commodities rose and production made rapid strides.

The American financial bourgeoisie, with some isolated dissenting figures like Ford, and particularly the petty-bourgeoisie and the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, John L. Lewis, Wm. Green and others, went into raptures over what they made the workers believe to be the solution of the grave problem. American capitalism, the lackeys of the bourgeoisie asserted, was well on the way to recovery.

Then something happened. Production toppled once again and the capitalists turned out new millions of workers on the streets. "Depression" has begotten a "recession" and many disappointed voices, also bourgeois opponents of Roosevelt's policies, said, We are back where we started from. "Nothing has been solved," admitted Arthur Krock in the New York Times, May 1, 1938, "and certainly not the depression."

The fact of the matter is that the inherent laws of capitalist economy have been quietly at work effecting the inevitable dislocations in the spheres of production and exchange of commodities. Private accumulation of wealth by magnates of finance and industry, on the one hand, and limitation of the purchasing power of the toiling mass where wages allowed them to buy back from the bourgeoisie only a part of their own products, on the other hand, also the contraction of the world market, resulted again in the clogging of the channels of distribution. Priv-

ate industry through the continuous introduction of labor-saving devices and steady increase in the productivity of labor automatically has thrown off from three to four million workers, and now with the sudden curtailment of output the army of unemployed has swollen to fourteen million, perhaps more.

Manifestly clear is the fact that the economic crisis of American capitalism is not back where it started from. There is a "recession" within the "depression." The bourgeoisie is plainly worried and its most eminent representatives in industry and politics begin to sense that the crisis is nothing like the brief disturbances of 1907, 1914, or 1921. The most intelligent American capitalists observe that the entire world capitalist system is in a state of disintegration and collapse. And the fear that has been in the hearts of their European confreres since the October Revolution is now sinking its claws into their own chests.

The bourgeoisie realizes that its system must be repaired to provide some sort of living to the workers, else they will cast about for a different system. Such prominent government figures as Solicitor General Jackson speak out plainly "Our problem," says Robert H. Jackson, 'is to make the capitalist system work. As long as we make it work our people will not find much to attract them toward any other system. If we cannot make it work, they will seek a better one' (New York Times, Feb. 13, 1938).

The problem is gigantic. The German bourgeoisie faced this problem in 1930-1933. Opportunism within the proletariat solved this problem, permitting the German bourgeoisie to bring in Hitler. The American bourgeoisie has attempted to solve it through the New Deal. The result: a stupendous public debt; steadily rising deficit and steadily rising taxation; partial inflation; 6,000,000 families comprising 20,000,000 persons, are receiving some form of public assistance. according to the testimony of H.L.Hopkins, Works Progress Administrator; and fourteen

million unemployed with their dependents awaiting jobs or relief. Indeed: "Nothing has been solved, and certainly not the depression.

The tone of some of the leading statesmen and writers began to change when the Roosevelt administration presented its new spending program. Before this plan was broached, in January of this year, in his budget message Roosevelt estimated the deficit for 1939 at \$950,000,000. This was shocking enough to the more sober American capitalists. But the new spending program would raise the deficit for 1939 to the staggering sum of \$3,722,000,000! And what would it all come to with the years passing by and no end of the crisis in sight?

"Pump-priming has failed," remarked the New York Times on May 9, 1938, evincing disagreement with the policies it itself had so zestfully backed. Some of the leading bankers began to urge "a return to sanity (George Letterhouse, president of the New Jersey Bankers Association).

What sort of "sanity" can the leaders of the bourgeoisie have in mind? Is it back to the Hoover days-- now when the situation is far more intense, with a new Rooseveltian army of unemployed which together with the Hooverian, released from the New Deal projects, would number twenty or more million jobless workers? Since the workers still retain certain rights, that would mean bringing about a condition for the forging of the thunderbolt of workers' revolution.

The crisis continuing unabated, no other than the Hitler way of smashing all workers' organizations, and the fastening of the iron yoke of Fascism upon the neck of labor will be able to remove the growing threat of a social upheaval. Through their Fascist rule the capitalists could with great ease beat down the wages of the American workers and lengthen the work day; they would establish military slave-camps for the unemployed; and "industrial peace," that perennial dream of the exploiters, would be achieved at last.

* * * * *

A writer in the New York Times of December 26, 1937, had the following to say regarding the role of Fascism: "Fascism has constituted itself civilizations' champion against the Bolsheviki menace."

The hard and impressive balance sheet of the stabilizing efficacy of Hitlerism teaches the capitalists everywhere that Fascism is a far more economical and efficient method of keeping the workers in harness than the clumsy method of "democracy."

Even "democratic" capitalist newspapers remark on occasion, and with a touch of envy, that Mussolini and Hitler are right when pointing out the costliness and unwieldiness of the bourgeois-democratic machinery of capitalism: "It is true, as Mussolini and Hitler have said, that democracy is an expensive luxury, and a very clumsy, slow-moving kind of government." (The Daily News, April 30, 1938.)

In 1934 a sensational discovery was made that the House of Morgan and that of du Pont, while backing Roosevelt as a convenient screen, were making preparations to establish a Fascist regime in the United States. At that time the Stalinists had not yet veered to their present ultra-Rightist line and therefore wrote openly about the Morgan-du Pont-Roosevelt conspiracy:

"For the past year and a half Wall Street bankers and industrialists have been plotting to mobilize and arm a fascist band of 500,000 ex-soldiers to establish a dictatorship in the United States. It is part of the general movement toward fascism by the Roosevelt regime, and typifies the impatience of a group of bankers and armament manufacturers, headed by Morgan and du Pontdirectly involved were Thomas Lamont, partner in J. P. Morgan and Co....Gen. MacArthur, chief of the U.S. Army, Gen. McNider, former head of the American Legion, and others of Roosevelt's close advisers and associates." (A. G. Bosse, Inprocorr, Dec. 22, 1936, p. 1717.)

A bare glance at the picture of the world reveals that the imperialist nations, packed with dynamite, are moving at a rapid pace towards a conflict which may prove the bloodiest and most destructive in mankind's history. Beyond all possibility of doubt the practical American bourgeoisie, intently looking ahead and soberly estimating the inescapable test for its system, will execute an about-face in policy as a prelude to the militarization of the country. Only fools are due for a surprise. Over twenty years ago Lenin pointed out that humanity has entered an era of dying bourgeois democracy. Mankind can move either forward to Socialism or backward to barbarism. American capitalism, and for that matter all capitalism, can surmount the critical situation solely through Fascism; the workers, through the overthrow of capitalism. Historically only one of the two outcomes is possible. The workers must bear in mind that every Fascist regime issued out of bourgeois democracy, and so did the proletarian revolution in Russia.

Can America escape Fascism? The answer rests largely with the American working class, particularly with its class-conscious vanguard. The American masses politically are backward; the vanguard is split up among various opportunist organizations and, with a thousand visible and invisible threads, is tied to capitalism.

If the vanguard is freed from the grip of the opportunists and is infused with the ideas and spirit of Leninism, it will be able to organize the toiling masses for the assault upon the bourgeoisie, preventing it from accomplishing the change of its form of rule from bourgeois democracy to Fascism.

The most important, most powerful of all the counterfeit Bolsheviks are the Stalinists. Stalinism originated as the organizational distortion of the Bolshevik principle of Party leadership. When Lenin's dying day was not far distant, Zinoviev, Kamenev and

Stalin conspired to establish themselves as unchangeable leaders in full and permanent control of the Party and the State. Having been inducted into the newly-created post of General Secretary, Stalin began to concentrate the real power in his own hands through an elaborate system of appointing loyal supporters in key posts, thus creating an organized bureaucracy. Lenin observed the first symptoms of this opportunist development. Disabled by illness he entrusted to Trotsky the task of eliminating chief bureaucrat Stalin from power. Trotsky betrayed Lenin's confidence and opportunistically attempted to adapt himself to the Stalinist regime. He rejected Lenin's line of fighting for the removal of Stalin ("I am against removing Stalin," etc. See IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM #3), and denied the existence of Lenin's Will in which Lenin asked the Party to remove Stalin. While Lenin was still alive Stalin maneuvered and made opportunist concessions acting as though he were inclined to include Trotsky into the bureaucratic system. But as time advanced, Stalin made appreciable headway and gathered more and more power. Avoiding all compromises he demolished Trotsky and, using Trotsky as the principal target, Stalin raised himself by stages to the dizzy heights of personal dictatorship. The process of bureaucratic centralization of power in the hands of Stalin went through several phases, the latest one being the physical destruction of virtually all the big figures of the Party.

Alongside of this process went on the steady elimination of Workers Democracy within all institutions of the State and the rapid growth of the bureaucratic pyramid sustaining Stalin in the seat of power. To all outward appearance the Stalinists adhered to the Leninist program of the world revolution, but beneath the "red" surface, a contrary policy has been pursued.

Because a successful proletarian revolution abroad, doing away with all forms of oppression and liberating titanic forces of Workers Democracy, would induce the Russian masses to shatter the ponderous bureaucratic stru-

cture, Stalin is keenly interested in preventing the establishment of another Workers' State. This task he has been accomplishing with telling effect through his instrument, the Comintern. Founded by Lenin for the purpose of organizing and accomplishing the proletarian world revolution, the Comintern was transformed by Stalin and his henchmen, Zinoviev, Bukharin and others, with Trotsky observing things but opportunistically keeping them secret from the workers, into a machine for disrupting revolution. Inasmuch as capitalism has definitely entered the stage of decay, the recurring crises give rise to revolutionary situations now in one capitalist country, now in another.

To achieve his aim Stalin has devised a method, complicated in appearance but simple enough. He has fashioned a policy which on the surface looks somewhat like the one Lenin carried out in Russia. But when intelligently surveyed, his policy in reality has been at one time to the Right of Lenin's, at another to the Left. Sometimes both lines have been employed within brief intervals. The leaders of the Sections of the Comintern, everyone of them holding power by reason of support to Stalin, have been unquestioningly and unreservedly carrying out Stalin's line. The disastrous results — disastrous for the international proletariat but inestimable for Stalin — have inevitably followed. With one hand eliminating old party leaders and all possible rivals in the Soviet Union and progressively growing more powerful, Stalin, with the other hand, has disrupted the proletarian revolution abroad. Here is the unmistakable and sinister record:

GERMANY 1923. Ultra-Right line. Coalition government of "Communists" and Social-democrats in Saxony and Thuringia. An ultra-Leftist clinching point, the Hamburg putch.

ESTHONIA, BULGARIA, 1924. Ultra-Leftist line. Patches in Esthonia to seize government buildings by a handful of Communists; "neutral" position of Bulgarian Communist party in the struggle

between King Boris and the Stambulisky government of the big peasantry.

ENGLAND 1926. Ultra-Rightist line. Support to and confidence in the reformist leaders of the British trade unions who stabbed the general strike.

CHINA 1925-1927. Ultra-Right. Unity with the bourgeois Kuomintang. Admission of Chiang Kai-shek as a fraternal member into the Comintern. Destruction of the Communist proletariat by Chiang Kai-shek. An ultra-Leftist clinching point, the Canton putch.

GERMANY 1930-1933. Ultra-Left. United front from below only. Social-democracy is "Social Fascism" and "actual Fascism." Delivery of the paralyzed proletariat to Hitler.

SPAIN 1931-1934. Ultra-Left line. Social Democracy is "Social Fascism." Putschist attempts by a handful of Communists to seize government buildings in Barcelona and to overthrow the bourgeois democratic republic.

SPAIN 1934-1938. Ultra-Right. Collaboration with Social democracy and liberal bourgeoisie to "defend" bourgeois democracy. Creation of a People's Front Government, a smoke-screen behind which Franco organized his uprising. Treachery and treason of the leaders of the People's Front during the civil war.

Spain has been the climax of the horrors caused by Stalinism.

Stalin has surmounted every revolutionary crisis and over a period of fifteen years, indirectly assisted by Social democracy and other opportunist forces, without ruth or stint has been delivering the toiling masses to Fascism.

* * *

Stalin's contradictory jagged line of zigzags containing different evaluations of Social Democracy, filled with conflicting, sometimes diametrically opposite explanations of Lenin's basic ideas and principles, was first applied in America in 1923. It was

then the zigzag of ultra-Rightism. Foster, Lovestone and other leaders of the Party were busily engaged in inventing federated Farmer-Labor parties — a sort of an embryonic "People's Front."

"Towards a Labor Party

"....A Labor Party defending the interests of the wage workers and appealing to the impoverished farmers is the only political power that can challenge the cynical tyranny of Wall Street." (Daily Worker, editorial May 27, 1924.)

The idea of building an opportunist labor party was toyed with for some years and was shelved during the swing to ultra-Leftism. This zigzag, commonly known as the "Third Period" of united front from below and the "theory" of Social Fascism, required complete isolation of the Stalinist workers from the main body of organized labor. Hence the Farmer-Labor line was condemned as a "Social Fascist" proposal:

"We can make no peace with the Labor Party idea..." (Earl Browder, The Communist, August 1933.)

"Does the Trade Union Unity League support proposals for a labor party? No, it rejects social fascist proposals for launching a labor party, which would be only another capitalist party." (Labor Unity, December 1933.)

Separate Stalinist zigzags are meaningless. Taken together, both the ultra-Right and ultra-Left, representing two aspects of the same policy, form a consistent system.

The Stalinist zigzags are divided from one another by indistinct boundaries but they become clearly defined as the swing gains momentum. In 1934 the ultra-Leftist zigzag becoming untenable after Stalinism with Social democracy had paralyzed and betrayed the German workers, the Stalinists launched their present ultra-Rightist zigzag. The idea of a Farmer-Labor Party was fetched from the shelf, dust-

ed off and again presented to the workers as a Bolshevik policy:

"While fighting for more relief, for higher wages and lower prices, the people must organize their own Farmer-Labor Party as the only trustworthy weapon against the predatory interests." (Daily Worker, November 23, 1935. Our emphasis.)

During the ultra-Leftist days the Communist workers were warned that "...the danger exists that the Party, under the elemental pressure of the petty-bourgeois masses, especially the masses of farmers, will be switched to the wrong track, in the direction of a Farmer-Labor Party" (Open Letter to All Members of the Communist Party, July 1933, p. 17).

Now, with the application of the ultra-Rightist zigzag, the Stalinist bureaucrats are trying to tie in "permanent" alliance (until the new ultra-Leftist zigzag) the advanced workers to the petty-bourgeoisie and the farmers: "...a permanent alliance, a coalition of the organized workers, farmers, and progressive people generally, in the form of a new political party—what we mean when we speak of the Farmer-Labor Party." (Earl Browder, Daily Worker, October 29, 1936. Our emphasis, L. L.)

Since the Stalinist zigzag-pendulum acquires a wider sweep with each swing, the Stalinists are speaking of drawing into their all-inclusive "mass party of toilers" even the Fascists!

"The new mass party of toilers should also strive to include sections of the sprouting fascist or partly fascist organizations and tendencies; such as company unions, American Legion posts, and groups of the Coughlin and Long movements, etc." (William Z. Foster, The Communist, October 1935.)

With the change of the zigzag the character of the reformist A. F. of L. and the trade union agents of American imperialism, Green and Lewis, also changed. Previously, viewed from the

ultra-Left angle, the A. F. of L. is a fascist organization:

"The American Federation of Labor (a reactionary, largely fascist trade union organization)....." (O. Piatnitsky, World Communists In Action, p. 12.)

"It has been a mistake on our part that we did not sooner clearly analyze and characterize the open fascism of the A. F. of L." (Thesis and Resolutions, 7th National Convention, Communist Party of the USA, April, 1930.)

But from the ultra-Rightist point of observation, the "fascist" A.F. of L. is delivering blows at Fascism:

"Blows At Fascism

"Following its condemnation of Mussolini's war against the Ethiopian people, the convention of the American Federation of Labor has struck again at fascism." (Daily Worker, October, 1935.)

John L. Lewis is of course not a fascist and never was. He is a labor agent of the coal and other trusts. In the ultra-Leftist "Third Period" days, the Stalinists did not hesitate to state the truth, that Lewis is a labor betrayer:

"John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, veteran labor betrayer, wheel horse of N.R.A." (Daily Worker, January 24, 1934.)

Today, in the ultra-Rightist period, the Stalinists are working with Lewis and Green, helping to build the "Fascist" A. F. of L.:

"Communists are helping build the trade unions of C.I.O. and A. F. of L." (Earl Browder, Daily Worker, May 27, 1938.)

Roosevelt was elected during the "Third Period" of ultra-Leftism. The evaluation of the New Deal by the Stalinists was undoubtedly correct in that part which spoke of Roosevelt's program carrying out the aggressive

war preparations of Wall Street; it was ultra-Leftist in so far as stating that Roosevelt's was a Fascist program. "A change became necessary, but in what direction? In the direction of preparations for a violent solution of the crisis by means of war and fascism. Roosevelt's new deal undertakes to incorporate this change in the policies of monopoly capital." (The Communist, January 1934, p. 83.)

"Roosevelt's 'New Deal,' supported by the A.F. of L. leaders as beneficial to the workers, and by the Socialist Party leaders as a step toward Socialism, is only the embodiment of the war and fascist program of the Wall Street bankers." (C. A. Hathaway, Daily Worker, January 6, 1934.)

The present Roosevelt regime is not fascist, but rather a screen for the Fascist preparations of American finance capital. It is of course not excluded that Roosevelt or some other chief executive of American democracy may himself become a Hitler, since the fundamental program of Fascism, as that of bourgeois democracy, is the preservation of capitalism. Some of today's "democrats," Socialists and Stalinists may conceivably be the Fascists of tomorrow. It must be borne in mind that the founder of fascism, Mussolini, was a Socialist. Oswald Mosley, a former Socialist, leads the Fascist movement in England. Former Stalinist, Doriot, is head of a Fascist organization in France. Gustave Herve, before the war a pacifist Socialist, is now a rabid Fascist, leader of the National Socialists of France.

To justify their ultra-Leftist putchist tactics the Stalinist bureaucrats accurately described Roosevelt as the servant of capitalism, and his entire spending program as a measure directed against the workers.

"Naturally, Roosevelt, as the agent and servant of the ruling finance capital clique of Wall Street tries to deceive the masses as to the true character of the budget. He seeks to envelope it in a cloud

of demagogy about 'public works' and 'recovery measures' and 'welfare' talk. Actually the budget is directed entirely against the toiling masses." (Editorial, Daily Worker, January 8, 1934.)

The Stalinists did not attempt to conceal the fact, after the congressional elections of 1934, that Roosevelt was backed by the most powerful trusts and banks and other sections of the so-called "economic royalists":

"The central feature of the elections, and the landslide for the New Deal candidates, was the almost unanimous support Roosevelt received from all ranks of the ruling class, from the big trusts, the bankers, the press, the radio and utilities interests. No matter what differences among certain sections of the bourgeoisie, the richest and most powerful groups basically supported the New Deal policies.... The mask must be ripped off the face of the New Deal." (Daily Worker, November 8, 1934.)

But the present ultra-Rightist zigzag was already on the way. In the presidential elections of 1936 Browder ordered his followers to "Defeat Landon at all costs"—the implication of giving support to Roosevelt was obvious. A year and a half more of the ultra-Rightist course and Browder is openly backing "the agent and servant of the ruling finance capital clique of Wall Street."

In 1934 Roosevelt's imperialist war aims were unfalteringly pointed out by the Stalinists and the demagogy of pacifism with which the military preparations were embroidered was laid bare:

"With lightning speed Roosevelt is building the navy, army and air forces of Wall Street to plunge this country, into a new bloody, criminal imperialist war in an effort to solve the capitalist crisis and redivide the world plunder.... A campaign of the foulest jingoism, well-ended with the usual pacifist

... is about to be opened up, to stir up the war spirit for American imperialism. The dominant note will be 'peace.' 'Military preparedness' will be put forward as a guarantee of 'peace.'" (Daily Worker, February 3, 1934.)

The present zigzag has witnessed the Stalinists giving additional "peace" cover to the already heavily veiled war preparations of the United States imperialists. Browder declares that "Our Tenth Convention will call upon the United States to take the initiative in organizing world peace" (For Peace and Democracy, The Daily Worker, May 26, 1938).

Early after the proletarian revolution in Russia every one of the present top leaders of the Stalinist party accepted, hypocritically, as we know now, Lenin's simple explanation of bourgeois democracy, that it is a trap to keep the toiling masses in perpetual capitalist slavery. Here is for example what Max Bedacht, an outstanding Stalinist leader, wrote then of American democracy:

"The dictatorship in Russia is bold and upright class rule, which has as its ultimate object the abolition of all class rule and all dictatorships. Our democracy, on the other hand, is a Pecksniffian Dictatorship, is hypocrisy incarnate, promising all liberty in phrases, but in reality even penalizing free thinking, consistently working only for one object; to perpetuate the rule of the capitalist class, the capitalist dictatorship." (Max Bedacht, Forward to Trotsky's "Dictatorship Vs. Democracy," pp. V, VI.)

Another foremost leader of the Stalinist party, Wm. Z. Foster, stated that:

"Democracy under the capitalist system is a set of forms to mask the dictatorship of the capitalist class..." (The Workers Monthly, November 1924, p. 9.)

This position, on paper, of

course, was adhered to by the Stalinists throughout all the years preceding the Seventh Congress in 1935. Being that Stalinism had only recently emerged out of the October revolution, the ultra-Rightist swings of 1923 and of 1924-1929 were not wide enough to include brazen distortions of Lenin's teachings on the capitalist State.

The rise of Fascism was due, the Stalinists admitted, to the fact that bourgeois democracy was not overthrown by the workers in time, that the workers fell victim to the mortal illusion that bourgeois democracy would stop fascism. At the Eighth Convention of the Stalinist Party Browder attacked the Socialist Party for its support to bourgeois democracy which clears the path for Fascism:

"Thus does the Socialist Party and trade union officialdom, to the extent that the workers follow them, tie the working class to the chariot wheels of a capitalist democracy, which is being transformed into fascism, paralyze their resistance, deliver them over to fascism bound and helpless."

This of course did not prevent Browder, only a brief period afterward, from speaking of the necessity of organic unity with the Socialists:

"To the degree that we successfully achieve unity of action with the Socialists, for the building of the Farmer-Labor Party, and for the immediate current struggles of the masses for their economic and political interests, for the fight against Fascism and war, to that degree we are opening up perspectives for the organic unity of Socialists and Communists in one revolutionary party of Socialism." (Daily Worker, October 6, 1935. Our emphasis. L.L.)

That today the Stalinist top leaders are consciously and deliberately paralyzing the proletariat through support of capitalist democracy so that the bourgeoisie can prepare its Fascist change, as in Spain, as in

France, as in Mexico, as in the United States, is clear. They know that historically humanity faces the choice of Communism or continuation of capitalism along Fascist lines. I. Amter, prior to the Seventh Congress, wrote these true words about the real aim of the Roosevelt administration:

"In face of the prolonged world economic crisis and the rapidly developing basic crisis of capitalism; and in face of the intense struggle of the masses of the toiling population to protect themselves from the ravages of the crisis, the real aim was to introduce measures that would protect capitalism from collapse. 'Capitalism or Communism' is admittedly the issue. Capitalism in its 'democratic' form cannot protect itself so readily. Therefore 'democracy' is being thrown to the winds, and steps toward fascism are taking its place.

"In Europe, fascism has already been established in several countries. In the United States this is one of the real purposes of the N.R.A." (I. Amter, Daily Worker, January 20, 1934.)

It is absolutely true that capitalism can no longer protect itself through the "democratic" form of rule. As the crisis continues, it must seek protection in Fascism.

The Stalinists showed, correctly, that fascism will gradually grow more conscious of its aims and duties to capitalism, and that Roosevelt, like Dolfuss in Austria, like Azana in Spain, like every other head of the bourgeois democratic regime, will permit Fascism to prepare, will, if the need arises, even install Fascism in office, as did von Hindenburg, the republican president of Germany who swore allegiance to the democratic Weimar Constitution and on that basis was supported by German Social Democracy. The Stalinists recognized all this during the "Third Period":

"As fascism grows more conscious, Roosevelt will make one concession after another, as did Dolfuss in

Austria, to the fascists, until he is converted to the whole program. Has history no lessons to teach us, especially history as fresh as that of only yesterday?" (Michael Gold, Daily Worker, January 9, 1934.)

In short, support of bourgeois democracy means precisely that — prevention of proletarian revolution, a free hand for the bourgeoisie to shift its rule from "democracy" to Fascism.

Today Fascism is definitely on the American horizon. In the coming period the issue that will be settled by the social and political forces will be Communism, meaning by that the overthrow of capitalism and the formation of a Workers' government to lead society toward Communism, or the continuation of capitalist slavery along the Hitler lines. Historically and fundamentally there is no other issue before humanity today. The Stalinist bureaucrats, fully aware of the possibility of proletarian revolution which would shatter their grip upon the Russian toilers, are working like beavers attaching the proletarian vanguard to capitalism. Profiting immensely by the fact that there is very little Leninist exposure, Stalinism goes further in its Rightward swing than reformism. To poison the workers' mind that they may in the next war give their lives in the interests of American imperialism, Stalinism is reviving Wilson's fraud of "war for democracy." The Stalinist bureaucrats are placing a wreath at the "peace" shrine of the bourgeoisie:

"Homage to Americans who died fighting for freedom and democracy and those now fighting to keep Spain free was paid yesterday by delegates to the 10th National Convention of the Communist Party, who placed a wreath at the Eternal Light in Madison Square Park." (Daily Worker, May 31, 1938.)

The treacherous Stalinists are now defending the capitalist Constitution and are masking the Roosevelt regime, which is but a tool of the powerful banks and monopolies, with the hypocritical cloak of "democracy." They are

falsely portraying the American petty-bourgeoisie, always an impotent follower of finance capital, as "democratic" forces that will "stop" the Morgans and Henry Fords from imposing a Fascist-military strait-jacket upon the American working class. The Stalinist bureaucrats are paving the way for Fascism in America, as they paved the way for Fascism in Germany, Austria, Spain and are doing in France. The basic lesson for the entire post-Leninist epoch, the epoch of Stalinism, is that if Stalinism is permitted to continue misleading the proletarian vanguard, Fascism in America is a certainty.

THE INDIRECT OPPORTUNIST ASSISTANTS OF STALINISM AND THE BOURGEOISIE

It goes without saying that Social democracy, doing its share of counter-revolutionary work, helps Stalinism and capitalism. But it is the tendencies that claim to be Leninist that are of greatest assistance to Stalinism.

To a considerable degree Stalin's eminent success in reaching his goal of concentrating tremendous power in his hands and of destroying one revolution after another is due to the objective assistance of Trotsky, Lovestone and many other former leaders of the Comintern. Their opportunist angling for unity with Stalin; their long and persistent spreading of false hopes among the workers whom Stalin was grooming for Fascist butcheries; designation of Stalinist betrayals as "mistakes" — all this has worked into Stalin's hands and into the hands of world imperialism.

The Trotskyist and the Lovestoneites avoid the policy of opening up a Leninist offensive against Stalinism with a view to rooting out this dreadful force of betrayal from the midst of the workingclass. Genuine exposure of Stalinism on the part of Trotsky or Lovestone, revelation of the damning facts attendant upon its rise would entail a startling self-exposure. The curtains of the authentic history of Stalinism must never be parted. Unable

to turn sharply upon Stalinism, the removal of which is the central issue within the proletariat, both the Lovestoneites and the Trotskyites, to go on living politically, divert the eyes of their followers to the "masses," meanwhile preaching revolution in general. Both, on certain questions, drag at the tails of Stalinism, Social Democracy and the trade union agents of the capitalist class.

Everyone familiar with Lenin's principles knows that support in any form to a capitalist government, even the most democratic capitalist government, is a betrayal of the proletariat. The Lovestoneites know that. Nevertheless, in sharp contrast with Leninism, they quite openly aid American imperialism by urging the workers to support some "features" of the Roosevelt program:

"Labor should support the 'spending' features of the Roosevelt program without ignoring the fact that this program is neither adequate nor, by any stretch of the imagination, a program of recovery."
(Workers Age, editorial, May 14, 1938.)

This quite obviously is an advocacy of class collaboration, promotion of a policy of attaching the workers to the bourgeoisie and not of revolutionary class struggle against the capitalists. Curiously enough, previous to the Stalinist ultra-Rightist turn, the Lovestoneites, trailing their savage parent, rejected in toto Roosevelt's New Deal with all its "features."

Lovestoneism rivets the workers to capitalism not with a thousand chains, only with a half dozen or so. It uses the medium of some reformist union, some labor agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers camp. The Lovestoneites spread the fraudulent illusion that the opportunist A.F. of L., C.I.O. and other pro-capitalist trade unions, united in a "Grand Council of Labor" (Lovestone's proposal), would "weld the forces of the organized workers for common struggle against employing-class reaction" (Workers Age, April 30, 1938, p.8). In supporting the agencies of the Americ-

an bourgeoisie within the workingclass and the Roosevelt palliatives which are designed to cure and perpetuate wage slavery, the Lovestones, objectively, help finance capital to prepare the change of rule from "democracy" to Fascism.

But the most important way in which the Lovestoneites and the Trotskyites serve the interests of reaction is through their covering up of the role of the Stalinist scourge within the workingclass. They act as lightning rods for Stalinism. Both the Trotskyites and the Lovestoneites hypocritically pretend to fight Stalinism. There is a mutual amnesty between Trotsky and Lovestone, tacitly agreed upon, covering the early period of Stalinization of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, when Trotsky and Lovestone acted as stirrup-holders of Stalin. Trotsky's resentment against the Lovestoneites starts at a later date, after his expulsion from the Soviet Union. As to Lovestone, his attacks against Trotsky were, up to the Bukharin trial, in line with Stalin's. Lovestone not only never criticised but actually hushed up the real, not the imaginary, post-Leninist opportunism of Trotsky: Trotsky's refusal to fight for the removal of Stalin, Trotsky's brazen disavowal of Lenin's testament, his capitulatory abandonment of the post of power, his shameful political holiday of 1924-26, — all Trotsky's wretched policies that worked for Stalin and Social democracy, facilitating the Fascist enslavement of one section of the international workingclass after another. Lovestone never fought Trotsky along Leninist lines because he himself is guilty of much the same pro-Stalinist opportunism.

Caught in the net of their own making, the Trotskyite and the Lovestoneite leaders do their utmost to circumvent the question of clarity regarding the origin and the development of Stalinism. What is Stalinism, when did it arise, how does it operate to stop the revolution? Not one of them will designate the years 1921-1922 as the date when the corner-stone of the

system of bureaucratic centralism of the first workers' State was laid. Neither Trotsky nor Lovestone have ever stated definitely at what point of post-October history Stalin broke with Marxism. The Trotskyites for years spoke of three currents of Communism, Stalin being the "center," and even today speak of the "Stalinist brand of Communism" (Socialist Appeal, May 7, 1938). The Lovestoneites as a rule call Stalinism "Official Communism." The Lovestoneites mix Bolshevism with Stalinism when they write "Official communism has abandoned its original revolutionary character" (Workers Age, April 30, 1938). So that the workers should get one of the two confusing notions: either that Lenin's Bolshevism became "opportunist" or the present "official Communism" that is Stalinism, was at one time revolutionary.

It is not always easy to determine which of the two, the Lovestoneites or the Trotskyites, are doing more damage to the workingclass at certain moments of history. The Trotskyites' method of disarming the workers ideologically differs of course from that of the Lovestoneites in various respects.

The Trotskyites tie the workers to the "progressive" opportunists like Homer Martin. In many ways they hide the truth and distort reality. For instance. One can hardly fail to note that the American proletariat, confused and demoralized has seldom shown as little militancy as on this last May Day. The workers do not yet realize that class collaboration is a noose around their necks, that People's Frontism is the ultra-Rightist trap laid down by Stalin's Seventh Congress. Certainly if anything is sorely lacking within the American workingclass it is clarity. But the Trotskyites declare unblushingly:

"Never before" said Maurice Spector, co-editor of the New International and main speaker of the evening, 'has the American workingclass been more militant, more aggressively on the march. Never before have the appalling results of class-collaboration, or People's

Frontism been more clear to the masses." (Socialist Appeal, May 7, 1938.)

The words above are nothing but lies and fakery. Such chloroform works for Stalinism and for opportunism in general because it strengthens the deception that the workers are well armed ideologically to face the terrible danger confronting them.

* * * * *

There are a few more opportunist tendencies which profess to embrace Leninism but avoid a determined struggle against Stalinism. Most of these tendencies — one headed by Hugo Oehler, the other by Tom Stamm, the third by B. J. Field — are Left Trotskyists, white-washing Trotsky's pre-French Turn opportunism as "mistakes." They naively believe that a new Leninist party can be built by avoiding a head-on collision with Stalinism, Trotskyism, Lovestoneism. They are in search of a "direct" road to the masses, not realizing that all the roads are closely guarded by that monstrous, consciously counter-revolutionary power whose seat is in the Kremlin Palace. They have not yet perceived that Stalinism is not some sort of opportunist force of the old days, like Anarchism or Social Democracy which usually practice "live and let live." They do not read in the tragic story of the P.O.U.M. a terrible lesson. Impervious, they refuse to recognize that history with iron realism urges a mighty, well-organized exposure of Stalinism, its amputation from the proletariat, on peril of a raging disaster and assassination either by Stalinism or Fascism. The failure to grasp this persistent truth makes them the unconscious protectors of Stalinism and objective saboteurs of a struggle against it. Nor have they an understanding of what Stalinism is, imagining it to be either Centrism or reformism — a Trotskyist or semi-Trotskyist definition. They do not see the bureaucratic centralization process in the Soviet Union, the steady rise of the pyramid which sustains Stalin, the consistent zigzag method Stalin and his gang are employing within the world proletariat to crack every revolutionary situation

transforming it into a counter-revolutionary one. They refuse to awaken to the fact that while they are "participating directly in the class struggle" Stalin is advancing at a terrific pace into the masses. They forget the entire history of the revolutionary movement, that Marx, Engels, Lenin never indulged in empty and harmful dreams of creating a new vanguard but with all their might struggled to wrest the historically developed vanguard from the clutches of the opportunists (Lenin from the Mensheviks and S.R.'s). The Left-Trotskyists, in their political myopia, fail to observe the reason for the magic power of Stalinism.

Stalinism is the mightiest reactionary force within the international proletariat, and consequently within the American working class. It is far more influential than all the other opportunist currents, occupying a position far stronger than Social democracy ever occupied at any stage in its long career.

This is due not only to Stalin's ingenuity in manipulating his power, and not so much to the virtually limitless resources provided by the toil of the Russian masses, enabling Stalinism to make use of the radio, theatres, hire prostituted speakers, journalists and artists of superb skill, stage elaborate parades and entertainments. It is due to the fact that Stalinism in the eyes of the Leftward-going uninformed workers symbolizes the movement that struck off the shackles of Tzarism and capitalism in Russia. It surpasses anything that has been heretofore conceived and achieved in the distortion of Marxism. Essentially it derives its immeasurable authority and colossal power of gaining the confidence of great numbers of workers from the extremely significant fact that it is in control of the first proletarian State. It constantly poses as Leninism and proudly points to the only successful overthrow of the bourgeoisie for which it claims credit. It has at its command the martial glory of the Red Army — the first army of proletarian revolution, now with very little Red left

in it, thoroughly distorted in purpose and structure. Since the genesis of Stalinism is shrouded in obscurity and its essence—bureaucratic centralization of the first workers' State — and the methods it pursues to maintain itself in ascendancy (frame-ups, bewildering mixture of falsehoods and truths, ultra-Left and ultra-Right snares for the international proletariat) are not generally understood and have not been widely exposed, the agents of Stalin with relative ease are succeeding in trapping thousands of American workers — the stratum that is pushed to the Left under the pressure of the crisis.

It is not at all a matter of numbers. Were the Stalinist organization small in relation to that of the Social democrats, or of the Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, etc., it would still be the chief enemy within the proletariat. Stalinism is capable of mushroom growth, particularly during the maturing of the revolutionary situation. The best example is Spain. There the Stalinist party had only 900 members when the revolution began. It ballooned into a huge force, and the other opportunist organizations either lined up in support of the Stalinist policies or were crushed by Stalinism.

The number of victims in the Stalinist trap in America has grown from seven thousand to about seventy thousand inside of a decade. Bubbling with lusty energy, Stalinism goes on trapping guileless victims, ever broadening the range of its activities. If no substantial force arises in time to stop and weed out Stalinism then, as the political atmosphere becomes heated in America, the Stalinist "party" will reach a half million mark and over. It may be too late then.

When the Fascists and the "democratic" bourgeoisie depict the counter-revolutionary Stalinists as Reds and Bolsheviks, that only plays into the hands of Stalin and the bourgeoisie itself. The heavy veneer of Red deceives the workers into believing that Stalinism is Bolshevism and holds them back from seeking the true Bolsheviks. The bourgeois writers, however, do not

limit Red paint to Stalinists alone. They quite generously apply the brush to the Trotskyites as well. "The Trotskyites and the Stalinites are engaged in a needless quarrel over the most effective methods to bring about the world revolution" (Anne O'Hare McCormick, New York Times, May 21, 1938).

The sincere revolutionists who burn with the desire to arrest the advance of reaction, who seek to turn the tide toward revolution, must realize that the first task is to wrest the most advanced elements from the clutches of opportunism. When the Third International was already launched and the Second International was in a state of disintegration, Lenin wrote:

"The proletarian vanguard has been ideologically won over. This is the most important thing. Without this, we cannot take even the first step towards victory..... The first historical task (viz., that of winning over the class conscious vanguard of the proletariat to the side of the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the working class) could not be accomplished without a complete ideological and political victory over opportunism and social-chauvinism... (Lenin, Left Wing Communism.)

And only when this first task is accomplished can the revolutionists seriously entertain the second problem, that of reaching the wide, backward masses of workers and farmers to marshal them for the revolutionary struggle against their exploiters.

Some workers having themselves broken with Stalinism, Trotskyism or other pseudo-Marxism, upon looking around, in face of the magnitude of the tasks, are apt to become discouraged. Apathy and discouragement must be fought mercilessly for they are enemies of the proletariat and serve the interests of reaction. The task of awakening the vanguard to independent thinking must be pursued with relentless vigor. War of exposure against opportunism in general and Stalinism

in particular is immensely difficult - far more difficult than the utopian short cuts to the "masses" proposed by groups such as the Revolutionary Workers League. For a tiny handful of revolutionists to act as if they be a party and to pursue an illusory policy of "direct participation in the class struggle" in the face of huge opportunist obstacles which effectively block every avenue to the masses is in reality to shun the road to the masses and to the revolution.

The general cry Stalinism has now raised is "To the masses!" The line of the true Leninists must be "Win the vanguard from the opportunists!" so that Stalinism may be prevented from reaching the masses! The revolutionists who adopt the policy of life-and-death struggle for the vanguard in order actually to open the path to the masses realize that there is no guarantee of an early victory. One should not be unreasonably optimistic, but if victory is possible at all in this period of world history, this is the only road. And even if the struggle will be a long one, and worse, even if

Stalinism with the aid of the other opportunist forces will, after all, succeed in dragging also the American masses into the hell of Fascism, these revolutionists will place themselves on record as having **had the courage and sincerity to challenge the most formidable opportunist malady that ever ravaged the international proletariat.**

Once again — Is there a danger of Fascism in America? Without the slightest doubt there is. Can America escape the fate of Germany? Only if the vanguard of the proletariat is delivered from the death-grip of Stalinism, Trotskyism, Lovestoneism and other, less powerful snares. Divided organizationally and politically the various opportunists are fairly united in purpose. Over the dead bodies of all pseudo-Marxist tendencies, and above all, over the dead body of the Stalinist machine of counter-revolution can the American proletariat, leading the exploited farmers, the Negroes and other oppressed, advance towards its historical goal.

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IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM

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No. 1 - THE RIGHT AND THE WRONG WAY TO DEFEND THE VICTIMS OF STALINIST
F R A M E - U P S

* * *

No. 2 - BEHIND THE BETRAYAL IN SPAIN

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No. 3 - TROTSKY'S "FIGHT" AGAINST STALIN AND OEHLEH'S "FIGHT" AGAINST
T R O T S K Y

* * *

No. 4 - 1) AROUND THE BLOODY PURGE (a. On the Nature of the Stalinist
Reaction; b. Trotskyism and the Purge; c. Lovestone and the Purge)
2) WHY THEY DID NOT REPLY

* * *

No. 5 - S P A I N - (I. Stalinism, Social Democracy and the Betrayal of
the Spanish Masses; II. Trotskyism and the Betrayal of the Spanish
Masses; III. Lovestone and the Spanish Betrayal.)

* * *

O P P O R T U N I S M
A N D
T H E L E A G U E O F N A T I O N S

WHEN THE IMPERIALIST ROBBERS got done with their first world butchery they organized a body, naming it "The League of Nations." To lead the bleeding and starving masses into believing that hereafter the capitalist powers would no longer resort to arms but would have the League of Nations adjust their differences, the new imperialist institution was enthusiastically depicted by the cunning bourgeois writers as a shrine of peace and a temple of international justice. Facts have laid bare this anti-workingclass fraud. In reality the League of Nations is a heavy screen decorated with painted white doves, concealing the predatory imperialists who brutally and shamelessly haggle over colonies and other booty. Especially does the League of Nations serve the bourgeoisie as an instrument against Communism and for the suppression of the colonial slaves.

The record of the League of Nations, to date, is black and bloody. Among its first acts of counter-revolution was the savage destruction of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The inhuman blockade of the tormented Russian Soviet Republic during the excruciating period of imperialist intervention and civil war was directed by the League of Nations. It was this foul assembly of capitalist brigands that in 1920 organized the Polish army for the treacherous leap upon the throat of the Soviet Republic and dispatched French troops to aid the Polish landlords and capitalists in the battle of Warsaw. The wholesale slaughter of thousands of wretched Jews in Poland and Ukraine, used as a means to divert the workers and peasants from Bolshovism, was carried out with the connivance of the League of Nations. Under the sign of this instrument of

"peace" and "justice" the French imperialists overpowered and enslaved the Moroccans, with uncommon ferocity suppressed the Syrian movement for independence and waded in the blood of the natives of Indo-China. While the chattering diplomats at Geneva held out false hope of peace and justice, the British and American naval guns poured fire and death upon Nanking, murdering over 10,000 peaceful and unarmed people; imperialist Japan invaded Manchuria and other parts of China; Mussolini raped Ethiopia; Hitler seized Austria, and is making ready for Czechoslovakia.

In the international talk-shop at Geneva the sinister business of frantic preparations for a new imperialist redivision of the world is shrewdly thrown into the shade by means of flowery oratory about disarmament; and the impending bloody nightmare of universal destruction and death is hypocritically veiled with cunning phrases about "humanizing warfare."

In the course of the accumulation of the mass of illuminating evidence which tells conclusively of the arch-reactionary nature of the League of Nations, there has been presented a unique opportunity of revolutionists to expose the workings of this body. Even before it fully unfolded its perfidious activity, Lenin, with his customary keenness and all the fervor of a revolutionist organically hating every shrewd device for deadening the workers' consciousness, tore the cloak of moral rectitude from this council of plunder. With his usual directness of manner Lenin named it "The Thieves' Kitchen at Geneva," and a "pack of wild beasts," to indicate the essence of this imperialist machine. Lenin and the leaders of the early Comintern made an important contribution in the

interest of the proletariat through their work of clearing the Social democratic and bourgeois clutter and confusion and lies regarding the League of Nations. They warned the workers against placing a modicum of faith and confidence in this new Holy Alliance of the imperialists:

"Under the name of 'League of Nations' the joy of social-patriots and social-opportunists, the great Powers, especially France, simply intend to redivide the world, according to their greed and insatiable appetite. The League of Nations is a new Holy Alliance of capitalists against proletarians and revolution. And the newly formed Communist International was perfectly right in pointing out the dangerousness of this weapon in the hands of the social-traitors, who strive to split the proletarian forces and help the imperialistic counter-revolutionaries." (The Communist International, No. 1, p.71.)

For some years the Stalinized Comintern did not venture to distort the Leninist concept of the League of Nations. In December 1925, in his report to the Fourteenth Congress of the already bureaucratized Communist Party, Stalin said:

"The leaders of the Second International do their utmost to persuade the workers that Locarno is an instrument of peace, that the League of Nations is a shrine of peace...." (Leninism, p. 365.)

"That is why we do not want to join the League of Nations. For the League of Nations is an organization designed to mask preparations for war." (Ibid., p. 381.)

And about two years afterward, in "Questions and Answers" (Imprecorr, Vol.7, #66, November 24, 1927, p. 381) Stalin still spoke the Leninist language when he declared:

"The Soviet Union is not prepared to become a part of that camouflage for imperialist machinations repre-

sented by the League of Nations. The League is the rendezvous of the imperialist leaders who settle their business there behind the scenes. The subject about which the League speaks officially, are nothing but empty phrases intended to deceive the workers."

Within the confines of the ultra-Right and ultra-Left zigzags of the Stalinist line,

the correct view of the League of Nations was presented to the workers in unaltered form. Thus in the days of the ultra-Right zigzag:

"The fight against the danger of imperialist wars between capitalist states and imperialist wars against the U.S.S.R. must be conducted systematically from day to day. It will be impossible to conduct this fight without exposing pacifism, which under present conditions, is an important instrument in the hands of the imperialists for their preparations for war and for concealing these preparations. It will be impossible to carry on this struggle without exposing the 'League of Nations' which is the principal instrument of imperialist pacifism." (Thesis on the International Situation, adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, 1928.)

And during the wildest phase of the "Third Period":

"There is today no greater danger than to proceed from the mistaken assumptions that the widest masses already know that the League of Nations consists of outspoken representatives of the imperialist warmongers, that the League of Nations is an imperialist swindle, that pacifism is a deception, that the II International is an organ of the bourgeoisie for the preparation of war. These truths must first be proven before the masses on the grounds of the facts and the contrast between words and deeds." (The Communist International, No. 4-5, March 1932, pp. 135-136.)

The open thrust against Leninism on the evaluation of the League of Nations occurred at the early stage of the present ultra-Right zigzag, approximately at the time Stalin was negotiating an alliance with French imperialism. And by 1936, after he had made the Soviet Union a member of the Holy Alliance of counter-revolution, he brazenly spoke the language of the social patriots and of other agents of imperialism:

"I believe that the position of the friends of peace is strengthening. The friends of peace are able to work in the open. They base themselves upon the force of public opinion. They have at their disposal such instruments as, for instance, the League of Nations. This is to the advantage of the friends of peace." ("Stalin-Howard Interview," Daily Worker, March 6, 1936. Our emphasis - L.L.)

This mendacious statement was made by the bureaucratic usurper at the very moment when Fascist Italy, a member of the League of Nations, was driving its stiletto into the throat of the prostrate Ethiopia, another member of the League.

Stalin's historical collaboration with the world bourgeoisie in carrying out their mutual task of stifling the revolutionary forces within capitalism has been brought to an official handshake at Geneva. Here the bourgeoisified "Bolshevik" Litvinov joined with the silk-hatted rogues in contemptible performances. With alacrity the corrupt renegade has been rendering inestimable services to the cause of reaction:

"Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Foreign Commissar, performed two distasteful tasks today as President of the Council of the League. In the morning he announced adoption of the Refugee Commission's report urging aid for White Russians, enemies of the Communists. In the afternoon he delivered a eulogy of the late Marshal Josef Pilsudski, of Poland, who repulsed the Bolsheviks in 1920 and was hated by the Russians."

The world bourgeoisie of course never lacked for glib-tongued agents to throw dust into the eyes of the toiling masses. But how much more convincing deception and duplicity become when in practicing them the bourgeoisie secures so priceless an ally as the Soviet bureaucracy which puts forth upon the diplomatic arena of Europe an intellectual pervert of first water, the crafty "Comrade" Maxim Litvinov! This, of course, made the task of exposing the League of Nations more difficult.

Moreover, this capitalist-Stalinist institution draws strength from yet another direction. Victims of international reaction - China, Ethiopia, the Jews - through their appeals to the "pack of wild beasts" and Stalin's man Friday at Geneva, only strengthen the deception that this body is exercising moral jurisdiction over the questions of right and wrong. The League of Nations has an acute sense of imperialist interests. Stalinist representatives in the League promote the interests of Stalin and of his bureaucratic pyramid in the Soviet Union. It is quite an explainable phenomenon that the despairing victims of the imperialists are unaware that in reality they are appealing to their despoilers and betrayers and are only strengthening their enemies. But it is really tragic, and to many people quite inexplicable, that Trotsky turns towards Geneva for "justice."

For many years Trotsky's attitude towards the League of Nations never differed from Lenin's. As late as 1934 the Trotskyites voiced the need of shattering the moral authority of this hypocrisy-soaked institution. "Suddenly" Trotsky's attitude has made an amazing departure from the past. After vainly appealing to Stalin to review the frame-ups and introduce Soviet democracy (Trotsky's cable to the "Central Committee" of the "Communist Party" of the Soviet Union, June 1937), Trotsky has now claimed in with the broken-down liberals and petty-bourgeois idealists who address their melancholy supplications to the bandits at Geneva, keeping green poisonous delusions and misconceptions. Trotsky has ap-

pealed to the imperialist-Stalinist "Thieves' Kitchen" that it bring Stalin to justice! Pathetic and sickening indeed.

That Haile Selassie, with the final gesture of despair, pleaded for his lost cause before the Council of the League, one can understand. A petty oppressor himself, he had no place to go for "justice," certainly not to the proletariat. The hypocrites, euphemistically styled representatives of nations, listened to his speech, but nearly half of the governments members of the League had already accorded recognition to Mussolini's conquest. But Trotsky appealing to Stalin's friends, asking that Litvinov arrange to hail Stalin before the tribunal of the League of Nations — this is not absurd, not childish, no — this is tragic and pitiful.

Why does Trotsky lean upon liberals like Dewey, Suzanne LaFollette and others who publicly express their hostility to Bolshevism, that is, to the proletariat? Why does he appeal now to Stalin's "Central Committee," now to the League of Nations, now to world "public" opinion? Why not to the working class? Because fundamentally Trotsky broke with the working class in 1922 when he rejected Lenin's policy of fighting for the removal of Stalin. Because after Lenin's death he pursued a definite policy of adaptation to Stalin's bureaucratic regime (Refusal to support Lenin on Georgian question in 1922, silence during the campaign against "Trotskyism" in 1923 and 1924, his political holiday 1924-1926—see IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM #3). Because Trotsky deceived the international proletariat when he stated that "all talk with regard to Lenin's will is a despicable lie." Because Trotsky, up to his exile from the Soviet Union, one of the best informed people as to what was taking place behind the official scenes of the Party and the Comintern, deliberately and criminally concealed from the workers the dreadful fact that the power in the first proletarian State was bureaucratically usurped by a clique headed by Stalin. Because against the interests of the international working class he defended

the Usurper Stalin from exposure. Because year in and year out Trotsky spread deadly nonsense of the possibility of Stalin returning to Leninism.

Because through this policy of "correcting" Stalin Trotsky helped to attach the uninformed and deluded Communist workers to Stalinism and in that manner assisted the Stalinists in betraying the German, Austrian and Spanish workers (see IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM Nos. 3 and 5). Because in 1934 Trotsky widened the breach between himself and the revolutionary proletariat through the abandonment of the Leninist position on Social Democracy. In concrete policy Trotsky turns more and more towards the enemies of the workers, the liberals, and not to the proletariat, because Trotsky bears a large share of responsibility for the agony of the Russian and world working class. Through his opportunist policy of "peace and reconciliation" with Stalinist renegadism (see his letter to Muralov on the Eastman exposure), Trotsky, in a historical sense, assisted the Stalinist clique to cut his own throat and the throat of the world proletariat. If in 1917 Trotsky could with relative ease break with his wrong position on defeatism and Left Centrism, he cannot in 1938 so lightly dispose of the huge mass of opportunist baggage he has been accumulating since 1922. To fight Stalin in a REAL way Trotsky would have to tell the entire story of the rise of Stalinism. An admission would have to be made of his own anti-Leninist part in the tragedy of the degeneration of the post-Leninist leadership of the Soviet Union and the Comintern. It would be unavoidable for him to admit openly and frankly that his policy of "correcting" Stalin, instead of conflicting, actually dove-tailed with Stalin's aims. Trotsky would be impelled, once he resolved to return to Leninism, to renounce his opportunist evaluation of Social Democracy. He would have to terminate the spread of his confusion and contradictions about Stalinism and Social Democracy. In short, Trotsky would have to reject and repudiate his political life of the entire 1922-1938 period! By now, however, it is fairly clear that Trotsky will never take

this path — the only path to the Leninist position. In consequence of his inability and unwillingness to dissolve his cruel contradiction, Trotsky, although remarkably active, is hopelessly at sea as to how to defend himself against Stalin's terror. Every-one of his moves, calculated as a blow to Stalin, curiously enough produces the very opposite effect. It serves Stalin and through Stalin international reaction.

Let us look at Trotsky's "realism" a little more closely. Usurper Stalin is the omnipotent ruler of the Soviet Union. He enjoys immense personal power, at the same time he pursues the sinister business of preventing the establishment of another workers State. In this respect his interests and those of the world bourgeoisie fully coincide. He needs the bourgeoisie, but still more the bourgeoisie needs him. No longer do the imperialists play an independent role in the matter of holding back the international proletariat. More and more do they rely upon Stalin. Doubtless they have by now recognized, perhaps a few whispered words from the Stalinist diplomats made it concrete, that Stalin, to appear before the masses as a Bolshevik, had need of a target. The target is Trotsky. It is not difficult to surmise on whose side the imperialists, who are callous to the injustice and horrors imperialism and Stalinism create, range themselves.

Now as for Litvinov's power to bring Stalin to trial. Adored by the voracious bureaucracy Stalin is in possession of all the armed forces of the State. Litvinov, on the other hand, is an important flunkey crawling on his servile belly before the terrible Stalin. It is only a matter of his Master's word that this worm's life will be snuffed out in the basement of the Lubyanka. We can conclude with good reason that to Stalin, and to the heads of the powerful international banks and trusts, Litvinov's high-sounding orations and the spirited debates in the Council of the League are just so much laughing gas. And as to Litvinov's proposal to the imperialists to

extradite terrorists, one must be in a haze not to realize that the aim is to strengthen Stalin and promote on the basis of new frame-ups a legal delivery of Stalin's political opponents within the world proletariat into his bloody claws.

This is clear to Leninists, not to Trotsky. The matter is extremely serious especially because confusion and apathy obtain within the chaotically split-up proletariat. A strenuous effort must be made to explain to the workers the cunning machinations of Litvinov and his imperialist collaborators, for the workers themselves have no ready ability to distinguish plain dealing and truth from sham and intrigue. And precisely in this hour of the greatest obscurity of truth and terrific pressure of bourgeois and Stalinist lies upon the minds of the workers, Trotsky adds a prop to the tottering authority of the bourgeois-Stalinist League of Nations. He seeks to establish truth and justice through the juridical section of this house of organized villainy. We quote a portion of Trotsky's letter to the League:

"With the help of documents, testimony of witnesses and irrefutable political considerations I take it upon myself to prove what PUBLIC OPINION has been in no doubt of for some time; that is, that the head of this criminal band is Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the All-Union Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

Inasmuch as the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Litvinov, has very eloquently insisted upon the necessity for governments to mutually obligate themselves to extradite terrorists, he, WE CAN HOPE, will not refuse to employ his influence to place the above-mentioned Joseph Stalin, as head of the international terrorist band, at the disposal of the tribunal under the League of Nations.

For my part, I am ready to place all my energy, information, documents and personal connections at the disposal of the tribunal in or-

der that the TRUTH MAY BE FULLY DISCLOSED." (Stalin's Trial As a Terrorist Demanded of League by Trotsky," Socialist Appeal, April 23, 1938. Our emphasis.)

Trotsky's opportunist hangers-on, the Cannons, Shachtmans and Spectors, obligingly print his disgraceful piece of opportunism without a word of criticism or comment. They only introduce a slight distortion of the tone of Trotsky's plea to the "Thieves' Kitchen." By means of a subtle little trick they try to make it appear that there is an element of "struggle" in Trotsky's shameful document. Above his message to the League they tacked a headline saying that Trotsky "demanded" Stalin's trial. In reading the letter, however, one meets with Trotsky's humble "I had the honor of appealing to you," "I had the honor of bringing to the attention of your section," "I have the right to plead for an examination of my case....." etc.

This self-revealing document allows no two interpretations. It testifies to the gigantic momentum of the tragic bankruptcy of the former leader of the Red Army and an outstanding figure in the October Revolution.

The Shachtmans and Cannons cover up Trotsky's inflexible progression down the ruts of opportunism because he is their established trade mark. By helping Stalin and the bourgeoisie to cloth the League of Nations with authority which gives it power to command universal attention, Trotsky's opport-

unist hangers-on are aiding those who strive to bring stark blindness to the minds of the toiling masses. But those who remain true to Bolshevism will reject the shabby, tactful "Bolshevism" of Trotsky. Reviving the Red spirit of October, of the revolutionary period of the Third International, true Bolsheviks will work with all their might to dispel the nauseous gases exuded by opportunism. They will tell the workers that never can they expect that "the truth may be fully disclosed" at the tribunal of the League of Nations. Some day truth will be disclosed in full — and not about Stalin alone but also about Trotsky's contribution to the building up of the Stalinist monster. It will be disclosed at the revolutionary tribunal of the international proletariat — the only institution where real justice can and will be established.

Revolutionary workers will emphatically condemn and fight against Trotsky's silly and harmful nonsense of urging Litvinov, through the League of Nations, "to employ his influence to place the above mentioned Joseph Stalin" on trial before Stalin's imperialist friends. Only by waging an unceasing, merciless struggle against the bourgeois, the Stalinist and the Trotskyist upholders of the "prestige" of the League of Nations, by the exposure of all opportunists, pacifists and masters of the technique of deception will the true revolutionists bring light to the minds of the workers and prepare them for the effective struggle against their exploiters.

Do you know

HOW DID STALIN ACQUIRE DICTATORIAL POWER
LOVESTONE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE RISE OF STALIN
TROTSKY'S OPPORTUNIST ROLE SINCE THE DEATH OF LENIN
SOVIET UNION - TOWARD COMMUNISM OR BACK TO CAPITALISM

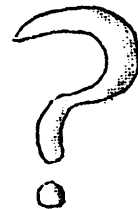
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ON THE SLOGAN
"A UNITED FRONT AGAINST STALINISM"

 N issue #4 of IN DEFENSE OF POL-SHEVISM, under the heading "Why They Did Not Reply", we published a criticism of the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites who made no reply to our call for a United Front on a three point minimum program for the purpose, as the call stated, "to lift a thunderous voice of protest, a voice of exposure of bloody Stalinist reaction to reveal the real issues behind it's ghastly crimes" and "...to awaken the masses to the destructive and reactionary nature of Stalinist counter-revolution."

Since then a reply has been received from the Marxist Workers League to the effect that they cannot join such a united front because they regard it to be negative, i. e., directed against Stalinism, and not directed to "the class." We publish below our reply to the Marxist Workers League. We consider this exchange of communications with the Marxist Workers League important because these comrades exhibit political shortsightedness typical of many other Left organizations. They fear to take the offensive against Stalinism and so theorize away the much needed struggle as unnecessary and one that will take away their time and energy from their activities in the class struggle. On this key-note all these "anti-Stalinist Marxists" unite against carrying out the central task, the accomplishment of which will turn the tide in favor of the working-class:

May 6, 1938

"Marxist Workers League
New York City.

Dear Comrades:

The need for a United Front of the groups standing 'for communism' in opposition to the Stalinists, will grow more apparent and more urgent as

time goes on. Your reply to our call for such a united front states that as the character of this united front is negative — 'against Stalinism' — it therefore does not contain anything positive for the class and you cannot, for that reason, support such a movement.

Revolutionists have in the past, and will continue in the future to raise slogans in a negative manner, i.e. 'against-----' which, yet, clearly denote positive action. What is involved here is the road to the masses. You comrades want to put forth a positive program to the class. BUT THE ROAD TO THE CLASS IS BLOCKED BY THE STALINIST MONSTER.

The Marxist group will be able to gain decisive influence over the workingclass not in competition with the Stalinist machine, but by displacing it. There cannot be a parallel existence of the two, for any considerable length of time. Stalinism will not allow any organization to reach the stage of seriously threatening its hegemony within the workingclass without a vicious campaign of slander, frame-up and physical extermination methods against its opponents. Stalinism may choose the time of the attack before the revolutionary organization will have gained enough influence among the workers to rally them to its defense.

Spain, among other lessons, shows the vital necessity for all groups which claim to be the exponents of Leninism — in opposition to the Stalinists — to prepare a joint defense for the inevitable attack, with a view to weakening the poisonous influence of Stalinism — parading as 'Communism' — within the workingclass. Had the POUM, the Trotskyists and other 'revolutionists' been half the disciples of Lenin they (and their defenders) claimed, they would have followed such a course of action and at least not

been so tragically annihilated by Stalinism. After Spain there will be terrific repercussions in the ranks of the workers. The Stalinists will be in a frenzy to keep from being exposed as leading betrayers of the Spanish workers. They will open a campaign of slander and 'purges' against anyone and everyone who will attempt to point this out, or even against those who will criticize the Stalinist 'line.' The United States having now become one of their major strongholds, we can look for a goodly share of the attack in this country. Only if we warn the workers of its coming and prepare for it in advance — by attacking first — will we be able to withstand it and even cripple the Stalinist machine of counter-revolution.

In such an anti-Stalinist united front there is nothing negative. It carries with it a most positive program — for the defense of these political groups against the Stalinist assassins, and for the removal of the deadly obstacle that holds the bridge that leads to the masses, i.e. the advanced workers. What could be more positive in this day than to loosen the Stalinist death grip from the throat of the workingclass? There are those who will answer, 'Loosen the death grip of the capitalists.' But we must never forget that, the Chiang Kai-shek chopped the heads of millions of Chinese workers, it was not before Stalinism bound them hand and foot. The Hitler imprisoned, tortured and murdered, and crushed the German workers, it was not before Stalinism paralyzed them. If Franco is riding roughshod over Spain, it is not before Stalinism stabbed the Spanish workers in the back.

There is no need to ask 'How about social democracy and the other betrayers?' That goes without saying. We must continue to point out that in this epoch, of all the agencies operating within the workingclass, Stalinism has the dominant influence over the masses. Stalinism lays down the policy of betrayal — now ultra left (Germany), now ultra right (Spain, China). Here is a movement that exploits the sympathies of the masses for the Soviet Union, that waves the

sickle and hammer, that speaks in the name of Lenin, Lenin's party, Lenin's International, etc., and has accumulated to itself all the traditions of October — the traditions of the first successful overthrow of the exploiting class by the workers. (The great mass of the advanced workers even do not as yet know the difference between the October period and the later Stalinization of the Bolshevik party and the Third International). It is all this that gives Stalinism the power over the masses that no other opportunist movement ever had nor can hope to have.

It is against this powerful agency of betrayal that we propose a united front. The movement AGAINST STALINISM must be the first and unavoidable step in the general movement AGAINST CAPITALISM.

Fraternally yours,
LENINIST LEAGUE U.S.A."

* * * * *

Since the above was written, an interesting item appears in Lovestone's "Workers Age." It bears out our contention to the full both as to the power and murderous intention of Stalinism, and the hypocrisy of Lovestone's "Anti-Stalinism."

In the "Workers Age" of May 14, under the screaming heading "THEY THREATEN MURDER!" appears an extract from the Stalinist Jewish daily, the "Freiheit," of April 25th, and the commentary of the "Workers Age." The extract from the article by W. Lutsky, Paris correspondent of the Freiheit, is as follows:

"But Rappaport finds himself in Bourgeois France, where betrayers to the proletariat are not sent for trial before the courts....BUT WHO KNOWS? THE POWER OF THE CHEKA IS BEYOND IMAGINATION. PERHAPS EVEN IN PARIS IT WILL PROVE CAPABLE OF GIVING ITS ENEMIES A SPECIAL 'DOSE'... (Emphasis, "Workers Age.")

And the "Workers Age" comments:

"These sinister words carry

their own explanation. They are a plain and open threat that Yezhov's Political police, with the blood of a whole generation of Russian Bolsheviks on its hands, is now ready to reach out to murder Reppaport in Paris! And whom in London, Prague, Mexico City or New York?

"By its own confession, the G.P.U. has become an international murder-machine in the interests of Stalinist reaction! Let the working-class movement take warning!"

We are not now, for the moment, concerned with the political misstatements of such phrases as "Yezhov's political police," leaving out the master's name; or limiting the murder-machine to the G.P.U., leaving out Stalin's "Parties," etc. Suffice it to say that the Lovestoneites know and admit the murder intentions of Stalinism against anyone it considers dangerous to its continued existence. WHY THEN DOES LOVESTONE REFUSE TO JOIN A UNITED FRONT AGAINST THIS INTERNATIONAL MURDER MACHINE? Because their anti-Stalinism is nothing but revolting hypocrisy. We quote further from IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM #4... "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 requirements of safeguarding the "prestige" of the leaders. These leaders fear an honest, democratic discussion because they dread to face the truth."

The Lovestoneite just as the Trotskyite leaders will therefore sabotage any real attempt to expose Stalinism, because thereby must become known their own part in the building of the Stalinist machine. The words of H. Bail, a member of the Lovestone group, bear proof of this: "Our Work-

ers Age did not sufficiently reflect the burning protest and disgust that every one of us felt at the last Moscow trial. Our group did not develop a sufficiently strong campaign against the reactionary terror going on constantly in the Soviet Union....." (Workers Age, May 14, 1938.)

And though he shows plenty of error and confusion in the rest of his article, H. Bail has learned this fundamental truth; "It is clear that no workers revolution anywhere is possible until the Stalin C.I. is destroyed!"

The Trotskyists are ready enough (though it is not wrong in itself) to "Unite Against Hague" (Socialist Appeal, May 14, 1938), but sabotage the struggle against Stalin in spite of the fact that Stalin, by wreaking havoc within the world proletariat, has opened the door for Hitler, Franco and the Hagues.

The Lovestoneites content themselves with hypocritically shouting "let the working-class movement take warning!" but refuse to take active steps against the murder-machine of which they so obligingly warn.

The miniature "Marxists" think they can ignore the problem by burying their heads in the sands of the "masses" (thereby presenting more effectively their posteriors to the Stalinist boot).

We repeat what the revolutionary workers must learn and will learn — universal Fascism is a certainty if the proletarian vanguard is not freed from opportunism, from Stalinism in particular! And NO PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS POSSIBLE UNTIL STALINISM IS CRUSHED IN AT LEAST ONE COUNTRY!

REVOLUTIONISTS do not make a practice of taking their disputes with opportunists into the courts of the ruling class. The popular misconception kept alive by the apologists and servants of the capitalist class that its judicial system is designed to dispose justice to both the capitalist exploiters and their slaves, the wage workers, would be strengthened if they did. Knowledge of the truth is of the highest consequence to the workers. It is the elementary duty of Marxists, therefore, to tear the mask off the "sacred" institution of the exploiters and reveal that behind the "court of justice" stands the money bag which exercises supervision over this arm of the capitalist system. The only true judge historically endowed with jurisdiction over the conflict between opportunism and Marxism is the revolutionary proletariat. Under certain specific conditions, when it is very difficult to reach the ear of the working class, the bourgeois court might be made use of, naturally, not as a "court of justice" but as a forum to present the side of the proletariat. This course was pursued by revolutionists in capitalist Russia, in America during the war and after, and in other countries. At no time did the revolutionists give rise to false notions but saw to it that the revolutionary class position was accurately reflected and maintained.

In this connection the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, styling themselves Marxists, violate the very spirit of Marxism through poisoning the workers' minds with bourgeois ideas. In a news-item in the Socialist Appeal of May 14, 1938, under the headline "Max Eastman Sues the Daily Worker," one reads the following:

"Eastman told the press: Browder is trying to assassinate my character only because he cannot assassinate me. I want to discuss these lies with Earl Browder IN A COURT OF JUSTICE where people are tried before and not after they are condemned." (Our emphasis. L.L.)

As for Browder, whose hands are red with the blood of the Chinese, the German, the Spanish and Russian revolutionary workers, not being able to assassinate Eastman or some other scape goat or a Leninist opponent, we do not share Eastman's optimism at all. But this is beside the point. What we are concerned with here is Eastman's opportunist deception of the workers regarding the nature of the capitalist court. Eastman, like Trotsky (see IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM #1), in his attempt to defend himself against the Stalinist frame-up, does not adopt the revolutionary point of view to expose the Browders as the defenders of capitalism. He himself leans upon the bourgeoisie for support and consequently spreads, or rather strengthens, the most harmful illusion regarding the capitalist court. Those class-conscious workers who, despite the terrific pressure of opportunism and reaction, have retained their revolutionary ideology undimmed, know what "justice" the workers and the oppressed Negro get in Eastman's vaunted "court of justice." Revolutionary workers remember the Haymarket martyrs and Sacco and Vanzetti, who received a "fair" trial in the "court of justice." Tom Mooney, Warren K. Billings, the Scottsboro boys and the less known labor martyrs who have for years been enjoying "justice." Were not all these frame-up victims of capitalism hauled into the "court of justice" before and not after they were condemned?

But the most monstrous thing about the whole matter is the "amazing" fact that Eastman's reactionary, pro-capitalist opium is printed in the Socialist Appeal, a "Bolshevik-Leninist" publication, without a single word of criticism or comment. The Cannon-Shachtman-Spector clique of opportunists in their steady degeneration are spreading among the workers not only the regular Trotskyist confusion and distortions but also outright bourgeois poison. This time they even failed to cover their opportunism with a demagogic fig leaf.