

Fourth International

A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
Volume 6 No. 3 Price 5 Shillings Summer 1970

1970 THE YEAR OF LENIN AND TROTSKY

DOCUMENTS OF SOVIET OPPOSITION

LENIN

LUXEMBURG

LIEBKNECHT

NORTHERN IRELAND



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Editors: Tom Kemp, Cliff Slaughter

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100 years since Lenin's birth

30 years since Trotsky's death

YEAR OF LENIN AND TROTSKY

EDITORIAL

THE EXTENSION of US imperialism's South-East Asia war into Cambodia is undoubtedly a step towards nuclear war on the Chinese People's Republic. Such is the depth of the crisis of capitalism that an irresistible pressure mounts up for the reconquest of the Chinese mainland, to open it up once more to imperialist investment. It is this objective development of the economic crisis which in the last analysis lies behind the military plans of the US imperialists. The speculation about 'ill-advised' Presidents and 'discredited' military advisers are only the product of impressions. It is not a matter of the intentions of America's leaders, but of the economic crisis and the strength of the workers' movement all over the world, particularly in Vietnam in this case. Nixon hoped to forestall military disaster in Vietnam by marching into Cambodia. The CIA, by deposing Sihanouk, prepared the way. The Kremlin bureaucracy, by accepting the CIA coup, and then by its political attack on the Chinese and North Vietnamese Communist Parties, played its counter-revolutionary part in assisting the imperialists. By suppressing the steps being taken by the Czechoslovak working class towards political revolution in 1968, and betraying the May-June 1968 general strike in France, they hoped to have created conditions in which the Vietnamese revolution could be kept isolated from the international revolutionary struggle of the working class.

The military strength of US imperialism and its agencies, the ability of the Kremlin bureaucracy to betray revolutions—these factors have been the immediate pressures sustaining revisionism in the years since the Second World War. The struggle for Marxism, carried out by the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, has always based itself not on the pressure of bureaucracy and the apparent strength of

imperialism, but on the contradictions fundamental to imperialism and also to the Stalinist bureaucracy. These contradictions are organically linked, because the bureaucracy is essentially an agency of imperialist pressure on the workers' state in the USSR, and through that on the workers' movement internationally.

The rapid maturing of the capitalist crisis, with the economic strength of the working class at its very centre, is forcing the ruling class into a situation where in one country after another political force is required to change the relationship of class forces. The strength and combativity of the working class demands this. Yet this same strength presents an awesome prospect for any national capitalist class which actually decides to take the bit between its teeth. The US capitalists have only begun tentatively to discuss 'incomes policy', i.e., a concerted attack on organized labour, and yet they are already faced with a social and political crisis described by their own statesmen as the worst since 1929. The extension of the war in Vietnam turned out to be impossible without shooting to kill in Kent State and half a dozen other places in the United States itself. Far from having averted military disaster, Nixon has found himself confronted with the prospect of military defeat in Cambodia and political collapse at home. For the first time the anti-war demonstrations have left behind the almost purely student character which they once had, and sections of the labour movement have rallied in hundreds of thousands against Nixon's policy. Behind these developments, the economic crisis not only creates panic on Wall Street but now reflects immediately in increasing unemployment every month since January 1970.

The military and political conditions do not exist in South-East Asia for US imperialism to win the war; and the political conditions in the United States itself have now developed to a point where the prosecution of the war threatens breakdown. But the working class which now casts its



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gigantic shadow over the war plans of the US imperialists has become all over the world a nightmare for the capitalist class. In Europe the crisis is most concentrated, in the sense of revolutionary development of the working class. Neither in Europe nor America has unemployment had the effect of weakening and reducing the combativity of the working class. On the contrary; in a working class whose organizations and fighting capacity are unimpaired, it raises questions which go beyond wages to the question of who holds the property and the power. That is why in every advanced country it is not just a question of great strike waves, even general strikes as in France and Italy. Everywhere, in the forms historically determined in each case, the working class seeks a solution at the level of government. Everywhere in the workers' movement, the revolutionaries fight in the mass movement to bring to a head the contradiction between the working class and its leadership. More and more the workers are compelled to say to the reformists and Stalinists: if you are going to be able to do anything even to preserve our most elementary rights, it is necessary to take the power and break from the bourgeoisie. This on the one hand, and on the other the more craven and determined commitment of the Stalinists to 'advanced democracy' and 'parliamentary roads', of the reformists to direct service to US imperialism, of the revisionists to 'structural reforms' plus middle-class adventures. In its fight to unite the working class round demands which pose the question of power, the International Committee in its various sections brings into the centre of working-class politics all the gains of the struggle of the first four Congresses of the Third International of the Left Opposition of Trotsky, and of the fight against revisionism since Trotsky's death.

It is 33 years since Trotsky's summary of the two decades since the October Revolution: the crisis of humanity is concentrated in the crisis of revolutionary leadership. We have now arrived at a decisive stage of the process expressed by this dramatic formulation. Trotsky's statement has often been taken as if it meant that the objective conditions did not change and develop but simply stagnated, and that all development was now purely in the subjective aspect of the party. That is an undialectical view opening the door to idealism. The productive forces stagnate: techniques of production develop, but **only** to deepen the crisis, to turn against the working class which is the principal productive force. What appears to be just a build-up of wages struggles in all the advanced countries, producing the enormous and paramount problem of inflation, is in fact the manifestation of this revolt of the productive forces. The working class demands that the productive forces expand to the level of 'socialized humanity', as Marx put it. The preservation of capitalist relations of production demands on the contrary that the productive forces, and above all the working class, are reined in.

Through the depression of the 1930s, the war, the defeats consequent on Stalinist leadership, US imperialism was certainly able to become by far the dominant capitalist power, but by this very

fact US imperialism has inherited and combined more explosively all the conflicts and contradictions of the capitalist world. The working class does not forever remain broken by defeats! It cannot be permanently controlled by the parasitic police bureaucracy of the Kremlin. These are the 'laws of history' which, as Trotsky said in the Transitional Programme, are 'stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus'. The accumulation of economic crisis within decaying capitalism has once again forced the classes into fighting positions where the revolutionary consciousness will receive mighty impulses, and where the building of revolutionary parties is taking place under radically changed conditions compared with anything since the early 1920s.

The proletariat is not simply the plaything of the development of capital and its needs. The **struggle** of the working class even at the elementary defensive level starts to change history. In the imperialist stage of capitalism, the strength of the working class, even when expressed for the most part in economic struggles, has grave political implications: these are conceived of by the capitalist class as, 'How do we get over the political risks of dealing with inflation?'. But there is more than this: a fundamental historical struggle goes on in the political and theoretical fronts, for the victory of revolutionary consciousness in the working class. This is the meaning of Bolshevism, and of its development in Trotskyism. The essential meaning of the period of 'imminence of the revolution' which we have entered is that we are now working in conditions where the creation of this consciousness, through intervention in the working class on all the major questions, is being engaged by the sections of the International Committee. The advanced stage of disintegration of the Stalinist parties is a concrete historical development which promotes the material conditions for this process of building revolutionary consciousness, but it is not the process itself. The task is the task of the Trotskyists and there is not the slightest possibility of transferring the responsibility to other social forces. That is precisely the abandonment of dialectical materialism of which the Pabloite revisionists of the spurious 'Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International' have been guilty. Joseph Hansen told us in 1962, when he led the US Socialist Workers' Party back to Pablo's camp, that Castro, for example, had developed from a middle-class liberal to a 'natural Marxist'—the implication being that Marxist leadership did not need to be consciously created by the Trotskyist movement but would arise out of the spontaneous revolts issuing from the breakdown of imperialism. Another of the leaders of the Pabloite revisionists, Pierre Frank, has recently written in identical terms of Castro as a 'natural Marxist'. This 'natural Marxist' supported the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and denounced his critics as 'left scribblers' who ignored a 'counter-revolutionary process' which had upset the Stalinist bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia. Since then Castro has made open overtures to the bourgeois regimes of Latin America, even giving them a revolutionary blessing when they are imprisoning his own erstwhile followers in guerrilla

struggles. He took the opportunity to defend these policies at length in his speech on the centenary of Lenin, sullyng the occasion with repetitions of the worst abominations of Stalin's 'socialism in a single country'.

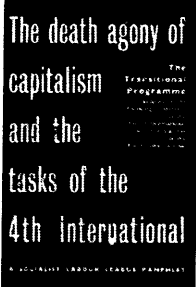
But the construction of revolutionary parties has gone a stage beyond the point at which the revisionists carried out their unprincipled 're-unification' in 1963. The Fourth Conference of the International Committee, the discussion for which has now begun, will play a large part in clearing up the confusion which revisionism has in a number of countries succeeded in creating. It is becoming clear in political practice to thousands of workers that Trotskyism is represented by the forces of the International Committee and in no way by the revisionists.

We can take as the two landmarks of this development, without falling into any complacency, the 10,000-strong rally of Trotskyist youth at Le Bourget (Paris) on February 1, 1970, and the publication on September 21, 1969 of the first Trotskyist daily paper the 'Workers Press', organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League. This issue of Fourth International consists in large part of theoretical and political articles from 'Workers Press' which are useful for further study. This daily paper takes into the working class every day the conquests of the Marxist movement in the past, and organizes the forces of the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists

in their campaigns in the working-class movement. It is a weapon of great force against the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracies.

The question of the notorious 'English dislike of theory' is no longer one just for discussion, but of a daily struggle to carry the most advanced conquests of theory, science, philosophy and the arts into the working-class movement and against every kind of backwardness perpetrated by the bourgeoisie. In France, the Trotskyist organization was able to conduct in Paris on May 30-31 a two-day public study session on the history of French Trotskyism which was attended by 2,500 workers and youth. These are living proof of the development of a revolutionary consciousness being created in struggle on the basis of the long fight for the continuity of Marxism.

1970 is the centenary of Lenin's birth and the thirtieth anniversary of Trotsky's assassination by a Stalinist agent. To celebrate Lenin's centenary has meaning only for those who can at the same time show that they carry forward the struggle which was taken up by Trotsky both during Lenin's lifetime and after his death, against Stalinism and for the proletarian revolution. It is in this line of march that we prepare the Fourth Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International, and give every support to our young cadres in organizing the International Conference of Revolutionary Youth in December 1970.



This is the basic programmatic document of the world movement founded by Leon Trotsky and his comrades. By 1938 the revolutionary Marxists had found it necessary to lay the foundations of the *Fourth* International in order to restore working-class leadership after the defeats prepared by the Stalinist bureaucracy in control of the Third (Communist) International. The defeat of the German Revolution in 1923, of the British General Strike in 1926, and of the Chinese Revolution in 1927, followed by Hitler's victory over the German working class in 1933, finally ruled out the perspective of transforming the Communist International by internal opposition.

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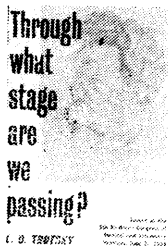
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This is the text of a speech made by L. D. Trotsky to the 5th All-Union Congress of Medical and Veterinary Workers in the summer of 1924. Of particular interest to our readers in view of the specific references to Britain and metropolitan Europe.

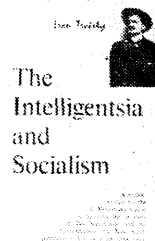
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The Transitional Programme adopted by the Fourth International at its founding conference in 1952

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1. Class Struggle and Civil Rights

The Political Background



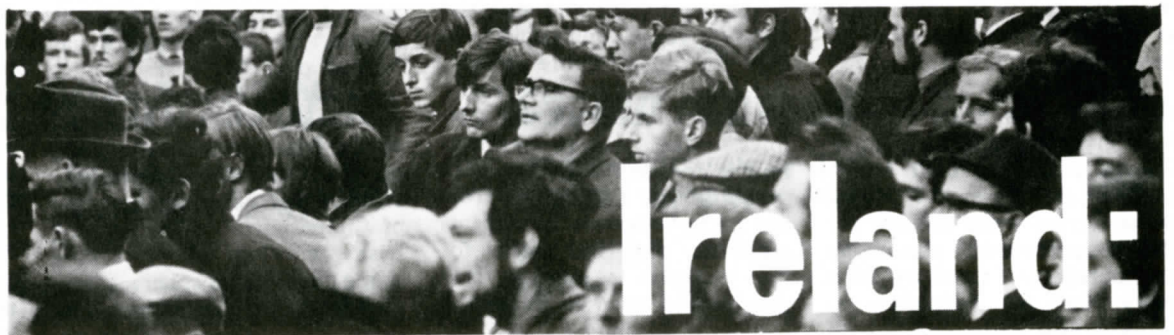
**The first of two articles
by Cliff Slaughter**



Northern

1. Class Struggle and Civil Rights

The Political Background



The first of two articles
by Cliff Slaughter

IRELAND, after hundreds of years of imperialist oppression, was partitioned following the workers' uprising of Easter 1916 in Dublin and the 1918 Civil War.

The present state of Northern Ireland consists of six counties in the north-east of Ireland, the remaining 26 constituting Eire, the Republic.

From 1912 onwards, the landlords and capitalists of what is now Northern Ireland, particularly in Belfast, organized open military resistance against the proposed 'Home Rule', in which the Liberal government of the day at Westminster proposed to grant limited independence to Ireland.

Led by Sir Edward Carson, this reactionary group, supported by the Tories and by elements of the military General Staff in Britain, forced a situation where 'Ulster', or the six counties of the North-East, remained attached directly to the Westminster government.

These 'Unionists' have had to base their politics ever since on the supposed advantages of this union to the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland.

Whereas the Catholic religion predominates in Ireland as a whole, the six counties contain a majority of those professing Protestantism.

This arises from historical processes beginning in the 16th and 17th centuries, in which the English ruling class settled Protestant farmers, mostly Scots, in these counties, giving them the best land, in order to consolidate their rule.

Now, of course, the vast majority of their descendants

who remain in Ireland are propertyless wage-workers in Belfast and the smaller towns.

In order to keep the working class of the North divided, to keep the Protestant workers in the political grip of the Unionist (Conservative) Party, it has been necessary above all to convince them that the connection with Britain and the continuance of Unionist rule is an advantage to them as workers.

Thus the Catholic worker is discriminated against by the capitalists and the state: his votes are worthless through 'gerrymandering' or the arrangement of constituencies;

he has less chance of a house; he is excluded from many jobs; his children will be worse educated in inferior schools.

In addition, welfare services of the type won through struggle in Britain apply to the North, and contrast with the Republic.

It is now a desperate matter for the capitalists of Ireland and Britain that this division be preserved. The international crisis of capitalism has reached the stage where a conflict with the working class in every capitalist country cannot be avoided.

This is the lesson of France, Italy and Germany, as well as

Northern Ireland, Eire and Britain.

FATAL

It will be fatal for the capitalists once the workers who are crowded into Belfast slums are drawn, united, into this struggle against their real enemies, the employer, the landlord, and the government, instead of being led, as the agents of the capitalist class are deliberately leading them, into clashes on a religious basis.

There have been no barricades in the upper-class and middle-class areas of Belfast, no clashes between rich Catholics fighting for civil rights and rich Protestants fighting as 'Loyalists'!

The attention of the ruling class is turned instead to perpetuating these divisions in the working class.

But the game is up! Because capitalism can provide no future for either the Protestant or the Catholic worker; and because these workers sense the strength and offensive power of their class throughout the world, their need to fight will not and cannot be contained within the old religious 'sectarian' framework.

Within only a week or two of the clashes between the forces of the state and groups of Catholic workers in August this year, a remarkable change took place in the situation.

Protestant workers, for half a century used as a pillar of support for the 'British connection', found themselves in street battles against the occupying British Army!

For a few extreme right-wing Unionists to raise the idea of breaking from Westminster was one thing; it was only a warning of the tensions which were coming to the surface as the old equilibrium became uneasy.

But for the poor Protestant workers of Belfast, deluded for generations into voting Unionist (i.e. for all that went with union with Britain) to fight British troops was quite another thing!

Simon-pure reformers and so-called socialists of course will object that those Protestant workers clashed with the



In order to keep the working class in Ireland divided, it is necessary to convince them that the connection with Britain and the continuation of Unionist rule is an advantage to them as workers.

troops only because the troops prevented them from fighting the Catholic workers.

That is, of course, what happened.

But the objective logic of events is here of decisive importance. These workers have been led to express their bitterness and frustration as victims of exploitation, unemployment and bad housing by taking it out on their class brothers, the Catholics.

CLASH

The clash with the troops signifies precisely that the maintenance of capitalist rule in Northern Ireland can no longer depend on this device, together with the Special Powers Act that goes with it.

These same workers will find the troops, forces of the state, supported by the 'Protestant' Constabulary and B-Specials (now policing the 'Protestant' slums), attempting to batter them down in strike struggles.

WAGE-CUTS

Also they have Wilson attempting to introduce anti-union legislation and face increased unemployment, wage-cuts and 'productivity' speed-up.

The Catholic worker is coming into the same overall struggle against capitalism and the Wilson government.

Because of the reformist and reactionary control of his unions and political parties, from the Republicans and the Stalinists, he has been led by the middle-class 'civil rights' advocates to believe that pressure on Wilson will bring positive reforms on jobs, housing, education, votes and protection against arbitrary arrest.

STRUGGLE

Many Catholic workers saw the Civil Rights movement as a way of expressing that willingness to struggle which has been steadily building up against capitalism in every country.

They thought that by giving their support to 'civil rights' they could bring pressure to



The Union Jacks were out in this Protestant area when the troops moved in with their armoury. But all illusions about 'protection' from the army are being dispelled as state forces are used against both Catholic and Protestant workers.



Street barricades in Dublin during the Irish Civil War of 1918.



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bear on the Unionists for substantial reforms.

Their middle-class leaders peddled the argument that support for this could be got from the Labour government in Britain.

The whole perspective of the leadership of the civil rights movement—a middle-class leadership supported by middle-class 'socialists' of the 'state capitalist' and Stalinist varieties—was that British capitalism had within it the possibility of granting democratic reforms and allowing a further peaceful development of capitalism in Northern Ireland.

But for the Catholic worker who marched behind their banners in Belfast or Derry, it was a step towards something quite different: it was the only way he could see, at that stage, of using his growing strength to challenge the employers and the government.

Above all it is necessary to understand, not only that the middle-class leaders inevitably betray this movement from below, but something else.

The political crisis which opened up with O'Neill's resignation and the split in the Unionist Party brought in its train a series of objective struggles in which the class issues will inevitably come to the fore, and in which great opportunities arise for the development of united working-class actions and the development of a Marxist leadership

in Britain as well as in Ireland.

If we approach the question from another angle, this becomes clear. What is the real content of the slogan 'one man, one job' or '... one vote' or '... one house'? What is the content of the demand for ending discrimination in education?

JOB'S SCARCE

For the working class, the 'jobs' question is a matter of more jobs. But capitalism has entered a phase internationally—and even more certainly within declining British capitalism—where jobs must get scarcer and not more plentiful.

Thus, if the Northern Ireland and British government 'promise' to implement the reforms demanded by the civil rights movement, what can this mean?

Unemployment in Northern Ireland is at this time seven and a half per cent, or three times the rate in Britain.

The ruling class is patently incapable of controlling the social contradictions and establishing 'law and order'.

Hence the 'normal' problems of reducing the labour force in capitalism as a whole are much worse in Northern Ireland. These promises, like all the promises of Tories and all the promises of Wilson and the reformists, are a lie and a fraud.

Northern Ireland's problems, even more obviously than those of Britain, require socialist solutions.

LESSON

Bitter struggles, in which the workers of Belfast and Derry are unable to resolve even the smallest day-to-day questions without armed clashes with the forces of the state, will force this lesson upon these workers in a very short time.

To fight for these policies against all diversions is the task of Marxists in this situation.

It was because of the middle-class orientation of the initial leadership of the civil rights movement that the Catholic workers found themselves apparently facing the prospect of wholesale death and destruction by August of this year.

The Royal Ulster Constabulary and the B-Specials (consisting largely of extremist right-wing elements, some of them followers of the Protestant Reverend Ian Paisley) used their government status and their arms to carry out brutal attacks on the Catholic workers' quarters. Whole streets were burned down and several deaths occurred.

NOT ORGANIZED

Against these odds the unprepared workers fought bravely, but the independent

fighting capacity of the working class had never been organized, of course, by the civil rights leaders, even of the so-called 'left wing'.

The 'state capitalists' of the 'International Socialism' group, and others like McCann, who constitute this 'left wing', then found themselves unable to oppose the intervention of British troops.

Their supporters say: 'Without the troops there would have been a pogrom (i.e. a violent attack and killing of Catholics)'.

They forget, first, that this 'pogrom' is now about to be organized by the troops and the Royal Ulster Constabulary and B-Specials who are part of the same state machine; and, second, that their own politics of liquidation into civil rights, instead of independent mobilization of the strength of the working class, created the conditions for Wilson's troops to intervene.

Now the Cameron Report on the events between October 1968 and April 1969, together with the witch-hunt of the capitalist press, led by the 'Daily Mail', is turned on McCann, Toman, Devlin and Farrell, of the student 'People's Democracy' section of the Civil Rights movement.

No effort must be spared in the labour movement of Britain and Ireland to defend them and all the Irish militants against whom the attack is directed.

The Labour government must be told to keep its hands off any of the workers and civil rights members whom the Unionists want to make scapegoats for their own historical bankruptcy.

But the lessons must be learned.

These 'left wingers', among them revisionist supporters of groups like the 'state capitalists', considered that the further development of capitalism in Ireland gave the opportunity for a reform movement (civil rights).

In this way the Catholic section of the working class would begin to develop consciousness, so it was thought.

Instead, the revolutionary nature of the problems facing the Irish workers, Catholic and Protestant, was the essence of the question, and required a socialist, revolutionary, not a reformist programme and preparation; a working-class organization, not a liquidation into the middle-class organization (civil rights) with a reformist programme.

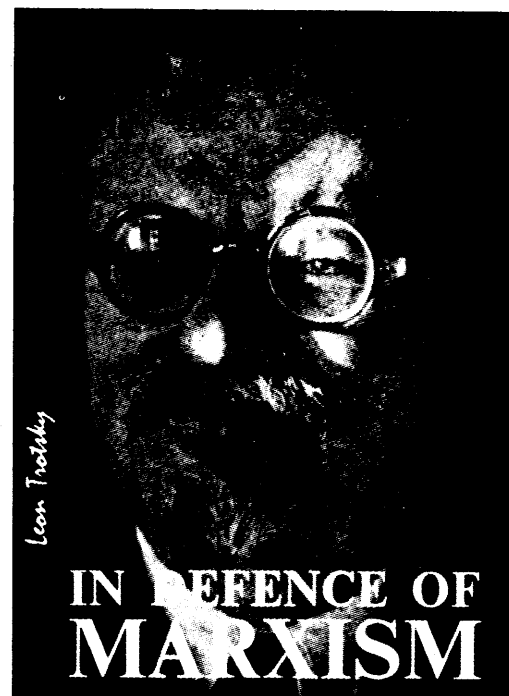
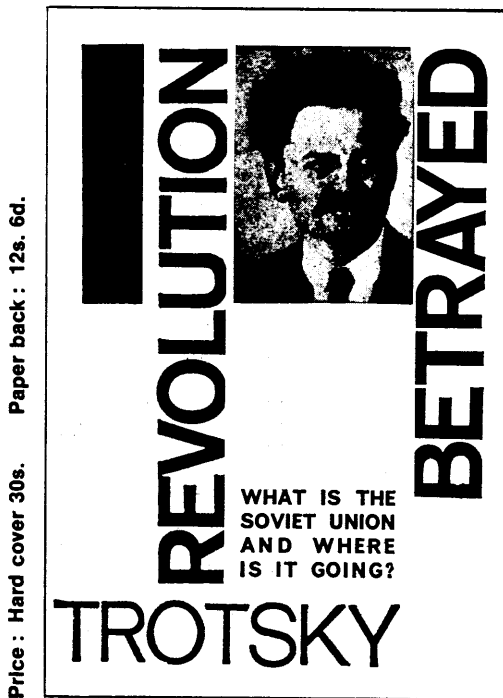
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Therefore, as soon as the workers show even a small example of their strength and combativity, counter-revolutionary reprisals are prepared by the Unionists.

Unable to prepare for revolution, the 'lefts', because of their revolutionary words, and because they are useful as a scapegoat, fall victim in the witch-hunt to these reprisals.

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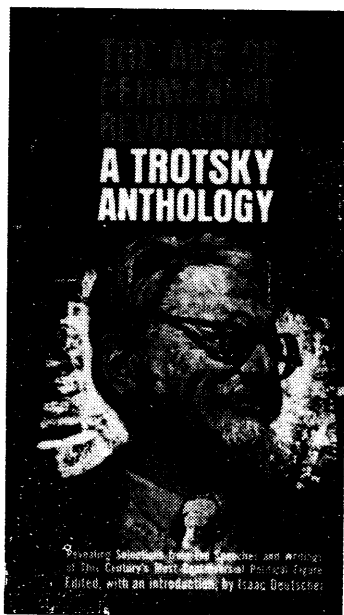
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THE AGE OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION



Edited with an introduction by Isaac Deutscher (with the assistance of George Novak). Published by Dell Publishing Co. Inc. Distributed in Britain by New Park Publications Ltd. Price 9s. 6d.

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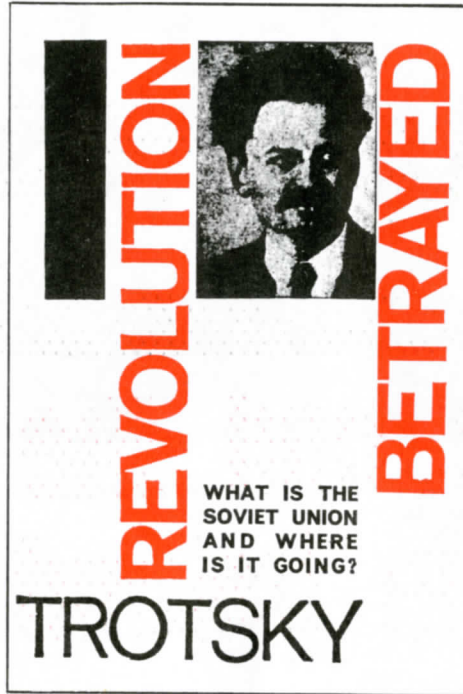
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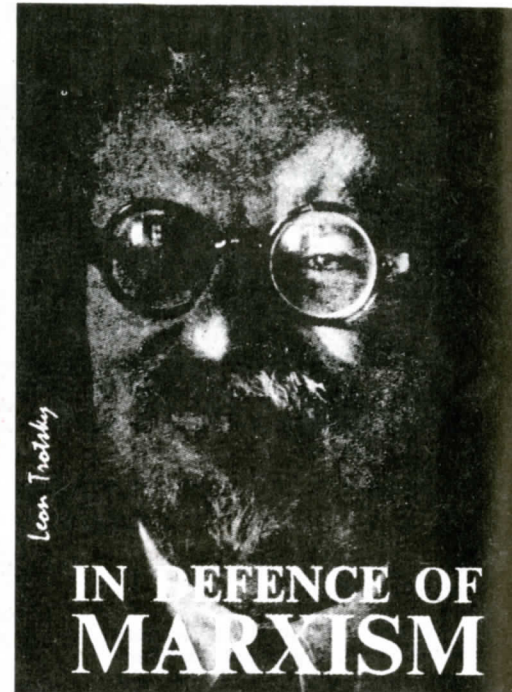
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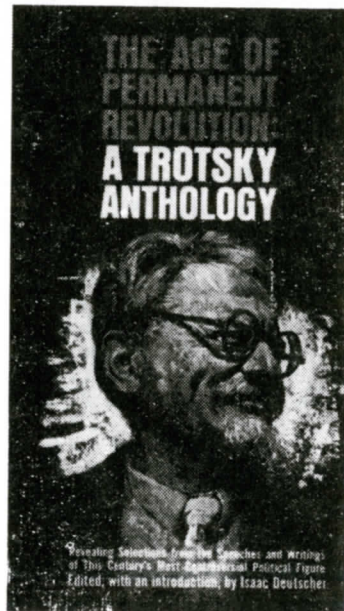
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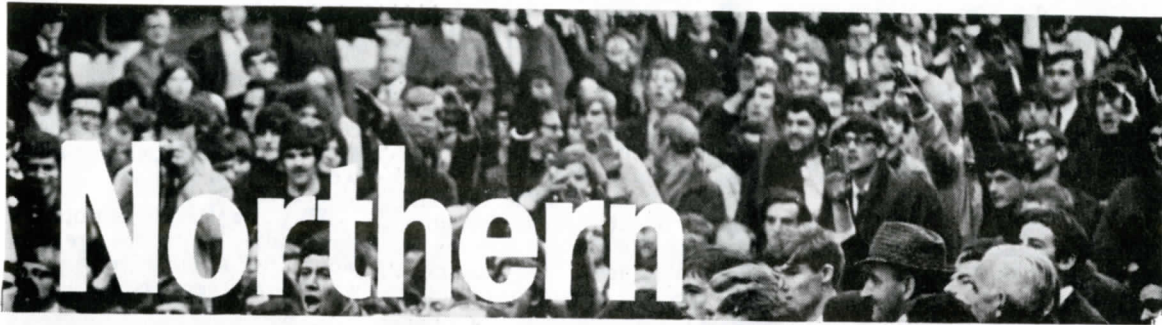


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2. Socialism and the Struggle in Ireland

The Political Background



**The second of two articles
by Cliff Slaughter**



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Sir Edward Carson and the Northern Ireland capitalists, supported by the Tories, succeeded in preserving their own interests by partitioning the six 'Ulster' counties from the South and North-West.

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In Northern Ireland, only a working class, socialist programme, with the working class organized for independent action behind a Marxist party, can finish the historic task of ending the rule of the Unionists, capitalist representatives

of imperialism. Reformists and middle-class tendencies cannot do it.

In the Republic, the South, an aborted form of national independence, with various constitutional modifications since 1920, was established.

Since then the Irish native bourgeoisie has ruled the country in defence of its own and foreign capital. The working class of the Irish Republic, leading the small farmers, is breaking from the capitalist parties and moving into action in its own interests.

Prime Minister Lynch and the government party make a few speeches about the North and the need for unity of the nation 'in the long run'!

But this trick, of seeming to represent Irish independence as a way of keeping the people's allegiance, will not work any longer.

The more the struggle against the government in the South grows alongside the violent clashes in the North, the more the working class sees that its traditional 'nationalist' representatives use their nationalism only as a cloak for their class interests.

It is in the interests of the workers of Northern and Southern Ireland to unite against their own bosses, Unionist and 'nationalist', and against British imperialism which they defend: that means to aim at a united workers' and small farmers' republic, a Socialist United Ireland.

For the capitalists, North and South, this is the great threat.

They want the present connection with Britain, because they have no real economic independence from British capital and no strength of their own to keep down the working class.

This is what has just been proved in the North. The Unionists' police and 'Special' forces in the North, even when backed by the thousands of armed Orange 'irregulars', could not keep 'law and order', and 7,000 British troops have been called in.

The British Labour government used its troops to defend capitalist property and to defend the Conservative care-

takers of British imperialism in Ulster.

These Unionists are part of the ruling class and the Tory establishment in Britain.

By supporting them the Labour government was providing strength to the British ruling class for its economic and political battles with the working class.

All those who do not oppose the sending of troops are collaborating in this imperialist war of intervention.

This raises the other side of the story which is necessary for working out a programme and strategy for the Irish working class: the connection between the struggle in Ireland and the class struggle in Britain. We shall return to this point.

In the first of these articles we showed how the crisis prospects facing the Protestant majority of Belfast workers (in shipbuilding and engineering) were like a time-bomb underneath the present situation, in which the Catholic workers have been the first to move.

In the South, the situation is coming to a head with inexorable force. This year, des-

**POBLAChT NA H EIREANN.
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,
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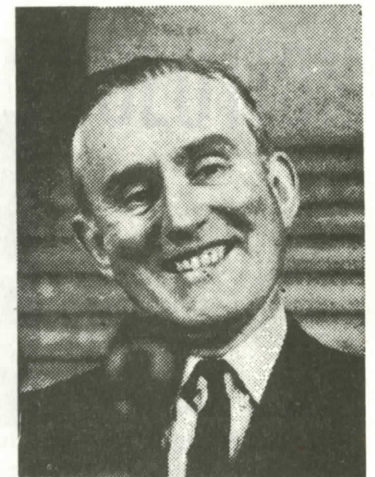
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The Irish capitalists face a working class whose historical traditions of struggle link up with the international offensive now being mounted by the working class. That is the reason for blatant attacks like the Burntollet Bridge ambush of a civil rights' march by B-Special thugs (above).

pite frantic government appeals for wage-restraint, despite threats of legislation with the Criminal Justice Bill which could jail strikers, the maintenance electricians of the Electricity Supply Board fought a bitter struggle through to the end and won an increase of 25 per cent!

Within a few weeks, following their example, building workers won an approximate increase of 20 per cent, phased over nine months. Other sections are now moving into the fray.

In the West, the Tynagh mining company, having got its hands on very rich silver and other deposits with the prospects of gigantic profits, has been crippled by a two-month strike.

Already the men have refused a £4-a-week increase and the prospects grow of a long and bitter struggle.

In conditions where workers in the West of Ireland have in recent months gained confidence from a temporary spring and summer improvement in employment, these strikes are bound to increase the militancy of other sections.

Under the impact of this revival in the labour movement, and the recent General Election campaign, the government party withdrew its proposed anti-union legislation this year. It will certainly try to re-introduce it, and this will bring a **political struggle** against the legislation.

In the last three years, the small farmers have mounted considerable campaigns against the government.

After the partition of Ireland, definitively settled in 1923, the division of the land, despite the indemnity conditions attached to it, successfully took the heat out of the century-old agitation in the countryside.

But the pressure of finance capital and the big banks has put an intolerable squeeze on the small farmers. Like the small traders of the town, driven out by the supermarket investors, they are made bankrupt in their thousands every year.

On top of these basic problems in the class struggle sits the powerful Catholic church. Its economic strength and its political influence in high

places continue, but the ruling class is fearful of the daily growing rejection of religious authority by the proletarian youth.

In the recent elections, the Labour Party of the Irish Republic was compelled to put on a 'left' face, talking about 'socialism' being restored to their programme.

Although their programme turned out not to be socialist at all, what they are doing is modifying their statements to comply with the pressure from the working class.

Recent recruits to their parliamentary party, like Conor Cruise O'Brien and other liberals, help them in this deception.

What they hope is this: the old nationalism, helped by Catholicism, will not be able to contain the struggle much longer; in these days of modern capitalism, we should drop the old nationalist myths, and form a truly modern reformist, social-democratic party for the Irish workers. (See Conor Cruise O'Brien in 'New Left Review', 37 May-June, 1966.)

In this way, they are very like the 'lefts' who formed People's Democracy in the

North, with their perspective of a 'rationalized' capitalism in the North and an opening for reforms in the shape of civil rights.

Now there is certainly plenty for reformists to get their teeth into (if they had any teeth) in the Republic of Eire.

The standard of living is, on official figures, less than 60 per cent of that in Britain and 20 per cent lower than that of the North.

Even if we consider only the town workers, who are better off than the small farmers and agricultural workers, we find average earnings about £3 10s. per week lower than in Britain.

As for the countryside, because of differences in State subsidies and pricing policies, added of course to the poor quality of land in the West, production per acre annually is £19 on grass and milk output, compared with £59 in the North.

It is worth giving a few other examples, because one big question comes up among Northern Irish workers, which will more and more be asked in the South also: **what price a united Ireland under Lynch and the 'Green Tories' of the South?**

When the Protestant worker in the North asks that question, he is not referring at all only (or even primarily) to the future of religious freedom or discrimination, but to the basic living and welfare standards of the workers.

The Catholic worker in the North asks the same question.

But when they both 'ask' this question politically, and fight for an alternative, **jointly with the workers of the South**—on that day the prospect of a united socialist Ireland opens up.

Unemployment benefit, like all welfare benefits, is the same in Northern Ireland as in Britain. In the South, an unemployed man with a wife and two children gets £7 18s. 6d.; in the North £9 4s.

In the South, old-age pension is not due until 70, and is only two-thirds of the pension in Britain and the North.

The Health Service hardly exists at all in the South. In 1965 the maternity grant was £4 (and contraception was banned). A widow with two children in the South gets £5 6s. a week, in the North £10.

New houses built in the South in 1965 reached the record figure of 8,146. The North, with less than half the population, and still with a disgraceful housing situation, built 9,516 houses in the same year.

Northern Ireland's education budget last year was £51 million. The South, with double the population, spent £49 million.

These social benefits in the North are supported by a subsidy from the British Exchequer of about £130 million annually. This is always presented in government publicity as some sort of gift from Britain.

It is of course a great deal smaller than the annual amount extracted in profits by British and international capital each year, not to mention the advantages gained by British capitalists from the flow of Irish emigrants suffering under a 7½ per cent unemployment rate in Northern Ireland.

We saw in the first part of this article that, with the growing world economic crisis, the reform programme of 'civil rights' could not solve in any way the jobs and housing problem for the workers in the North, which must get worse for the Protestant workers as

well as the Catholic.

What is the prospect for any such reform in the South?

As already outlined, the Fianna Fail government is already preparing anti-union laws, let alone 'democratizing' and 'reforming'. Behind these measures are two factors.

In the first place, the low level of capital investment in southern Ireland, compared with any advanced country, cannot provide the basis for any advance in the economy.

The heritage of British imperialism, involving generations of literally wholesale destruction of people and of productive forces, ruled out any possibility of a capitalist solution.

And yet the Irish capitalists face a working class whose historical traditions of struggle link up with the international offensive now being mounted by the working class.

Secondly, the international strength of the working class, at the centre of a profound **international crisis of capitalism**, compels the Irish, like all other capitalists, to seek to increase the rate of exploitation and cripple the trade unions, in order to compete internationally in more competitive conditions—but this must be done in the teeth of a rising tide of working-class struggle!

In other words, we have the same basic ingredients for revolutionary struggle, though with all sorts of historical factors which aggravate the situation still further, as we find in Britain, as reformism proves its bankruptcy and its reactionary nature under the Labour government!

One reason why the nationalist demagogy of the Southern capitalist politicians has been wearing thin in recent years is that they have begun to look for a way out of their economic problems by moving, first through closer relations (Free Trade Agreements, etc.) with the North and with Britain, into the European Common Market.

In any case, of course, the Common Market represents a forlorn attempt by the European capitalists to overcome the contradictions between modern production and the nation-state.

If that contradiction becomes stifling for the advanced countries, what a hopeless situation exists for the bour-

geoisie of a backward country like Ireland.

Since 1958, the Irish bourgeoisie has encouraged an inflow of foreign investment, and until 1965, as part of the last stages of the world capitalist boom, this brought a reduction of unemployment and the workers were able to increase real wages.

For Ireland, however, this could not be enough.

In every country, the expectations and strength of the working class built up during these years has intensified capitalism's crisis, and in Ireland that coincides with historical problems.

More people left the land (even with agriculture doing moderately well) between 1958 and 1965 than the number of new jobs provided by the industrial expansion.

If this was the situation during boom, what are the prospects for workers and small farmers in a recession?

Already the downturn in the economy in 1965 had a great radicalizing effect on the workers, strengthened by the boom, and the recent wave of strikes flows from that period.

Every section of capitalist opinion in the Irish Republic, including the government through official reports, is hitting out at the working class as 'responsible' for the growing crisis and advocating wage-freezing. This is the purpose of the proposed Criminal Justice Bill.

This wages question in Ireland is political dynamite, just as it is throughout Europe. The Irish bourgeoisie has no chance of 'getting into Europe' in time to rejuvenate itself, even if that were possible.

Since the 1967 Free Trade Agreement with Britain, Eire's balance of payments and trade have rapidly deteriorated. The editorial of the Dublin newspaper 'Irish Independent' puts clearly the dilemma of the capitalists:

'Imports have exceeded exports by more than £20 million in each month of this year—a very considerable worsening since 1968.

'It does not seem that a trade deficit of the present size can be tolerated for very much longer. The deficit will be given added impetus by the income increases which are beginning

to work their way through the economy. Consumer buying and imports will both be stimulated considerably. The economy is not in a position to withstand this added pressure which looks like developing,' ('Irish Independent', September 8, 1969.)

The fact is that 70 per cent of the exports of Eire are to the United Kingdom. Like the capitalists of Britain, those of Ireland know very well that entry into the Common Market is not just to get some dream of 'economic integration' and expansion, but to strengthen them against the working class.

In the North, the future for the embattled Catholic workers is in unity with the Protestant majority of workers against their employers, against the Unionist government, and imperialism which sustains them.

The developing world crisis will create such problems for the Northern industries that this unity will be posed in the very near future.

In Britain, the working class is faced with a struggle for socialist policies and revolutionary leadership, the Labour leaders having been exposed with the ending of the boom.

In their struggle against the Tories and their agents in the labour movement, the British workers will need unity with the workers of Ireland against the Unionists.

They will thus need to fight for the **ending** of imperialist control in Ireland, in order to weaken their own enemy.

These struggles will make the Irish workers in England, Scotland and Wales a strong force in the British working class.

In the South of Ireland, the working class is being forced to recognize the illusory nature of the 'national independence' maintained under bourgeois leadership.

It is brought into battle against a government of capitalists who openly turn to their bourgeois allies in Westminster and the City of London for common policies against the working class. That same government tolerates the British presence in the North for the same reasons.

Never was it more clear that the liberation of Ireland is only to be achieved by the

working-class struggle for socialism.

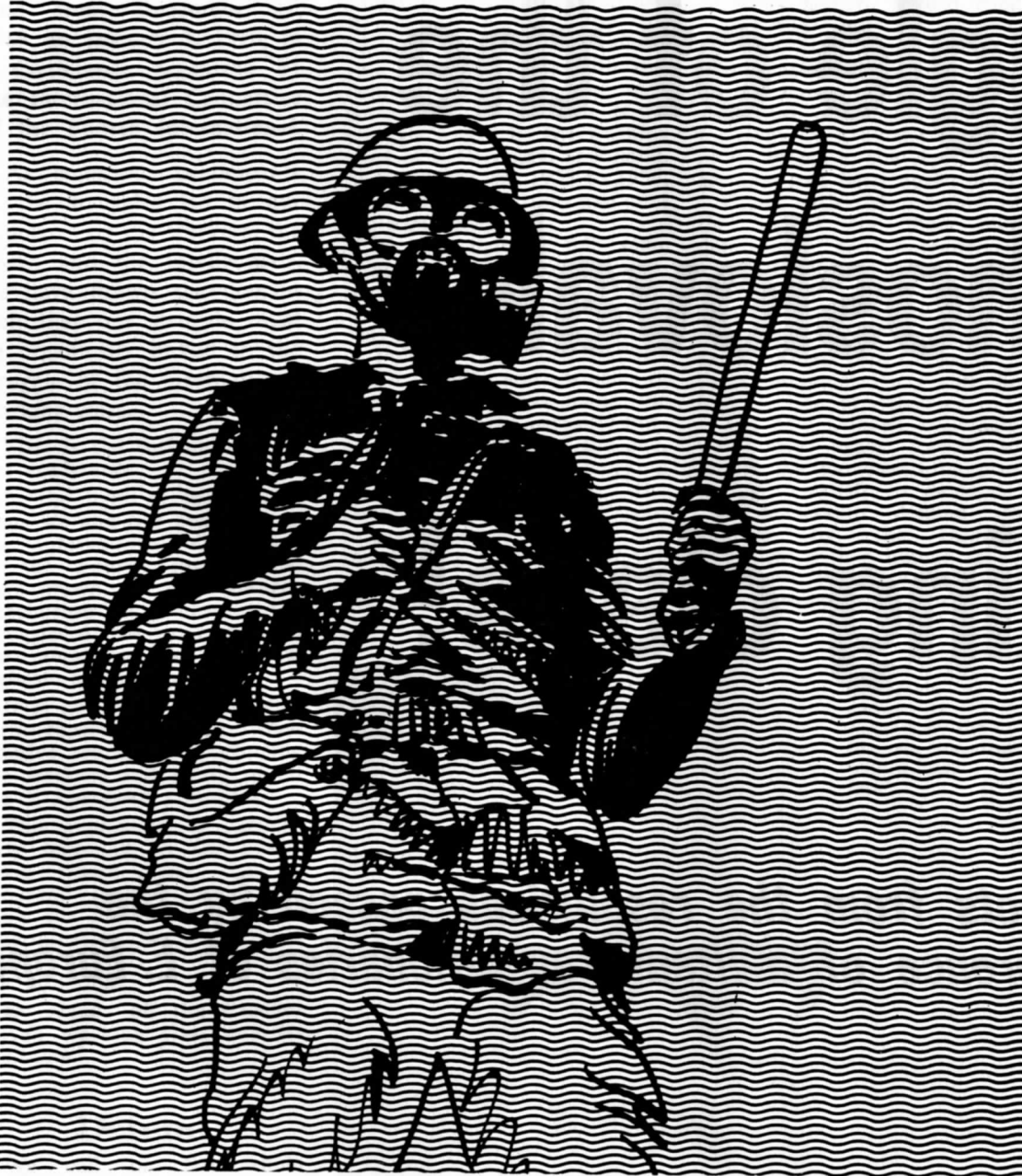
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workers and small farmers.

This time there will be no reliance on bourgeois nationalist leaders. This time the struggle in Ireland merges with the historic situation in which the workers of Britain must

break from reformism, from imperialism and all it stands for.

The workers of Ireland, North and South, and of Britain are going to strike a mighty blow for the United Socialist States of Europe!



*'There are no troops in the world who could have done the job that has been done by the British Army better'—
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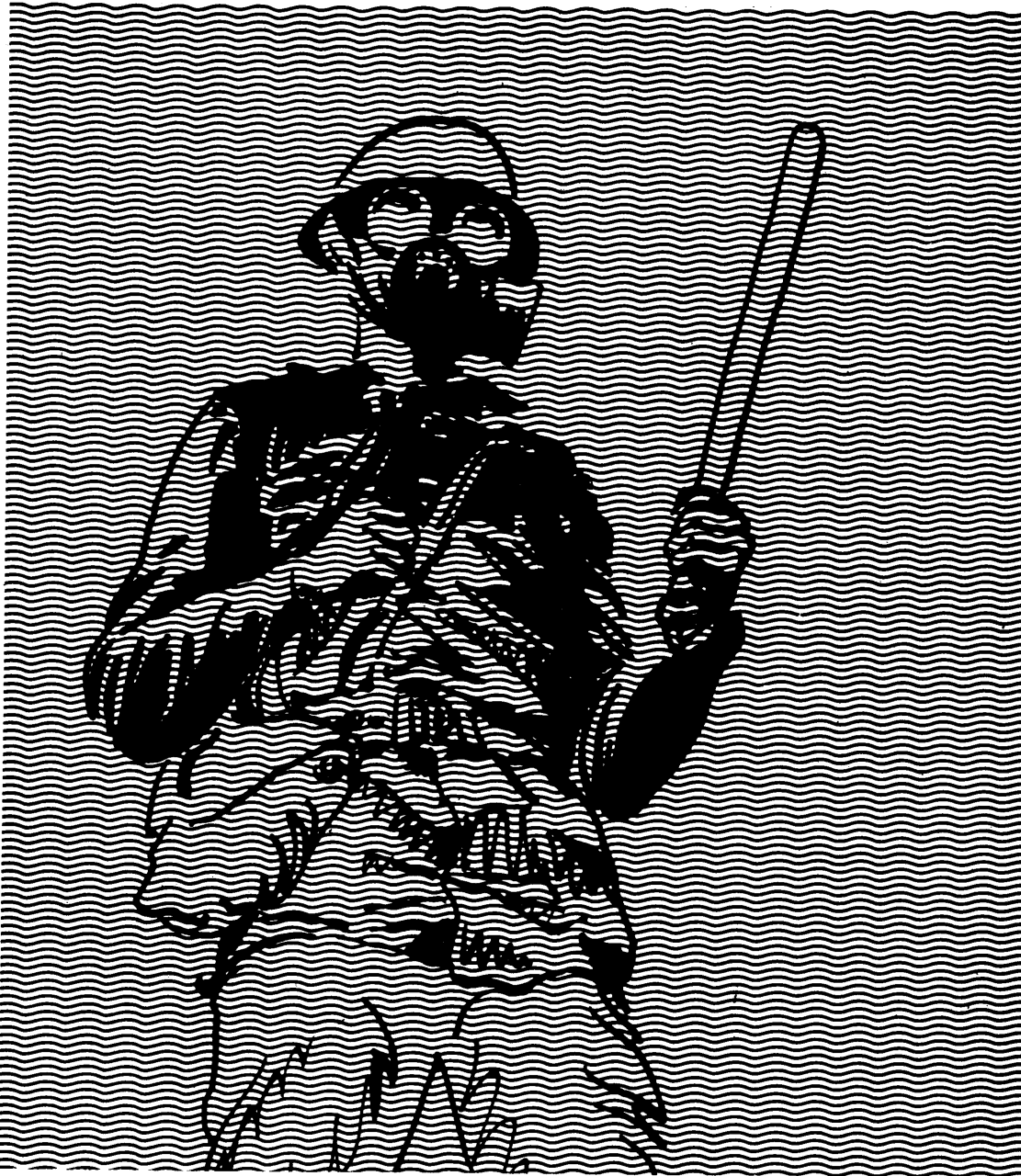
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**Long live the
struggle of the
Czechoslovak
working class!**

*Extracts from the resolutions passed by the
conference of militant revolutionaries of E. Europe*

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*Extracts from the resolutions passed by the
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WE ARE militant Czechoslovaks, Poles, Yugoslavs and Hungarians who have been fighting in the recent struggles of workers and youth in our countries.

We assembled in Switzerland from December 27, 1969, to January 3, 1970, in a Conference organized by the International Committee of the Fourth International.

As conscious participants in the struggles led in our countries by the workers, the youth and the intellectuals, we have drawn the conclusion that our struggle must be organically linked to the struggle of the international working class.

That is the real meaning of our conference.

In the light of the conclusions we and our comrades of the International Committee of the Fourth International have drawn, we turn towards Czechoslovakia where the struggles of the workers in all our countries has found its highest expression.

It is our duty to make this turn—especially today when massive repression is gripping the workers and youth of all the E European countries.

This repression is particularly ferocious in Czechoslovakia where more than a thousand arrests and purges show the Stalinist apparatus's determination to establish a reign of terror, to 'normalize' the situation.

● **Hands off the Czechoslovak working class and its militants!**

Defend

We call on the whole workers' movement, in particular the militant communists who have condemned the intervention, to defend the Czechoslovak workers and militants.

They must demand that their party leaders, particularly in France, Italy and Great

Britain, take a stand in defence of the arrested and threatened militants. These leaderships condemned the intervention. Let them now take on their responsibilities.

The struggle of the Czechoslovak working class, youth, intellectuals and students began as a fight for workers' democracy based on socialist conquest.

Their struggle is the continuation of the 1917 October Revolution betrayed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, whose rule is incompatible with this democracy and therefore with socialism; it is the same as the struggle waged by the working class of E Germany, of Poland, of Hungary from 1953 to 1956, with the same objective and the same enemy.

We are fighting this same struggle which is now developing in all the E European countries. Their struggle is the process of the political revolution in Poland, Yugoslavia and the USSR itself and which in Czechoslovakia has made the overthrow of the parasitic bureaucracy the order of the day.

The struggle of the working class, the intellectuals, the students and the whole Czechoslovak people forced the bureaucracy to get rid of the most compromised section of the leadership.

Using this more favourable situation, the masses enforced freedom of speech and criticized the bureaucratic regime mercilessly.

Faced with this mobilization, the bureaucracy was forced to retreat more than it ever intended to; in the April programme, while broadening democratic liberties and beginning a timid criticism of the compromised Novotny faction, it also tried to fix the limits of its concessions.

But instead of calling a halt to their movement, the workers and youth once again marched forward. Even at the moment of its creation, the April programme had been outstripped.

Faced with the pressure of the masses for their own democracy, the bureaucratic apparatus started to fall apart.

This new stage was expressed in the battle for the democracy, the bureaucratic extraordinary 14th Congress of the Communist Party and the free election of delegates.

The new Dubcek leadership was once again forced to follow the movement by promising to satisfy its demands. The leadership defined its policies by the formula 'socialism with a human face'.

Because the Dubcek leadership represented a retreat by

the bureaucracy before the masses, they gave this leadership their full support, believing that 'socialism with a human face' meant the full realization of their hopes.

The military intervention inaugurated a new stage in the development of the mobilization of the workers and it revealed the extreme limitations of the Dubcek leadership.

The whole working class lined up against the intervention and against all those who supported it.

The stories spread before the invasion about the leading role of the intellectuals and students were sharply contradicted: the leading force of the political revolution is the working class.

Protection

It is precisely because of the mobilization of this class that militant communists were able to dislocate the Stalinist apparatus and recall the extraordinary 14th Congress of the Communist Party, under the direct protection of the working class.

A non-Stalinist party was born. Breaking with the Moscow bureaucracy, this Party organized the resistance.

But the break with the Soviet bureaucracy by no means transformed it into a revolutionary party. It based itself on the same 'socialism with a human face' that the Dubcek leadership determined as the ultimate concession to the masses and as its means of deflecting them from the revolutionary road.

In reality, 'socialism with a human face' is only a 'better' policy of the same ruling bureaucracy and not socialism, which the working class wins and expresses in and through the rule of its councils.

These councils (Soviets), in opposition to the rule of the bureaucracy, can only be established through the destruction of the bureaucracy and its organs of political power by the political revolution.

The political revolution, because it is a manifestation of and an organic part of the world revolution, requires an international leadership to express and organize the



Dubcek: His leadership defined its policies by the formula 'socialism with a human face'.



struggle of the world proletariat.

But contrary to this, the 14th Congress, like the Dubcek leadership, based its policies on 'socialism in one country', under the banner of 'socialism with a human face'.

That is why the struggle against the Czechoslovak bureaucracy was checked by the 14th Congress, which consolidated the ranks of the bureaucracy around the slogan 'socialism with a human face!'

CONSCIOUS militants then started to draw the first lessons of this experience which was marked by the

collapse of the Dubcek leadership.

Attempts were made to discover a solution by analysing the recent and historic experiences of the Czechoslovak workers and people. It was not because of the militants' lack of determination or ability that these analyses could not go beyond a certain point—which was itself the product of the conditions of their struggle.

On the one hand, these analyses conceived of the struggle of the Czechoslovak workers as an isolated, special struggle within a national context.

Consequently, their pro-

posed solution is also limited to this narrow perspective. Even when they recognized the connection between the Czechoslovak workers' struggle and struggles being waged in other countries, their analysis remained formal because they looked at this relationship as one struggle added to another rather than as an organic whole.

The organic link between social revolution in the capitalist countries and political revolution in the E European countries is determined by, among other things, the counter-revolutionary world alliance of imperialism and the bureaucracy against the inter-

national working class and its conquests.

On the other hand, and stemming from this narrowness, these analyses did not see the struggle of the Czechoslovak and other eastern workers as the continuation of the 1917 October Revolution.

History

Instead, they saw it either as a continuing historical-national struggle or as having no history at all.

Because these attempts rested on the concept of 'socialism in one country', with the struggle of the international proletariat as a secondary factor, they remained



The struggle for the Czechoslovak working class against Stalinism is the same struggle waged by the working class of E Germany, of Poland, of Hungary from 1953 to 1956, with the same objective and the same enemy. Top: Soviet tanks in Prague, August 1968. Above: Poland 1956.

within the same bounds as the Dubcek leadership and the 14th Congress in spite of their wish to go further.

Consequently, in their search for political leadership in the struggle, the militants were inevitably led back towards the bureaucracy by such analyses.

Our own experiences in our countries have confronted us with these same problems and we have looked for their solution.

The only clarification we have found is the following: The international unity of the class struggle and the unity of the social revolution and the political revolution, as well as the continuity of victorious Bolshevism of October 1917, are expressed and embodied in the programme and organization of the Fourth International.

Consequently, only a party founded on this programme as part of the Fourth International, taking the place of the bankrupt leaderships, can express the hopes of the masses and lead them to the victory of the political revolution.

Defeats

BUT THE Fourth International was founded in a time of great defeats of the proletariat.

Under conditions of isolation, the pressure of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism gave rise to the development of revisionism even in the leadership of the Fourth International.

Bureaucracy

THIS revisionism (called Pabloism after its spokesman, Michel Pablo), held that the fundamental antagonism was not between the international proletariat and world imperialism, but between the latter and the Stalinist bureaucracy, thus awarding the bureaucracy an historic mission and denying this decisive, revolutionary role to the proletariat.

The tendency that aims to subordinate the politics of the Fourth International to the Stalinist apparatus derives from this position which is opposed to the programme of the Fourth International. According to this programme, bureaucracy must be thrown out and its power destroyed.

Developed

THE STRUGGLE against revisionism was born and developed in the Fourth International.

It resulted in the formation of the International Committee of the Fourth International in order to preserve the continuity of its programme and organization against the attacks by the liquidationist revisionists.

Because of this crisis, the Fourth International could not fully play its part in the development of the international struggle of the working class between 1953 and 1956.

Comment

AS USUAL the revisionists are content to comment on the development of the political revolution in Czechoslovakia and the other countries of E Europe.

They no longer dare to propagate their true position—that of subordinating the struggle to the bureaucracy—openly, as they did from 1948 to 1956 and they refuse to put forward the concrete and indispensable perspective of a revolutionary programme and a revolutionary party to militants.

Formulate

IN SPITE of their loathing of perspectives, the development of the struggle in Czechoslovakia forced the Pabloites to formulate their objectives.

The perspective they put forward to militants—according to them the 'Marxist and revolutionary' left—is the forming of so-called organs of workers' 'self management'.

This is how they degrade the working class and its role.

Whereas the working class is the leading force of the revolution and its councils are, and must be, the organizational form of its power, the revisionists advise that these



Feb 1948: Armed workers' militia mobilized to break capitalism in Czechoslovakia. Forward to the political revolution in Eastern Europe!

councils be established as 'industrial' appendices of the bureaucracy as in Yugoslavia. IN THIS fundamental difference on the role and meaning of workers' councils and the proletarian party all militants can measure the abyss that separates us as Marxists from the revisionists who abuse the name of the Fourth International.

Party

MILITANT communists and socialists, we think that all experience shows that the vanguard of the Czechoslovak working class and of all the E European countries must build the class party of the political revolution.

We think that this independent party can only be founded on the programme of the Fourth International as a member of this International. The party will then embody the international unity of the working class, organizing the struggle of the working class for the taking of power in the entire world.

Czechoslovak militants can and must renew the struggle of those like Zavis Kalandra who, from 1936, answered the call of Leon Trotsky and denounced the Moscow Trials.

The condemnation of Kalandra to hanging meant the victory of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia.

In the same way, the development of the struggle of the Czechoslovak workers in 1968 necessarily meant the reappearance of the name of Kalandra, leader of the Fourth International, before workers and militant Czechoslovaks.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has long understood that its principal enemy is the Fourth International.

It knows that the only alternative to its power, the only path for the workers' struggle, is the Fourth International.

That is why it leads the offensive against 'Trotskyism', even if the militants accused are not Trotskyists and are not familiar with the programme and organization of the Fourth International.

All communists, all militant workers must draw this conclusion: build the party of the Fourth International, the party of Kalandra!

Continuity

The task of the construction of the party requires that militants clarify their own experiences and link them with

the experiences of the international proletariat within the context of the continuity of Bolshevism.

Such clarification can only take place within an organized context, by continuing the struggle by the side of the workers, by joining the struggle of the international proletariat.

This also means that the party can only be constructed if it is part of the Fourth International. The victory of the International, leader of the world revolution, will mean the formation of the Socialist United States of Europe and will at the same time resolve the national question.

An important stage on this road will be the Socialist

Federation of Central and E Europe which will begin to settle the problem of nationalities and nations, particularly important in this part of Europe.

Because the Soviet bureaucracy's relationship to the Czechoslovak bureaucracy, and to other eastern countries, takes the form of national oppression, the struggle of the workers against the Kremlin bureaucracy is a struggle for national liberty.

National demands, as a condition for democratic rights, are part of the struggle for the political

revolution and can only be defended in alliance with the workers of the Soviet Union and not on a national basis.

● Long live the Czechoslovak working class and youth!

● Immediate liberation of all arrested militants!

● Reinstatement of all militants dismissed from their jobs!

● Unconditional withdrawal of the occupation troops!

● Defence of the democratic rights won by the Czechoslovak workers!

● Long live the Socialist Federation of Central and E Europe, an important stage on the road to the Socialist United States of Europe!

● Militants! Forward to the construction of the party of the political revolution!

● Long live the Fourth International!

Switzerland,
December 27, 1969
to January 3, 1970.

Long live the heroic Czechoslovak people!

Appeal to the citizens of the Soviet Union from Piotr Grigorenko.

THE CAMPAIGN of suicide by fire in Czechoslovakia, started on January 16, 1969 by Prague student Jan Palach as a protest against the unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, is not over.

On February 21 a new 'living torch'—but living only for a moment—burned in Wenceslas Square.

This protest, which takes such a horrible form, is first of all directed at us, the Soviet people. It is the unsolicited and completely unjustified presence of our troops that is provoking such anger and such despair among the Czechoslovak people.

Not in vain has Jan Palach's death aroused all the Czechoslovak workers.

We bear the full weight of responsibility for his death, and for the deaths of other Czechoslovak brothers who have committed suicide.

By approving, by justifying the military intervention, or simply by remaining silent, we allow more living torches to burn in the squares of Prague and other cities.

The Czechs and Slovaks have always considered us their brothers. Are we going to let the word 'Soviet' become synonymous with the word 'enemy' for them?

Citizens of our great country!

The greatness of our country does not lie in the might of its armies brought down on a small freedom-loving people, but in its moral force.

Are we going to continue to

look on in silence as our brothers perish?

It is now clear to all that the presence of our troops on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia is not in the interest of the defence of our country or in the

interest of the countries of the socialist community.

Will we not have enough courage to admit that a tragic error has been committed and do all we can to rectify it? It is our right and our duty!

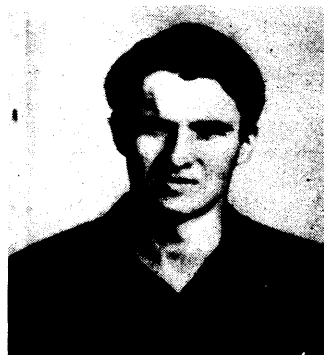
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Only in this way can friendship between our two peoples be re-established.

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February 28, 1969



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Surviving children of murdered Bolsheviks protest

Growing opposition to Stalinism in the Soviet Union

STALINISM was built in the USSR by completely liquidating the Bolshevik Party, by massacring its militants from top to bottom, including the supporters of Stalin. From 1935 to 1938, for example, one million Russian militants were arrested, 600,000 were executed and 400,000 were deported.

Stalin and the bureaucracy had to liquidate almost the whole of the Bolshevik Party, from the Party branches to the Politburo, in order to consolidate its domination and exclude the proletariat from power.

The political revolution in the USSR requires, in particular, the renewal of this link with the past of Bolshevism that Stalinism tried to erase forever. That is why this document written in 1967 and published in 'Samizdat I' ('The Voice of the Communist Opposition in the USSR'), which evaded the Stalinist political police, is so important.

The signatories to this letter, all sons and daughters of the Bolshevik cadres assassinated by Stalin and the bureaucracy, represent by their names and by the contents of the letter a direct link with Bolshevism. Reflected in their names is the diversity and richness of the past.

Bukharin, member of the Politburo, leader of the Right Opposition; Antonov-Ovseyenko, responsible for the political leadership of the Red Army, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1927; Radek, member of the Central Committee, advisor to the German Communist Party, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1929; Petrovsky, People's Commissar for home affairs, member of the Central Committee, half-hearted supporter of Stalin at first; Shlyapnikov, member of the Central Committee, leader of the workers' opposition; Muralov, one of the leaders of the Moscow Soviet in October 1917; member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1931; Sapronov, leader of the so-called Democratic Centralism group, member of the Left Opposition in 1923; Piatnitsky, president of the railwaymen's union, member of the Central Committee, supporter of Stalin; Serebriakov, one of the three secretaries of the Central Committee in 1919, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1928; Yenukidze, secretary of the executive committee of the Soviets, half-hearted supporter of Stalin; Berzin, colonel, commander of the Latvian regiment in 1917; Kalinin, member of the Politburo, president of the executive committee of Soviets, etc.

If the number of signatures isn't greater, it is because entire families, like that of Trotsky were assassinated. By this protest against the rehabilitation of Stalin, carried out today in the official organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the descendents of the assassinated Bolsheviks express the refusal of millions of workers and intellectuals to yield before the escalation of the rule of force, an escalation which follows naturally from the rehabilitation of the father of concentration camps and counter-revolutionary terror who the bold thinker, Roger Garaudy, in 1952 still called, 'Papa Stalin'.

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Bukharin, member of the Politburo, leader of the Right Opposition; Antonov-Ovseyenko, responsible for the political leadership of the Red Army, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1927; Radek, member of the Central Committee, advisor to the German Communist Party, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1929; Petrovsky, People's Commissar for home affairs, member of the Central Committee, half-hearted supporter of Stalin at first; Shlyapnikov, member of the Central Committee, leader of the workers' opposition; Muralov, one of the leaders of the Moscow Soviet in October 1917; member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1931; Saprionov, leader of the so-called Democratic Centralism group, member of the Left Opposition in 1923; Piatnitsky, president of the railwaymen's union, member of the Central Committee, supporter of Stalin; Serebriakov, one of the three secretaries of the Central Committee in 1919, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1928; Yenukidze, secretary of the executive committee of the Soviets, half-hearted supporter of Stalin; Berzin, colonel, commander of the Latvian regiment in 1917; Kalinin, member of the Politburo, president of the executive committee of Soviets, etc.

If the number of signatures isn't greater, it is because entire families, like that of Trotsky were assassinated. By this protest against the rehabilitation of Stalin, carried out today in the official organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the descendents of the assassinated Bolsheviks express the refusal of millions of workers and intellectuals to yield before the escalation of the rule of force, an escalation which follows naturally from the rehabilitation of the father of concentration camps and counter-revolutionary terror who the bold thinker, Roger Garaudy, in 1952 still called, 'Papa Stalin'.



Karl Radek

of Stalin. It saddens us to think that the betrayed masses were forced to consent to this arbitrary despotism.

This must not be repeated. The rebirth of the past brings communist ideas into question, discredits our system and legalizes the assassination of millions of innocent people.

All the attempts to whiten the black deeds of Stalin raise the danger of a repetition of the hideous tragedy that struck our Party, our people and the whole communist movement.

The tragedy of the Chinese events obliges all of us to outline necessary safeguards to

torch the immortal name of Lenin, the greatest democracy, collective control of society, control of society by society itself.

To unfurl these flags is the best homage we can pay to the men crushed by the diabolical cult of the individual.

On some of us today there is still an unjustified stigma. Others are doomed to oblivion.

History will bring them back into the heart of the Party, into the heart of the people.

The monument to the victims of Stalin's despotism promised by the 22nd Congress of the Party must be erected to mark the existence of the Soviet state for 50 years.

In these days of celebration,



N. I. Bukharin

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR (CPSU) on behalf of the surviving children of the innocent communist victims of Stalin.

TODAY, in speeches, in the press, on television, the 'merits' of Stalin are praised. This represents a political revision of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU.

This troubles us deeply. And not only because our parents and ourselves were, like millions of others, victims of the criminal machine



A. Gastev



G. I. Boki



Yenukidze

prevent a repetition of similar catastrophes. Only revealing totally the crimes of Stalin and his supporters can generate movement, consciousness and indignation in all of society needed to destroy all the results of the Stalin cult and make the return of new cults and new despotisms impossible.

How can one praise Stalin after all that our people and the international communist movement have suffered because of him?

This adulatory praise shackles our movement, weakens our ranks, destroys our power and makes the triumph of communism impossible.

We must celebrate the 50th anniversary of the great October revolution under the flags of the Party, bearing like a

those who fought for a world October will be with us.

Their number cannot be counted: from the eminent leaders of the Party to the soldiers in the ranks of the revolution.

There is no place for the name of a despot on the flags of the Party.

We ask you to take notice of all that is written here and to see our letter as part of the struggle for communism. We hope this letter will allow an irreparable error to be avoided.



A. Shlyapnikov



N. I. Muralov

Reprinted from 'Workers Press' of Saturday, September 27, 1969.

Letter signed by

PIOTR YAKIR, son of E. A. Yakir.

L. PETROVSKY, son of P. G. Petrovsky and grandson of G. I. Petrovsky.

A. BOKI, daughter of G. I. Boki.

A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO, son of V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko.

G. TROITSKAYA, daughter of Livchitz.

G. AKOULOV, son of I. A. Akoulov.

S. V. STANKOVA (Ossinskaya-Obolevskaya), daughter of communists.

G. POLECHTCHOUK, daughter of N. I. Muralov.

YU JIVLIOUK, son of communists.

V. TERLIN, daughter of M. S. Gorb.

Z. SEREBRIAKOVA, daughter of G. Serebriakova.

The serious crimes of Stalin make all positive judgement of his activity immoral. I am signing precisely this point:

YU AIKHENWALD, son of a communist.

S. FEDOROVA, daughter of G. F. Fedorova.

J. KRIAPIVIANSKY, son of N. G. Kriapiviansky.

V. SCHMIDT, son of V. V. Schmidt.

YU LARIN (Bukharin), son of N. I. Bukharin and grandson of Yuri Larin.

S. K. RADEK, daughter of Karl Radek.

A. VSESVIATSKAYA, daughter of communists.

A. GASTEV, son of A. Gastev.

LARISSA BOGORAZ, daughter of a communist.

I. YAKIR, grand-daughter of I. E. Yakir and daughter of P. I. Yakir.

N. NETCHINCHTOHIKOV, son of a communist.

N. N. POPOV, son of N. Popov.

N. N. DEMTCHENKO, son of N. Demtchenko.

It is impossible to forget and to justify the crimes of Stalin in the name of any of his 'services'.

V. SCHVARTZSTEIN, son of a communist.

I. PIATNITSKY, son of O. A. Piatnitsky.

T. BAEVA, daughter of a communist.

R. IANSON, daughter of a communist.

YU SAPRONOV, son of T. V. Saprnov.

K. ZONBERG, son of a communist.

YU N. VAVILOV, son of the academician Nicolas Vavilov, president of the Vaskhnil.

V. BLUMFELD (Svitchis), son of a communist.

M. IVANOV (Kalinin), grandson of M. I. Kalinin.

I. A. SHLYAPNIKOVA, daughter of the friend of Lenin, A. Shlyapnikov.

V. YENUKIDZE, in the name of eight people of the family of Bolsheviks.

A. and T. YENUKIDZE, crushed by Stalin.

ARIA REINGOLDOVNA DIMZE-BERZIN, daughter of R. I. Berzin.

T. SMILGA-POLOUIAN, daughter of communists.

L. ZAVADSKI, son of a communist.

YU KIM, son of a communist.

S. GUENKIN, son of a communist.

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THE LETTER of resignation and the funeral oration published here have an exceptional significance for the international communist movement. The author of the letter was an old Bolshevik who fought in the civil war, endured the torture and terror of the Stalin regime and yet retained his communist convictions undimmed.

He fought the bureaucracy's policies in the party consistently and passionately. In particular he fought for a Leninist policy in relation to the national minorities such as the Chetchen-Ingush, the Volga Germans and the Crimean Tartars who were deported en masse to the far east before the Second World War by Stalin.

After his resignation Kosterin continued his struggle for the regeneration of socialism in the USSR and against the return of some of the worst features of Stalinism—exemplified by the trial of the Soviet writers and the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Kosterin lived and died a communist. His remarkable life and struggle, the grandeur and pathos of which is so vividly evoked in the speech of Yakir, is a magnificent testimony to the resurgence of the Soviet working class and the new generation of youth who will dig the graves of the Kremlin bureaucracy as surely as Kosterin's generation dug the graves of the Kremlin Tsar and the Russian bourgeoisie.

The speech and the letter together constitute an eloquent and damning indictment of the heirs of Stalin and, we feel certain, it will inspire the new generation of communists inside and outside the Soviet Union to complete the task begun by Trotsky and the Left Opposition: to carry through the political revolution and open the road to a world October.

M. Banda, October 10, 1969

ALEXIS KOSTERIN joined the Bolshevik Party in 1916. He was deported for 17 years to the gold mines of Kolyma. He died on November 16, 1968, three weeks after writing this letter.

Appeal by Alexis Kosterin translated from 'Samizdat 1'

Take up the struggle against Stalinism

Appeal by Alexis Kosterin to the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR. Copies to:

The editorial committee of 'Pravda' for publication;

The local committee of the Frunze Party;

The Party organization of the Moscow Writers' Union.

Dear Comrades,

OVER the last few months I have sent several letters to my Party cell and to the Central Committee criticising a whole series of negative phenomena in the internal life of the Party and the social life of our country.

I persisted so that the problems I raised would lead to public discussion.

After having debated them clearly, in the spirit of the Party, I could be told how and why I was wrong; and, if sometimes I was right, I could be supported so that positive solutions to the problems I raised could be found and applied where necessary to the Party and the State.

No one can deny, I believe, that I had the indisputable right guaranteed to me by the Party statutes as a Party member, to take this step.

What followed however, violated the Party statutes as well as violating simple common sense.

I was informed that the Moscow Party Committee would debate my letters on October 17 of this year.

For reasons of health. I

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could not be at the meeting—following a serious and painful heart attack, the second!—that recently laid me up; the doctors categorically forbid me to participate in these discussions because of the nervous tension it would have involved.

And as I had set out and argued very clearly and in a convincing way the problems I was raising I thought the discussion could go on without me.

It appears that the content of my letters was never examined. Instead of discussing them, my letters had the labels 'anti-Party' and 'anti-Soviet' attached to them in a totally wanton way and I was expelled from the Party.

Several other CPSU statutes were flagrantly violated:

1. The question of my Party membership was ruled on without consulting my local organization.
2. I was expelled for exercising the indefensible right of a Party member: to express himself before the Party on any important question, to present his proposals and defend them until a decision is taken about the matters they concern.
3. The transcript of the proceedings of the meeting and the decision of the Party Committee were passed on to the local committee right away without informing me first.
4. Neither was I told about the local committee's deliberations; they had evidently already decided with amazing rapidity to 'settle' the question of my expulsion.

This confirmed my hypothesis that only the fact that I sent the letters was considered and not the questions raised in those letters. Their content—the real problems—has not been examined.

The label 'anti-Party' was wantonly attached to my letters. I had already been reproached for defending the Tartars of Crimea.

To be consistent, the Party Committee should have accused me at the same time for writing in defence of the

Germans living in the Volga and the Turks. It should also be remembered that in 1958 I was expelled from the Party for having defended the Chetchen-Ingush people. I should have been reproached for having defended with arms, in the first years of the revolution, the Leninist policy of nationalities and the right of minorities to national equality.

What happened to me is not accidental.

It springs from the whole line of the Party leadership. The Politbureau of the Central Committee does not itself respect the Party laws, does not take them into account.

In spite of the decisions of the 22nd and 23rd Party Congresses, the name and anti-human acts of Stalin are being 'cautiously' but insistently rehabilitated. And, in practice, Stalinist methods are allowed more and more scope.

As under Stalin, freedom of speech, freedom of the press,

freedom of assembly, freedom to meet, freedom to march and demonstrate in the streets only exists in written form in the Constitution.

In practice, all those who try to exercise these rights are arrested; those who protest against this arbitrary injustice are expelled from the Party, dismissed from their jobs and put under constant surveillance by KGB agents. Their mouths are closed by all possible methods including the most repugnant.

As under Stalin, a whole series of national minorities are the victims of savage persecution, discrimination and veritable acts of genocide.

Stalinism manifests itself with particular clarity in the domain of foreign policy. The events in Czechoslovakia are an especially striking illustration.

The supreme leadership of the Party and the Soviet state is not afraid to put the world on the brink of a thermonuclear catastrophe with-

out considering the genuine interests of our country and the world communist movement; the leadership has provided the imperialist extremists with arguments to be used for increasing international tension.

The leadership has inflicted a moral defeat with very far reaching effects on our country and on the international communist movement. And all this with the sole end of defending the narrow interests of caste.

A climate of oppression continues to reign in the Party. The carefully sorted and selected Stalinist Party machinery throws itself un-animously into the assault against whoever expresses any doubts—whoever the doubter is—about the machine's policies or tries to criticise any member of the Party and state leadership.

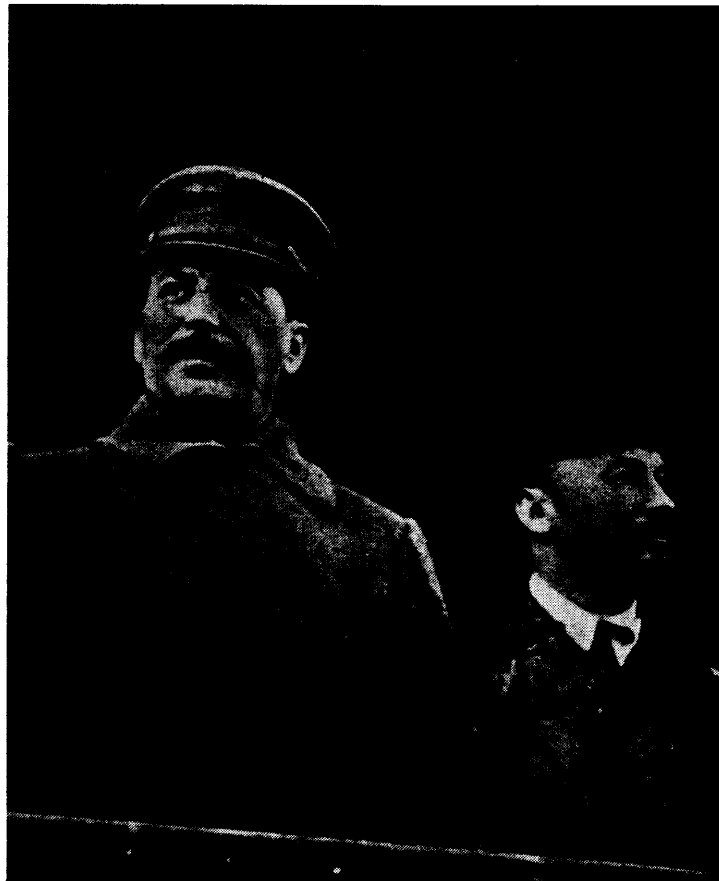
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Only those who carry out orders from on high without thinking can live in this Party; only those who consider their presence in the Party an assurance of safe conduct and of their own well being can live in this Party.

I foresaw what the local Party Committee's decision would be because I knew of certain other expulsions from the Party decided upon by its committees without any discussion in the lower Party organizations.

But I do not want to go to the local committee to be 'corrected'. I don't have the strength or health for that. I could still endure these corrections in 1937 when they followed my arrest, but not today.

As a protest against the flagrant violations of Party statutes and in order to free myself from that Party discipline which deprives me of the right to think, I am resigning from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and I am returning my Party membership card, number 8,293,698.



Kosterin endured all attacks and privations during the repressive Stalin era, but still remained a communist. Stalin is seen left with Bukharin.

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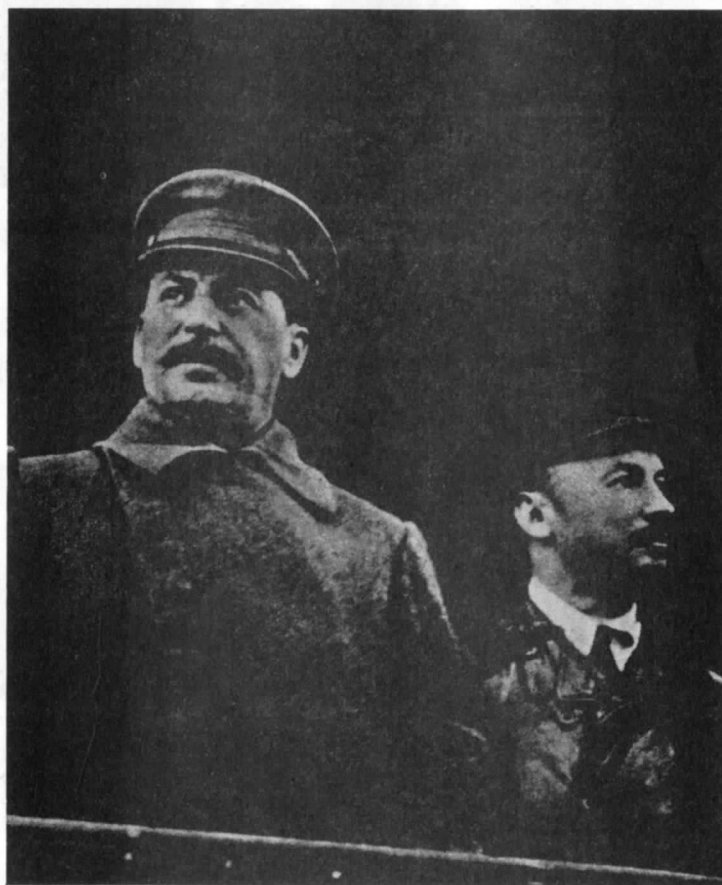
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If the Central Committee sees that it is in its interest that all Party members, in-

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If this is the case I will rescind my decision to resign from the Party and continue to struggle against Stalinism inside the Party ranks sub-

mitting to its discipline.

But with or without a Party card I have been, I am, and I will remain a Marxist-Leninist communist, a Bolshevik. My whole existence, from my youth to today, bears witness to that.

If I find myself outside the Party I will continue to struggle for my Marxist-Leninist

ideas, for their democratic application in life, as I've always struggled, making use of all the rights given to me by our Constitution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man adopted by the United Nations and signed by our government.

October 24, 1968



A Soviet armoured car rolls through Czechoslovakia (below) during the August 1968 invasion. Kosterin had the deepest feelings for the working class in that country, and expressed his opposition to the bureaucracy's action.

Reprinted from 'Workers Press'
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Towards a return of Stalinism?

**A letter to leaders of art, science and culture in the Soviet Union
by Piotr Yakir, Yuli Kim and I. Gabai**



Towards a return of Stalinism?

**A letter to leaders of art, science and culture in the Soviet Union
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Yuri Galanskov: Very sick man, sentenced to seven years.



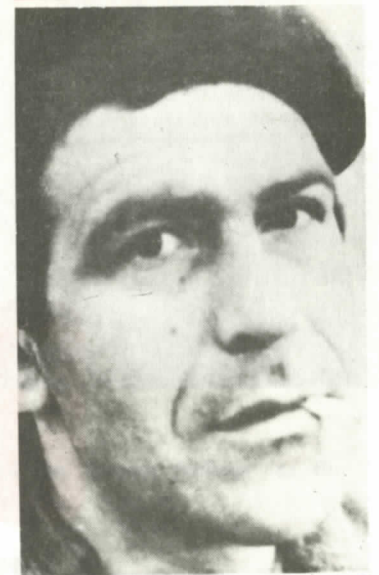
Pavel Litvinov: Wrote letter of protest about Ginsburg trial.



Alexander Ginsburg: Sentenced to five years hard labour.



Andrei Sinyavsky: Condemned to long years of suffering.



Yuri Daniel: Imprisoned for saying what he thought to be true.

WE, the signatories of this letter, turn to you with words of deep alarm over the destiny and honour of our country.

In the last few years the menacing symptoms of a return of Stalinism have multiplied. This is particularly evident in the proliferation of trials of men who have dared defend their dignity and their liberty, who have dared to protest. These are the most terrible fruits of our epoch.

Of course, the repression hasn't reached the level of earlier years.

But we have ample reason to fear that among the leadership of the state and the Party there is a nostalgic group who want to reverse the course of our development.

If we allow this to continue, we will have no guarantee that the year 1937 will not return . . .

It will be a long time before we see Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuri Daniel again; they are condemned to long years of suffering because they dared write what they thought to be true.

Young people like Viktor Khusatov and Vladimir Bukovsky were torn away from their normal lives for three years. Their only 'crime' was having publicly expressed their disagreement with the Draconian laws and repressive measures which once again ravage our country.

Illegality

The kangaroo court which tried them is a model of cynical illegality and falsification.

The recent trial of Ginsburg and his comrades surpassed all limits in its scorn for human rights.

Vyshinsky¹ himself would have envied the organization of this trial.

He, at least, extorted confessions from the accused and statements from witnesses. Procuror Terekhov and Judge Mironov did not even feel the need to go through the empty formality of presenting proof.

Yuri Galanskov, physically a very sick man, was sentenced to seven years of hard labour. The sole and very fragile proof of his guilt was the deposition of an ignoble coward named Dobrovolsky.

Alexander Ginsburg was sentenced to five years hard labour in spite of the statements of witnesses and the most obvious facts.

Even the life of Alexis Dobrovolsky, who played the sinister role of a Kostomarov² at this trial, was ruined. If he has even the shadow of a conscience, his 30 pieces of silver will be far from sufficient recompense for the contempt and rejection that await this slanderer.

Our organs of repression bear the heaviest responsibility for the moral mutilation of Dobrovolsky, now marked as a scoundrel who has destroyed and slandered his comrades out of vile self-interest.

Vera Lashkova³ was guilty of having typed texts which the court considered criminal.

Similar crimes

And under the prevailing conditions in our country, as exemplified by the cases of others sentenced for similar crimes (L. Rendel, A. Marchenko and others), she will pay dearly for this offence. Her conviction will be marked in her passport and she will lose the right to live and study in Moscow.

The atmosphere surrounding the court was another link in the chain of illegality.

The official services shamefully lied to the Western Communist press. On the first day of the trial it was announced that its date had not yet been fixed.

Asked about it a few days before the trial, the Deputy Chairman of the Moscow

Municipal Court, Mironov, said that the court had not yet been informed of the case.

People who tried to enter the courtroom were subjected to brutal blackmail and contemptuous treatment: they were photographed, continuously spied on, their papers were checked, their conversation was recorded . . . and this is far from a complete list of the honourable deeds that marked the memorable days of the Ginsburg trial.

Without a doubt the most frightening thing about it was the number of young people (boys and girls) among the police spies; they spied instead of studying, they denounced instead of trying to grasp and understand, and, from the KGB's point of view, their work as informers was the epitome of youthful morality in contrast to Ginsburg's 'immorality'—Ginsburg who dared to intervene in favour of men convicted although innocent.

You are, of course, familiar with Larissa Bogoraz-Daniel's and Pavel Litvinov's letter. With full responsibility we declare that not only is every line of that letter true, but it is only a small part of the truth about the outrages and mockery of which the accused were victims.

Savage cries

The organization of the trial and the conduct of the judge, whose job it is to be absolutely impartial, in fact deprived the accused of the right to defend themselves and the savage cries of the 'public' created an unbearable climate of hostility for them.

In the public gallery people read the newspaper or slept, only waking up to demand a severer sentence.

The authorities once again organized a so-called 'public trial' by exploiting the vilest characteristics of specially chosen yes-men endowed with a solid indifference to the fate of others and too blind to worry about informing themselves or analysing the facts.

1 Ex-White Guard and Menshevik; prosecutor under Stalin.

2 A militant in the time of Alexander II who betrayed his comrades when arrested by the police.

3 Lashkova typed the 'White Book on the Sinyavsky-Daniel Case' written by Ginsburg.



'We still hear the long list of wrecking activities organized by the man who was People's Commissar for Armed Forces and chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, L. D. Trotsky.'



Theodorakis: Greek composer imprisoned by the military junta.

While in the public gallery the hysterical goodwives and Black Hundreds slept or insulted the accused, in the corridor, and later outside in the cold, the real public milled around; friends and relatives of the accused were there, but the majority were people who didn't know them, but wanted to discover the truth—writers, students, teachers.

Falsifications

Our newspapers concocted a series of falsifications either based purely and simply on lies or they presented carefully selected facts designed to mislead uninformed people.

Those who pretend to the role of ideological mentors have forgotten something very important:

'It is essential to take not single facts, but the whole complex of facts bearing upon the question under examination, *without a single exception*, since otherwise the suspicion—and a wholly justified suspicion—inevitably arises that instead of an objective nexus and inter-relationship . . . a subjective concoction is perhaps being offered for the justification of a dirty business. That, after all, occurs . . . more often than it would seem.'

These are the words of V. I. Lenin.

The pogrom against intellectuals is only the logical outcome of the atmosphere that has prevailed for several years in our country.

The naive hopes for a purification of our public life that we nourished after the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses have not borne fruit.

Stalinism is being restored slowly but surely.

This process is fundamentally supported by our passivity, by our too short memory and by the basic truth that we are used to an absence of freedom.

Here are some signs of the rebirth of Stalinism in recent years.

1 The name of J. V. Stalin has been cited by the highest authorities in a completely positive way. The newspapers have drawn attention to the applause that has greeted his name.

Justify conduct

They have neglected to mention that this applause comes from people who servilely wish to serve 'strong' men, from people who want to justify their own conduct in the not too distant past or from people rotten with remnants of perverted nationalist sentiments.

For how long was it necessary to corrupt human nature to the extent that men could applaud the murderer of hundreds of thousands of people and the organizer of tortures and torments?

2 The reappearance of Stalin's name could be explained by a wish to treat history objectively. An objective attitude towards a hangman is a fact of moral pathology of course, but still it could be understood.

But objectivity doesn't yet allow the truth to be told about the political leaders of the first decade of Soviet power.

It would after all be possible, without transgressing the limits of internal Party discussion, to honestly say of some individuals that they did not engage in any espionage and that they did not put broken glass in food.

It would also be possible to explain what they did while they held important posts.

But we are still crushed under the great deeds of Stalin when he was People's Commissar for National Minorities and under the long list of wrecking activities organized by the man who was then People's Commissar for the Armed Forces and Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, L. D. Trotsky.

3 As a result, the term 'cult of the individual' has been banned. Literary and historic works in which Stalin and the crimes of the Stalinist period are criticized, are refused or not printed, even if they're already set in type (the memoirs of B. Vannikov, L. Slavin's book on Marshall Yegorov, the front-line memoirs of C. Simokov, the memoirs of Y. Ginsburg and many others).

Recommended

This has gone so far that the powerful ideological official Fedoseyev has recommended that we don't use the term 'cult of the individual', except in reference to the Latin American dictators and Mao Tse-tung.

4 To this day no democratic principle has been put into practice. The literary or artistic tastes of the parasites is still the law for writers, artists, publishers, readers and viewers.

Films that would be a credit to us rot in the cinema archives; marvellous paintings lie in studios and tiny attics.

In literature there is only room for the shabby works of the Kozhetovs and Smirnovs—above all those works which glorify Stalin—and only a privileged few have been able to read Solzhenitsyn's 'Cancer Ward'.

The attempts to stop what is called 'Samizdat', or uncensored literature, is doomed to fail.

If there had not been a 'Samizdat' in Russian literature we would have lost Radischev's novel, Griboedov's play 'Woe From Wit', and numerous poems by Pushkin.

Even today the interest shown by a series of readers in unpublished works will preserve the truth about the thought and creative spirit of our contemporaries for better times.

There is nothing the parasites can do about it: the Zhdanovs pass into oblivion and the work of the Akhmatovs conquers generation after generation.

Understanding this, the organs of repression will continue to resort to outright forgeries, as in the case of the

absurd attempt to associate Ginsburg, editor of the White Book on the Sinyavsky-Daniel Trial, with the NTS emigré organization.⁵

In the humanist sciences simplistic and pernicious dictats of political opportunism still reign.

The seeker who strays from the truth condemns himself to death but our historians, our philosophers and our economists are now obliged to do this every day. If, by some chance, a bit of the truth finds its way into print, the authors of it are persecuted. There are many famous examples of this.

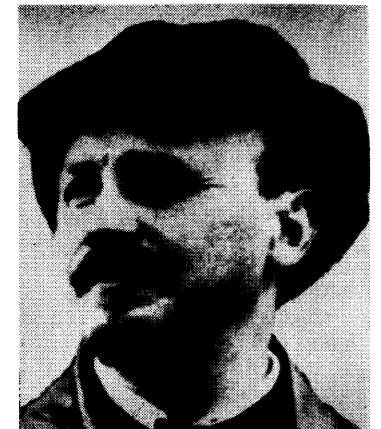
5 The Crimean Tartars have just been rehabilitated. But the Soviet public knows little about this as it knows little about this people, victims of a monstrous crime, who still cannot return to its homeland. The Crimean Tartars who try to do so are sent back or subjected to various repressive measures.

6 But most degrading is the constant surveillance in all its forms that has become an integral part of the daily life of many Soviet citizens.

We have cited only a few examples of our public life here.

4 Akhmatova was condemned by a decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1946. This decree was drawn up by Zhdanov.

5 A White-Russian, pro-Nazi organization which publishes numerous documents of the communist opposition for provocative reasons. It receives these documents from the KGB via the CIA.



Bukharin: Accused at the third Moscow Trial of espionage and putting broken glass in workers' butter.

Once more we remind you: silent complicity with the Stalinists and the bureaucrats who deceive our people and with the leadership that stifle every sign, every complaint and every protest, leads logically to the worst result — illegal reprisals against human beings.

It is under these conditions that we appeal to you as creative labourers in whom our nation places unlimited confidence. Raise your voices against the imminent danger of the appearance of new Stalins and new Yezhovs.⁶

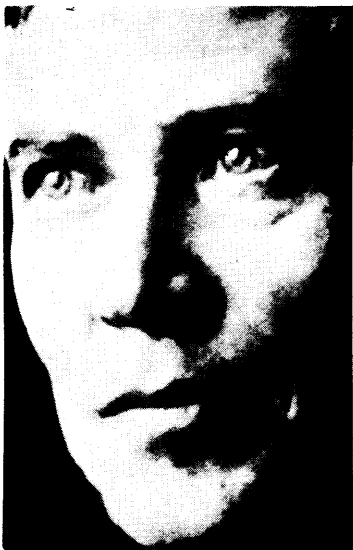
The fate of the future Vavilovs and Mandelshtams⁷ is on your conscience.

You are the heirs of the great humanist traditions of the Russian intelligentsia.

You have before you the courageous example of the progressive intelligentsia of the West.

We understand very well that you are in conditions that require an act of courage on your part every time you are called upon to fulfill your duties as citizens.

But in the end there is no other choice: either courage or cowardly complicity with infamous actions; either the acceptance of risks or an alliance with the Vasilevs and Kedrins; either sacrifice or



Yezhov: Stalin's police chief responsible for the purges.

joining the ranks of the yellow hack journalists who dirty the columns of 'Izvestia' and 'Komsomolskaya Pravda' and who consider it morally justifiable to publicly slander the men they help to condemn.

We only want one thing: that our people have the *moral right* to protest against the imprisonment of Theodorakis⁸ for six months.

We remind you again: men who have dared to think lie in hard labour camps.

The silence of each one of you will be one more step towards the trial of another Daniel or another Ginsburg. Then slowly, with your silent consent, a new 1937 will advance.

6 Yezhov: Stalin's police chief responsible for purges.

7 Mandelshtam: Soviet poet deported in 1937 who went mad and then died in a Siberian camp.

8 Greek composer imprisoned by the Colonels.

Reprinted from the 'Workers Press' of Saturday, December 6, 1969.

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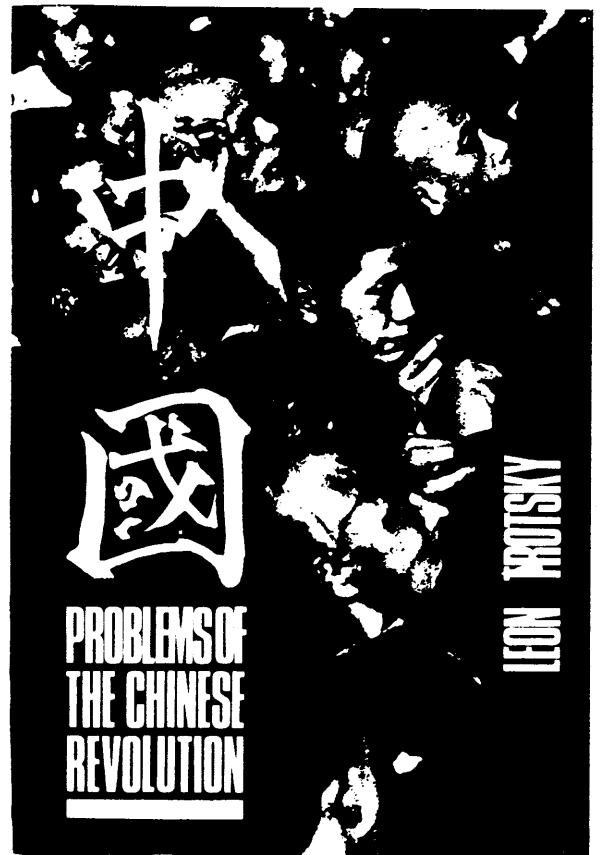
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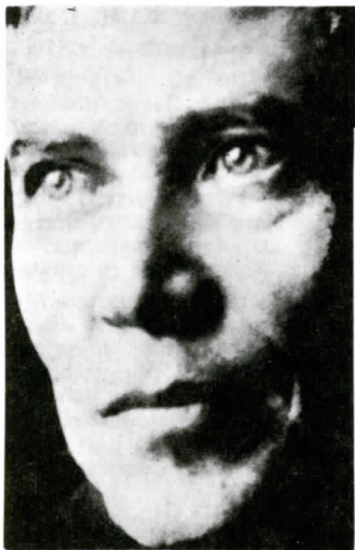
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**YAKIR: FOR A
POSTHUMOUS
TRIAL OF
STALIN**

To the editor of 'Kommunist' (Theoretical review of the Central Committee of the CPSU)

IN NUMBERS 2 and 3 of your review for 1969 two documents were published: an article by Master of Sciences (history) Boltin, entitled 'Moving pages in the noble book of the Great Patriotic War' and an article entitled, 'For a Leninist party spirit in the study of the history of the CPSU' signed Golikov, Murachov, Techkhikvichvili, Chataguine and S. Chaoumian.

An attentive reader of these two texts would have no doubt as to their basic aim: to rehabilitate and exalt Stalin.

In spite of their authors' many vain efforts to effect an objective tone, it is not difficult to follow their main thread. On the whole they make a highly positive judgement of Stalin.

In this way the authority of the main organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU (which in fact approaches the complex problems of social life in an authoritarian manner) is utilized to exalt the pro-Stalinist campaign which has been growing in recent years.

Moreover, in various newspapers and journals, and recently in your journal, the secondary problem of Stalin's personal qualities as head of state are emphasized in judging him.

☆

Leaving aside the social thought of our reflective citizens over the last few years, the diplomatic, military and economic successes of an Ivan the Terrible or a Nicholas I, do not change or negate, by contemporary moral standards, the fact that the first was a sadist, responsible for and executor of massive repres-

sions, and that the conscience of the latter was always uneasy because of the hanging of five Decembrists.¹

To make Stalin an exception to this general rule is all the more astonishing as not very long ago your review published examples of Stalin's negligence, voluntarism and flagrant tyranny in the fields of economics, politics and art.

The old generation and people around 40 years old remember the heritage left

1 The Decembrists were nobles and military revolutionaries who tried to overthrow the Tsarist monarchy in December 1825. They were hung and their wives were deported for life to Siberia.

behind by Stalin on March 5, 1953: a catastrophic situation in agriculture, contracted out to the Lysenko-Olchansky group; queues at the bakeries in the surrounding regions; an acute housing crisis; a lack of harmony in the system of salaries and prices; a savage foreign policy which brought us to the brink of war; an unimaginable reign of the diktat in art (going as far as liquidation of 'heretics'); dozens of people deported; hundreds of thousands of men of all ages—from infants to the very old who had managed to survive—made to rot in camps; and there were many other things.

Do we need to remember the



The military chiefs who had led the International Brigades in Spain (above) were shot without trial when they returned to the Soviet Union in 1941.

last months of Stalin's life: the medieval anti-Semitic campaign unleashed with the so-called 'Doctors' Case'; the show-case of lies at the 19th Congress; the tyrant's 'basic' ideas about socialist economics and linguistics—'basic' ideas that life forces swept away as soon as the tyrant's stranglehold weakened.

There was also Stalin's spiritual heritage: the sinister atmosphere of suspicion and informing, the effects of which, it seems, have still not been overcome.

And now your review solemnly recommends work full of servile tenderness for the memory of the 'master'.

(Remember the vulgar luxury of the Komsomolkaya underground station or the Lenin-gradskaya Hotel; the story behind them was only divulged several months after Stalin's death, at the Central Committee Plenum of September 1953.)

This 'master' was so attentive to the specialists' advice.

(As a dazzling example remember the unique discussion led by this semi-literate chief with followers of the excellent linguist Marr; the liquidation of genetics; the mistrust spread about 'anti-scientific' cybernetics and the theory of relativity; the discoveries made about feudal Russian history, etc.)

Apparently continuing the work of these years, your review writes:

'Historians have at their disposal work of eminent leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet government . . . Stalin' (number 3, p. 71).

A specific tendency lies behind all this: 'To establish the limits of the cult of the individual', to separate Stalin from his deeds.

Responsibility for the massive repressions then rests on those who carried them out: Yezhov, Beria, Abakumov.

It is a seductive but notoriously deceitful way to pose the problem. Our history has never known the Yezhov cult, but it has known the Stalin cult. Yezhov's departure did not mark the end of repression. Stalin bears the responsibility as instigator and organizer, for all the government crimes perpetrated during the quarter of a century he ruled the country.

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In passing, your authors denigrate the historians who 'concentrate all (?) their attention on mistakes and deficiencies' (number 3, p. 70), and who 'instead of making a real critique of the mistakes and deficiencies linked to the cult of the individual with a Party spirit, blacken the heroic history of our country' (ibid, p. 73).

It's not difficult to figure out what hides behind this call for a 'real critique'. The authors themselves define the limits of this 'critique'.

'The Party's point of view is set out in the famous June 30, 1956 resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU: "On the liquidation of the cult of the individual and its consequences"' (ibid, p. 73).

Of course, there is nothing said about the fact that after the 20th Congress there was a 22nd and a whole series of conferences and plenums which in their documents and decisions completed the resolution of June 30, 1956.

I remember that the voices of people who today are titular members or suppliants of the Politburo were raised at the Congress Tribune and at numerous plenums. All, without exception, judged Stalin and his creatures—Molotov, Kaganovitch, Malenkov—devastatingly.

I will give several examples that prove my point.

N. V. Podgorny: 'Participants in the meetings and assemblies consider it inadmissible that the body of Stalin, whose name is linked to all the enormous harm done to our Party, our country and Soviet citizens, should rest by the side of our guide and great master, Lenin, the symbol of all socialist victories' (CPSU 22nd Congress; stenographic account, t.3 p. 116).

A. N. Shelepin: 'A whole series of cynical notes on letters and statements written by Stalin, Kaganovitch, Molotov, Malenkov and Voroshilov are evidence of a cruel attitude towards these people, towards leading comrades under investigation' (Idem, t.2 p. 403).

P. N. Demishev: 'With broken hearts the Muscovites helped in the annihilation of the Leningrad militants ordered by Stalin and Malenkov. A

number of leading cadres in the Party, in the economy and in the Soviets belonging to the Moscow organizations also perished, however innocent' (Idem, t.3, p. 116).

M. A. Suslov: 'Molotov and Stalin even gave their approval to the severest punishments of the militants' wives who appeared on "List Number 4 of Wives of Enemies of The People". This list included V. A. Dybenko-Sidiakina, E. S. Kossior, A. I. Tchoubar, E. E. Eikhe-Rubtsova and others . . . During the period of the cult of Stalin's personality the usual method of dealing with militants whom Stalin suspected of not sharing his ideas, was physical liquidation



Mayerhold: Theatrical director. Disappeared after criticizing Stalin's art diktats.

'The Chinese leaders spoke and wrote about the massive repressions during the epoch of the cult of the individual as if they were merely unimportant exaggerations . . . They defended Stalin's errors and deviations' (Report to the CC Plenum, February 14, 1964. In 'Pravda', April 31, 1964).

All that remains to be said is that sadly enough the Chinese leaders have found fellow travellers in the columns of 'Kommunist'.

Even on the questions Boltin's article touches on—Boltin who writes that 'Taking into consideration the complexity and all the contradictions of his character, Stalin was an eminent commander'—even on these questions this whisper can hardly be heard.

'One of the reasons that the Red Army had to fight under unbelievably difficult conditions was Stalin's underestimation of the real threat of

war' ('The Soviet Union's Great Patriotic War', Moscow 1961, p. 46).

The armies on the South-West front were placed in a particularly perilous position and were finally encircled in September, 1941 in the Kiev region.

The ensuing situation required the immediate shifting of troops from the front towards the East in order to save the men and the equipment. These same troops could then have launched the counter-offensive.

But despite numerous proposals personally addressed to Stalin by the command of the South-West axis and the front, he categorically forbade the



Bela Kun: Shot by Stalin when he fled to the Soviet Union to escape the Nazis.

withdrawal of the front-line troops.

With that order Stalin signed the death warrant of the soldiers of the South-West front (see J. K. Bagramian, 'A Year of Struggle On The Dnieper', Political Literature Publications, Moscow, 1965, pp. 143-151).

From May 17 to May 23, 1942, Stalin rejected proposals from the South-West front to stop the offensive on Kharkov three times. This refusal resulted in the complete encirclement of the South-West front and the offensive ended in a total retreat by our troops who suffered heavy losses of men and equipment (see 'The Soviet Union's Great Patriotic War', abridged, p. 162).

☆

It is not a question of discussing whether Stalin worked

out military operations on a world globe or on a map.

Any government official can of course make mistakes.

We have criticized Stalin, not for his inability to govern, but for his pathological inhumanity and criminal violation of social rules and the country's laws.

Tens of thousands of pages could be written about Stalin's crimes.

But our aim is a more modest one. Using the RSFSR Penal Code published in Moscow in 1966 (the most moderate one in our whole history), we will try to show that your review defended a criminal who deserved to be condemned to death four times and to serve 68 years in prison under very strict conditions for his crimes if he had only committed them each one time.

But as Stalin was always repeating his crimes, the punishment should be multiplied several hundred or thousand times.

The resolution of the 20th Congress of the CPSU declared: '7. It is considered inopportune that the tomb containing Stalin's shroud remains in the mausoleum as Stalin was guilty of serious violations of Lenin's precepts. His abuse of power, the massive repressions against the honest Soviet citizens and other acts committed during the period of the cult of the individual [my emphasis] make it impossible to leave the shroud containing his body in V. I. Lenin's mausoleum' (22nd Congress of the CPSU, stenographic account, Moscow, t.3, p. 122).

This resolution was voted on unanimously by the Congress. It was proposed by the Moscow and Leningrad delegation and delegations from the Ukrainian and Georgian communist parties who themselves represented the experience of the workers in their cities and republics.

No one has repealed this decision.

The Soviet Penal Code contains articles that punish the actions mentioned in the resolution of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.

I Abuse of power: in a broad sense (article 170, imprisonment for up to eight years), as well as in the sense of exceeding authority or



Left to right Topolev, aircraft engineer, imprisoned; Gromov, Red Army leader, shot; Unschrift, Red Army leader, shot; Eideman, Red Army leader, shot; Goryanov, Red Army leader, shot; Khalatov, Red Army leader, shot; Uritsky, Head of Intelligence, shot; Alksnis, Head of Air Force, shot.

power (article 171, imprisonment for up to ten years).

2 During the mass purges people were illegally deprived of their liberty, which is punishable, according to articles 126 and 17, by imprisonment for up to three years (article 17 of the RSFSR Penal Code, 'Collaboration').

In this article it says: 'Collaborators in crime are treated as perpetrators, organizers, instigators and those who promote the offence'.

As in this case it is not known, as in a number of other cases, which crimes were carried out by Stalin himself, we refer to article 17 of the Penal Code of the RSFSR because Stalin's role as organizer is obvious.

In the documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU it states: 'The post-war repressions (1949-1950), like the repressions of the years 1935-1937, were carried out either under Stalin's direct order, or with his knowledge and approval' (stenographic account, Moscow 1962, t.3, p. 114).

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This led to beatings, deprivation of sleep for up to seven days and other torments which the author of these lines (arrested in 1937 at the age of 14 as a member of the family of an enemy of the people) personally witnessed. These actions are punishable under articles 113 and 17 by im-

prisonment for up to three years.

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4 Many leaders ended their days by suicide, some out of revulsion at participation in the crimes being committed, as proven by letters written before their death: S. Ordzhonikidze; I. Kossier; F. Furer; Pogrebinsky, head of the NKVD of the Gorky district, founder of our correctional communes; Litvin, head of the Leningrad NKVD; Korezelski, head of one of the NKVD bureaux in the Ukraine; Norin, head of the NKVD special service in Georgia; and many others.

A number of persecuted people took their own lives out of protest or fear of torture: Y. Gamarnik; Mr Tomsky; P. Liubchenko and his wife; V. Lominadze; A. Cherviakov; Rabichev; Adamovich; Lakoba; Firin; and many others.

Some who could not bear the tortures committed suicide in prison: N. Gololed; I. Garkavy; Nosalevsky; Lapin; and many others. All this falls under article 107 (instigation to suicide) and entails imprisonment for up to five years.

5 The mass repressions were accompanied by slanders and insults in the press, on radio and at meetings and conferences directed at the victims, their friends and relatives. Actions of this kind fall under article 130 ('slander', imprisonment for up to five years), and article 131 ('insults', hard

labour lasting up to one year).

6 For not having denounced and for protecting his accomplices (Yezhov, Yagoda, Beria, Ulrich, Vyshinsky and tens of thousands of others) Stalin must answer for that infraction of the law described in articles 88-1 and 88-2 and be imprisoned for from three to five years.

7 Many people, victims of the purges, were shot or just killed, or died of wounds received during the investigations. Among them were Party members as eminent as Chubar, Kossior, Rudzutak, Postyshev, Eikhe, Voznensky, Kuznetsov and 110 of the 139 members of the CPSU Central Committee elected at the 17th Party Congress, as well as hundreds of other honest men.

7a On Stalin's orders representatives of all the oppositions were arrested and in most cases liquidated. Many have not yet been rehabilitated although the accusations made against them were entirely fabricated. (None of the condemned at Zinoviev's and Piatakov's trials have been rehabilitated; 17 of the 22 condemned at Bukharin's trial have not been rehabilitated; and a whole group of people condemned without trial in the early 1930s have not been rehabilitated.)

7b Stalin did not shrink from annihilating foreign communists who had taken refuge in our country to escape the persecution of fascist, semi-fascist and monarchical

dictatorships: the Germans H. Remmele, Schubert, Heinz Neumann, Werner Hirsch; the Hungarians Bela Kun, Mesan, Gidas, Gabor Farkas, and others; the Bulgarians Stamon-iakov, Tanev and others; the Poles Dombal, Lesczynski, Prochniak, and others; the Estonians K. Pegelman and others; the Iranians Sultan-Zade and others; the Yugoslavs V. Copic, D. Serdic and others; the Swiss F. Platten (who had covered V. I. Lenin with his own body during the first attempt against Lenin's life) and others.

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Since we have no documentary material concerning the crimes personally carried out by Stalin, we are forced to accuse him indirectly under article 17 and more specifically under article 102-17 ('premeditated murder with aggravating circumstances', punishable by up to 15 years in prison or death) and article 66-17 ('terrorist act', 'murder of an individual, member of the government or other public official . . . with the aim of undermining or weakening Soviet power', punishable by imprisonment for up to 15 years or death).



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8 Stalin was head of state when, during and after the Great Patriotic War, various peoples in our country (Crimean Tartars, Kalmucks, Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, Koreans, Greeks, Turks, Germans and others) were victims of forced and illegal deportations from their homelands.

These crimes fall under article 74 ('violations of the equality of nations and races', punishable by up to five years' imprisonment).

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9 In connection with the mass purges, most of the leading scientists and technicians in all branches of our industry and agriculture were killed or imprisoned. This had a considerable effect on our country's economy.

In 1938, for example, 10 per cent less iron was extracted than in 1937, although the plan had anticipated increased extraction. The rapid turnover of personnel impeded production.

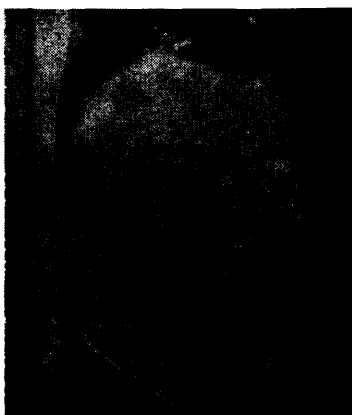
In 1940, for example, out of 153 foremen in the metal industry, 75 had held this position for less than one year. ('Historical Questions of the CPSU', 1964, number 2, pp. 73-74.)

The greatest engineers and inventors in the field of military science were physically liquidated.

These included: G. Langimak, inventor of the gun known as 'Katyusha'; Kurchevsky, inventor of the recoilless gun; V. Bekauri, originator of the system of remote-controlled explosions; V. Zaslavsky, tank engineer; Smirnov, head of radar research; I. Kleimenov, head of the Scientific Institute for Research on Jet Engines; M. Leitenzon, founder of the interplanetary travel association under the auspices of the Zhukovsky Academy, etc.

Among those imprisoned were: A. Tupolev, S. Korolev, A. Berg, V. Cluchko, B. Vannikov (People's Commissar for Weapons), to mention only a few. Brilliant scientists were annihilated: N. Vavilov, I. Krichevsky, Dogadkin, Tulai-kov, Gerasimovich, Folag. . . .

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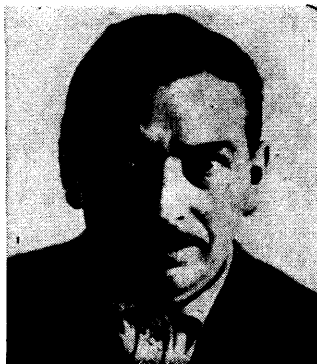


Tukhachevsky: Red Army leader liquidated by Stalin. His wife was then persecuted.

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10 Tombs were desecrated (punishable under article 229 by up to three years' imprisonment). The urn containing S. S. Kamenev's ashes was taken out of the Kremlin wall; the urn containing Y. Gamar-nik's ashes was stolen; M. Tomskey's tomb was destroyed; the monument on I. Yakir's tomb was knocked over, etc.

11 As is known from the confidential letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU at the 20th Congress, as



Tomsky: Committed suicide during the purges. Stalin then imprisoned his children in the camps.

well as from Tchakovsky's recently-published novel, Stalin hid the day war was declared. For several hours none of the government leaders could find the commander-in-chief. The episode in question is defined by article 247 ('desertion') and is punishable by death in war-time.

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12 In 1939 a long line of heavy and well equipped fortifications was built (called the 'Ury').

After the incorporation of

the Baltic Republics, Western Belorussia, the Western Ukraine, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, the Soviet border was moved some 100 to 600 kilometers.

It was decided to fortify this new frontier.

But without waiting for the construction of the new 'Ury', and in spite of the protest by the chief of the general staff, General B. Chapochnikov, the old 'Ury' fortifications were dismantled.

Thus the fascist invaders were allowed to move unhindered on to our territory. This seems to us to be criminal negligence bordering on treason.

As for the annihilation of 80 per cent of the high-ranking officers and commanding officers which decapitated the army that is open treason (article 64, death).

Moreover in the spring of 1941 the military chiefs who led the war in Spain were arrested and then in October shot without trial: Smuchkevich, two times Hero of the Soviet Union, to whom a monument was erected in his country on February 26 of this year; the Heroes of the Soviet Union P. Richagov, Stern, Chernykh, Ptukhin, Gussev, Proskurov, Pumpur, Arzhenukin and others.

The partisan bases on our territory were liquidated; tank formations were dismembered; certain kinds of automatic weapons indispensable to the army were never put into production; and there were many other things.

Millions of people died in the first period of the Great Patriotic War as a result of a whole series of crimes committed by Stalin.

13 In addition to the above, medieval atrocities were committed in our country—not unknown to Stalin but on his orders—which don't fall directly under the Penal Code of the RSFSR, but are crimes against humanity.

During the investigations the beatings and other methods drove the arrested to lose their reason and sane people were locked up in psychiatric hospitals.



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15 Young children of the purge victims were arrested and kept in camps and prisons including those of Postyshev, Kossior, Lyubchenko, Medved, Kamenev, Garkavy, Bauman, Kadatsky, Tomsky, Sosnovsky, and Popov. Postyshev's eldest son, Valentin, as well as the sons of Evdokimov and Lakoba, was shot.

16 In some camps hundreds of prisoners were shot without trial or investigation (the Garaninchchina camp on Kolyma).

17 Almost all the Mensheviks, anarchists, bundists, Borobists, SR members and Left SR members who, for the most part, had left political life, were physically annihilated in the 1930s and early 1940s.

18 The author of these lines, having spent part of his time in the North Ural camp of the MGB (1941-1942), is a witness to the fact that most of the political prisoners volunteered for the front and in answer to their request the authorities condemned them to die of hunger, which, aside from the other questions involved, weakened our front.

19 On Stalin's orders our government refused to participate in the International Red Cross organization's aid for prisoners of war. Under our military statutes captivity is equivalent to treason.

Prisoners were deprived of material help and control over their conditions which contributed to the loss of many good men (most of them were wounded, unconscious and unarmed when taken prisoner).

OUR AIM is not to formulate all the accusations against Stalin which he deserves. But

the small fraction of his crimes set out in this declaration already constitutes a substantial body of crime under articles 64, 68-17, 69, 74, 88-1, 88-2, 102-17, 107, 113-17, 126-17, 130, 131, 170, 171, 229, 230, 247 of the Penal Code of the RSFSR.

If we examine article 38 of the penal code ('extenuating circumstances') we find no reason to lighten the sentence in Stalin's case.

On the basis of article 39 of the Penal Code ('circumstances aggravating responsibility'):

'1. Crimes committed by a person who has already committed another crime . . .

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against a minor, an old person or a defenceless person

'7. Crime committed with particular cruelty and humiliation to the victim', we do not doubt the necessity of using article 39 of the Penal Code against the accused J. V. Stalin.

It is equally necessary to use article 36 against Stalin ('deprivation of military and other ranks, as well as decorations, medals and honorary titles'), because this measure provides for punishment of serious crimes.

On what basis are the authors previously mentioned and the editorial board of 'Kommunist' rehabilitating the greatest criminal our country has known in its recent history?

I challenge the authors of the articles in question to

refute the facts I have set out above; to refute them in the only admissible way in a society of good men—to publish my statement and answer it.

If this is not done, I can only conclude that the authors agree with the facts exposed here and with the conclusions that follow from these facts.

This means that, without waiting for an answer to this statement, I consider it my right to invite my colleagues participating in this discussion to request collectively that the Procuracy of the USSR begin a criminal investigation of Stalin (Dzhugashvili), J. V., who stands accused of the aforementioned crimes.

I am convinced that a posthumous conviction is possible and legal, just as posthumous rehabilitations are possible and legal.

Reprinted from 'Workers Press' of Saturday, December 20, 1969.

MOSCOW



TRIALS ANTHOLOGY

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Funeral oration at the grave of Alexis Kosterin

Reprinted from 'Workers Press' of Saturday, October 11, 1969.

PIOTR YAKIR is an historian from Moscow and the son of Army Commander I. E. Yakir, who was assassinated by Stalin. Piotr himself, as the son of an 'enemy of the people', spent 17 years in a concentration camp from the age of 14 to the age of 31.

☆

MANY TRUE things have already been said about the dead man. I also loved him and I would like to speak about him without holding back.

I would like to recall my meetings and discussions with him; those meetings which now seem to have been so

few and far between. At my last meeting with him I even arrived late.

I went to see him at his invitation; that was when it was most possible to have a conversation with him.

I won't take too much time away from those who are waiting their turn to share their sorrow with friends. I'll only describe one side of Alexis Kosterin, a side that I don't see in many of his generation. I want to talk about his fidelity to his ideals.

This fidelity he preserved pure and unshaken from his youth to the last sigh; to the last moment he raised his fist to ask for oxygen because he could no longer speak.

I know that among the millions of men ruthlessly wiped out by the Stalinist extermination machine, there were many — perhaps the

majority—who, because they kept their faith in Marxism-Leninism, had to cross the Styx. [Traditionally the entry into Hell.]

But many of this generation survived. The majority of these survivors were not victims of repression. And all, all betrayed their ideals.

A few isolated men, crouching in their corners and holding their faith deep in their hearts do not change the appalling picture of the degeneracy of an entire generation.

Some of the representatives of this generation, of course, speak about 'sacred ideals' to which they swear fidelity but they serve the Stalinists faithfully, the Stalinists who mock ideals whatever they are.

Many of these flunkeys hope to get a few scraps from the leftovers off the banquet table of our rulers. The Christian ethic calls such people Pharisees.

Others behave like this out of fear. They are repulsive hypocrites who in public praise and flatter the powerful and then turn around and criticize them in private confidences.

Some of them, having already fouled themselves like this, then don't hesitate to denounce their erstwhile and trusting confidantes when they sense danger.

Most of these people are fanatics and petty bourgeois.

They have never read the works of the creators of Marxist-Leninist theory; they are stuffed with prejudices and ready to dress up any drivel with the name of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, communism and other 'isms' in order to receive their credentials from the authorities.

They will support all the undertakings of those in power including exploits worthy of the Black Hundreds; they are ready to do even better.

These are the people who cried 'crucify him' to Pontius Pilate; the people who flood the streets of our cities and villages like a tidal wave, howling for the execution of the 'enemies of the people'.

This is how they dealt with

Kosterin in his Party organization and in the Presidium of the Writers' Union.

How could one not be struck by the strength of this man's spirit; this man who preserved his convictions in the midst of this dark mass of people, gangrenous with prejudices and preconceived ideas; this man who preserved his convictions through the tortures of the 'house of Vaskov', the horrible Magadan where he was shut up in May 1938 and Kolyma concentration camp; preserved his convictions through 're-education' by the pharisees and hypocrites and the howls of the fanatics and petty bourgeoisie.

Looking at the life of this man one can only say, 'Truly, the men of October were a strong generation'.

I loved Alexis Kosterin because of his great spirit; I loved him as a citizen. An empathy which flowed from our somewhat shared destinies no doubt played a part too. But I loved him particularly for the clarity of his thought, for his fidelity to his ideas.

It's no secret that many who endured the same trials as Alexis Kosterin lost faith in the ideals they had fought for in their youth. They considered the ideas, and not only men, responsible for what happened to them.

Alexis Kosterin drew other lessons. When we were together he spoke to me like this:

4 Marxism-Leninism, no more than any other ideological system, is not totally pure nor genuine in all its parts. It carries with it the mark of the individuality of its creators—who were men and not gods—and of the period in which it was created—and we know times change.

There is therefore nothing astonishing if men who specialize in this study find in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin all the quotations necessary to justify the blackest deeds of all the Stalins, Krushchevs and Brezhnevs.

It's a very easy thing to do our country, given the method of quotation used here; a method that shatters the thought expressed in a passage, not once but often into many fragments.

Funeral oration at the grave of Alexis Kosterin

Reprinted from 'Workers Press' of Saturday, October 11, 1969.

PIOTR YAKIR is an historian from Moscow and the son of Army Commander I. E. Yakir, who was assassinated by Stalin. Piotr himself, as the son of an 'enemy of the people', spent 17 years in a concentration camp from the age of 14 to the age of 31.

☆

MANY TRUE things have already been said about the dead man. I also loved him and I would like to speak about him without holding back.

I would like to recall my meetings and discussions with him; those meetings which now seem to have been so

few and far between. At my last meeting with him I even arrived late.

I went to see him at his invitation; that was when it was most possible to have a conversation with him.

I won't take too much time away from those who are waiting their turn to share their sorrow with friends. I'll only describe one side of Alexis Kosterin, a side that I don't see in many of his generation. I want to talk about his fidelity to his ideals.

This fidelity he preserved pure and unshaken from his youth to the last sigh; to the last moment he raised his fist to ask for oxygen because he could no longer speak.

I know that among the millions of men ruthlessly wiped out by the Stalinist extermination machine, there were many — perhaps the

majority—who, because they kept their faith in Marxism-Leninism, had to cross the Styx. [Traditionally the entry into Hell.]

But many of this generation survived. The majority of these survivors were not victims of repression. And all, all betrayed their ideals.

A few isolated men, crouching in their corners and holding their faith deep in their hearts do not change the appalling picture of the degeneracy of an entire generation.

Some of the representatives of this generation, of course, speak about 'sacred ideals' to which they swear fidelity but they serve the Stalinists faithfully, the Stalinists who mock ideals whatever they are.

Many of these flunkeys hope to get a few scraps from the leftovers off the banquet table of our rulers. The Christian ethic calls such people Pharisees.

Others behave like this out of fear. They are repulsive hypocrites who in public praise and flatter the powerful and then turn around and criticize them in private confidences.

Some of them, having already fouled themselves like this, then don't hesitate to denounce their erstwhile and trusting confidantes when they sense danger.

Most of these people are fanatics and petty bourgeois.

They have never read the works of the creators of Marxist-Leninist theory; they are stuffed with prejudices and ready to dress up any drivel with the name of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, communism and other 'isms' in order to receive their credentials from the authorities.

They will support all the undertakings of those in power including exploits worthy of the Black Hundreds; they are ready to do even better.

These are the people who cried 'crucify him' to Pontius Pilate; the people who flood the streets of our cities and villages like a tidal wave, howling for the execution of the 'enemies of the people'.

This is how they dealt with

Kosterin in his Party organization and in the Presidium of the Writers' Union.

How could one not be struck by the strength of this man's spirit; this man who preserved his convictions in the midst of this dark mass of people, gangrenous with prejudices and preconceived ideas; this man who preserved his convictions through the tortures of the 'house of Vaskov', the horrible Magadan where he was shut up in May 1938 and Kolyma concentration camp; preserved his convictions through 're-education' by the pharisees and hypocrites and the howls of the fanatics and petty bourgeoisie.

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It's a very easy thing to do our country, given the method of quotation used here; a method that shatters the thought expressed in a passage, not once but often into many fragments.

The quotation is often completed with statements entirely strange to the original text.

This is done with impunity because in our country no organ of the press would dare to contradict such falsifications. There are many volunteers ready to shovel out and distribute this pre-digested food.

This exploitation of the ideas and names sacred to our people has created the 'moral' base on which Stalinism in the past and neo-Stalinism today have developed. It's been difficult even for me to free myself of this hallucination.

For a long time I too thought that the policies carried out consciously to consolidate Stalin's personal dictatorship were a series of errors of 'detail' committed in the local and Central Committees. I fought against these 'errors' of 'detail' and 'deviations'.

I always emerged from these struggles scarred and bruised but sometimes luck was with me and I threw myself into tilting at windmills again absolutely certain that this was exactly what my duty as a Party member consisted of.

It wasn't until after 1934, after the assassination of Kirov, that I started to have doubts. But the veil didn't finally fall from my eyes until the "house of Vaskov". It was only then that I understood that Marxism-Leninism had been buried in our country and Lenin's party destroyed.

I am leaving aside the question of whether or not his final conclusion is correct.

But I must bow before the integrity of this man, his purity, his courage and his incredible fortitude. Imagine a man convinced that in spite of the doctrine they profess, men who hold nothing sacred are leading this country.

Imagine that he knows that these leaders will stop at nothing to close the mouths of whoever tries to unmask them.

As if that were not enough, he also had endured the tortures of the 'house of Vaskov' and years at the Kolyma concentration camp!

If you have imagined all that then bow your head again to Alexis Kosterin. Without having time to heal from all he'd endured he intervened on behalf of the Chetchens and the Ingushes.

At once the pack of pharisees, hypocrites and fanatics fell on him. He was again expelled from the Party and he expected his arrest at any moment. A trial beyond comprehension for those who did not pass through 'the house of Vaskov' and Kolyma or through the other numerous camps in our country.

But Kosterin survived this new test.

There were communists who defended him, kept him out of prison and got him reinstated in the Party. I speak to all those militants, and above all to one communist whose name I won't give because I was not authorized to do so—he never forgot, to his last day.

Even after this terrible moral test, Alexis Kosterin entered into struggle for his ideals.

He intervened on behalf of the Germans in the Lower Volga, on behalf of the Tartars of the Crimea and on behalf of other national minorities. He spoke out against the re-birth of Stalinism. . . .

But how can I enumerate all that this man with a half-broken heart but such a strong soul was able to do? He tried to make us, his friends and companions at arms, share his

faith. I remember one of our conversations in which he countered our objections with the following arguments:

◀ Of course the so-called advanced capitalist countries have outstripped us in social development by an entire epoch. They have satisfied the material and spiritual needs of their citizens much better than we, they have guaranteed the free development of the individual better than we.

But have they attained the ideal?

Can a man whose life does not satisfy him whether because of birth or unhappy circumstances—can he hope to break out of the vicious circle in which he is caught?

Have they created equal conditions for the development of everyone?

Has misery and crime completely disappeared?

Have social, national, racial inequalities been liquidated?

What do you propose as an alternative to this system which we see is far from being perfect?

He was silent for several minutes then answered himself:

◀ The only alternative to this system and to Stalinist

'socialism' is Marxist-Leninist socialism, pulled out of the mud, regenerated and developing in liberty.

How full of joy he was at the birth of democracy in Czechoslovakia! Hearing the news about the process of democratization there, he burst out:

◀ You see! That's what I told you! There it is, the alternative to capitalism and to Stalinism!

He had complete confidence in the Czech Communist Party and the Czech people.

◀ But Czechoslovakia is not Russia! People there know what democracy is. They will not endure the barbarism forced on them for long. Stalin made a mistake.

After a pause he added ironically:

◀ He swallowed a delicacy that his barbaric stomach couldn't digest.

◀ Czechoslovakia is not Touva or Mongolia! It's an advanced European country with the richest democratic traditions. I think that little Czechoslovakia will have enough moral strength to sweep the whole socialist world along with it.

The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia marked him deeply.

I believe this intervention brought the fatal end closer by putting too heavy a burden on his heart.

He followed the evolution of events in Czechoslovakia closely. He seemed to want to hold back the disease that was keeping him in his bed so that he could fly to this people he believed in and become a soldier in their ranks.

Until his death, until his last sigh, he believed in the victory of the Czechoslovak people because he believed in the strength of the ideas that illuminated the way they had taken and which had illuminated his whole life.

I bow once again before the strength of this incredible spirit, before his courage, and before this fidelity to his ideals. I ask you to join me.

I would like to be like him; I would like those close to me, family and friends, to be like him.



Kosterin told Yakir that he began to have doubts in 1934 about the leadership after the assassination of Kirov (above). Stalin used the death of Kirov to begin the purge of the Old Bolsheviks in the infamous Moscow Trials.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE
SOVIET
OPPOSITION



*On ALEXIS KOSTERIN'S 72nd birthday
PIOTR GRIGORENKO'S*

**SPEECH TO
CRIMEAN
TARTARS**

Dear comrades,

My closest friend, Alexis Yevgrafovich Kosterin, who, as you know, is confined to hospital with thrombosis, entrusted to Vera Ivanovna his wife, and myself the job of representing him at this evening's affair.

It is a great honour for me. I am especially moved by the fact that he charged me with expressing our mutual views on the struggle of the Crimean Tartars for national autonomy.

Alexis Kosterin, who was born and raised in the multinational northern Caucasus, was able to see, from his childhood, the cruel oppression of smaller nations, the discord and national hatred stirred up by the oppressors and odious imperialist chauvinism.

Suffering cruelly from seeing his own people playing the role of oppressor, Kosterin, as a Russian patriot, decided to dedicate his life to the struggle for national equality and friendship among different peoples.

In his entire life he has never betrayed this youthful pledge.

The three years he spent in Tsarist prisons could not break his revolutionary spirit — on the contrary, they hardened it.

Liberated by the February revolution, he immersed himself in the task of organizing and teaching the northern Caucasus peoples.

He never abandoned these peoples, even when the Whites occupied the territory. He then organized detachments of partisans in the mountains and participated in the partisan movement until the Whites were chased out of the Caucasus.

☆

After the Civil War the problem of national equality continued to occupy a central place in his Party and literary activities.

Only once the voice of writer Kosterin was not heard. This was when the Volga Germans, the Kalmyks, and the smaller nations of the northern Caucasus — like your people, the Crimean Tartars — were brutally banished from their native lands.

If he was silent, it was because he could not speak. He was behind the barbed wire of Beria's and Stalin's camps.

But 17 years of concentration camp nightmare did not break him. As soon as he was free he raised his voice with courage and firmness for the 'weak and forgotten'.

I will not speak of his current struggle. You know of it as well as I. The Leninist-Bolshevik Alexis Kosterin has dedicated all his strength to the fight for the re-establishment of the Leninist policy of nationalities.

Unhappily the burden resting on him has been too heavy for his heart . . . But we are all sure that this is only temporary and the day is near when his voice will again resound — loud and clear. (Loud applause. Cries of 'Long life and good health to the best of our friends!')

How can I evoke the true spirit of Alexis Kosterin? What can I say that will give a whole picture of the man? It is not easy but I will try.

Alexis Kosterin is a Leninist-Bolshevik, a revolutionary in the noblest sense of the word.

This is a true humanist, who has given all his strength to the defence of small peoples and nations, to the struggle for national equality and for friendship between all peoples.

This is a remarkable and original writer who carries on the best humanist traditions of Russian literature. Sadly, life has not given him the possibility of fully developing his talent. Even today his work is not published and, as you know, this cannot but influence the creative activity of a writer.

This is also an exemplary father whose life served as an example for such a person as his daughter, Nina Kosterin.

You no doubt know that Nina Kosterin's diary has had millions of copies published in almost all languages and, like Anne Frank's diary, has served the cause of the struggle against fascism in all its forms, the cause of friendship between peoples and the cause of the development of humanist ideas and traditions.

Such is Alexis Kosterin, the man whose 72nd birthday we are celebrating today.

Allow me to speak now of Kosterin and my views regarding the actual problems of your movement.

It will soon be a quarter of a century since your people were turned out of their homes, the land of their

ancestors, and parked in a reservation where the conditions were such that the disappearance of the entire Crimean Tartar nation seemed inevitable.

But the resilient and hard-working people surmounted all trials and survived, much to the anger of their enemies.

After losing 46 per cent of their number, the people started, little by little, to recover their strength and fight for their national and human rights.

This struggle resulted in some gains. The statute of exiles has been abrogated and the Crimean Tartars have been politically rehabilitated.

This last step however, was taken with various reservations that considerably reduced the effect of the gesture. The great mass of the Soviet people who were informed that the Tartars had sold the Crimea could not learn that this sale was pure invention.

But most serious of all is that the very edict which ordered the political rehabilitation of the Crimean Tartars simultaneously legalized the liquidation of that nation . . . According to it, the Crimean Tartars no longer exist; there are only the 'Tartars who at one time lived in the Crimea'.

This fact alone demonstrates conclusively that not only has your struggle not attained its goal, but in a certain sense has taken a few steps back.

It was as Crimean Tartars that you were formerly persecuted, but since the 'political rehabilitation' this nation doesn't exist. The nation has disappeared but the discrimination remains.

You did not commit the crimes for which you were exiled from the Crimea, but you do not have the right to return there.

☆

What basis is there for placing your people in a position of such inequality?

Article 123 of the constitution of the USSR reads: 'Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights . . . of citizens on account of their race or nationality is punishable by law'.

Therefore the law is on your side. (Lengthy applause.)

But your rights are trampled underfoot. Why?

We believe that the main reason for this lies in the fact

that you underestimate your enemy. You think you are dealing only with honest people. This is not so. What happened to your people was not the work of Stalin alone. And his accomplices are not only still alive, they hold responsible positions.

They fear that if you are given back what was unlawfully taken away from you, they must sooner or later answer for their participation in such arbitrary acts. (Loud applause.)

That is why they are doing everything they can to prevent you from succeeding in your struggle. If things stay as they are, it gives the impression that there were no broken laws in the past.

You have chosen a tactic that helps them preserve this state of affairs. You address humble supplications to the Party leadership which pass into the hands of those hostile to your struggle for national equality.

And since your pleas concern matters for which there are no indisputable, hard and fast rules, they are presented to persons who are bound to rule on them as doubtful, debatable issues, and thus your case becomes enmeshed in judgements and opinions which have nothing to do with the basic problem.

For instance: 'There is no room in the Crimea for settling the Tartars.' 'If the Tartars move, there will be no one left in Central Asia to do the work.' 'The Crimean Tartars already feel at home where they are. Besides, they do not represent an independent nation. Those who wish to live in a Tartar republic can go to the Tartar Autonomous Republic' (ASSR). 'The migration would require considerable sums of money', etc.

All these claims, as well as an infinity of others, put forward by the enemies of your national rebirth, are not worth

a pin. But as long as you request, and against your requests these 'weighty' objections are raised, the case does not go forward but even goes backwards.

In order to end this abnormal situation you must understand once and for all that what is prescribed by law is not requested but demanded! (Enthusiastic applause. Cries of 'that's right!')

Start to demand! And do not just demand fragments—demand everything that was unlawfully taken away from you. Demand the re-establishment of a **Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic!** (Wild applause.)

Do not limit yourselves to the writing of petitions. Strengthen your demands by all the means that are available to you under the constitution—make good use of the freedom of speech and of the press, of meetings, street processions and demonstrations.

A newspaper is put out for you in Tashkent. But its editors do not support your movement. Kick them out and choose your own editorial staff.

If you are prevented, boycott the newspaper and start another one, your own. A movement cannot develop normally without its own press.

In your struggle, do not lock yourself in a narrow nationalist shell. Establish contacts with progressive people in other nations in the Soviet Union—first of all with those nationalities among whom you live, the Russians and Ukrainians who have been and continue to be persecuted like your people.

Do not look at your case as an internal affair. Seek the

support of world public opinion and international organizations. There is a specific name for what was done to your people in 1944. It is **genocide**, 'one of the worst crimes against humanity'. (Complete Soviet Encyclopedia, volume 10, p. 441.)

The convention adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 9, 1948, included in the category of genocide '... acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such' by any of various methods, and specifically, 'by deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part...'

Such acts of genocide are from the viewpoint of international law, crimes condemned by the civilized world, for which the chief culprits and their accomplices are liable to punishment under law.

So you see, international law is also on your side. (Wild applause.)

If you cannot obtain a solution of the problem within the country, you have a right to appeal to the UN and the international tribunal.

☆

Stop begging! Take back

what was unlawfully taken from you! (Wild applause. Members of the audience jump from their seats and start chanting in unison, 'Crimean ASSR'.)

And remember, in this just and noble struggle, you must not allow your enemies to pick off with impunity the fighters who are in the foremost ranks of your movement.

There have already been a series of trials in Central Asia in which fighters for equal rights for the Crimean Tartars have been sentenced unlawfully and on false grounds.

Right now in Tashkent, such a trial is being prepared for Mamed Enver, Yuri and Savri Osmanov, and others.

Do not allow judicial reprisals to be carried out against these people. Demand a public trial and come in a body to this trial. Do not allow the court to be filled with a specially selected public...

And finally, Alexis Kosterin has asked me to tell you that he has received many letters and congratulatory telegrams from Crimean Tartars.

He cannot answer them at the present time and therefore wishes me to convey his deepest and most sincere thanks to all who sent him greetings and their best wishes for his recovery.

He affirms that in the future he will devote all his efforts to the struggle for full and equal rights for all nations, for sincere friendship between all peoples of the world.

I raise my glass in honour of all brave and unyielding fighters for national equality. I raise my glass in honour of one of the most eminent fighters on this front, the writer and Bolshevik internationalist, Alexis Yevgrafovich Kosterin, and to the health of the Crimean Tartar peoples. I wish full success to your people in their struggle.

To our future meeting in Crimea, dear friends, on the territory of a re-established and reborn Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic!

(Wild applause. Toasts are drunk to A. Kosterin, the friendship of all peoples, a future meeting in Crimea, and to the Russian and Ukrainian peoples represented by comrades A. Kosterin and P. G. Grigorenko. Singing of the songs 'Port Arthur' 'Shompol' and others.)

March 17, 1968

Reprinted from the 'Workers Press' of Tuesday, November 25, 1969.



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SOVIET



OPPOSITION

PIOTR GRIGORENKO'S

**LETTER TO
A. R. RUDENKO**

Prosecutor General of the U.S.S.R.

ON NOVEMBER 19, 1968 a search was made of my apartment from seven in the morning to seven in the evening.

I am leaving aside the fact that the man nominally in charge of this operation had no idea of procedural rules or even of the elementary norms of politeness; that lack comes from the habit he has of arbitrarily disposing of people who fall into his hands.

I will leave this point to those who witnessed the behaviour and actions of Justice Councillor Berezovsky, investigator of extraordinary affairs for the Procurator's Office of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

I could not endure his boorishness for long and as a protest against the illegal actions of those conducting the search I refused to take part in it after half an hour.

Therefore I will only speak of those violations of the law which do not depend merely on those conducting the search.

The search was carried out on a warrant issued by Justice Councillor Berezovsky, investigator of extraordinary affairs for the Procurator of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

This warrant, endorsed by Malkov, Procurator of the City of Moscow, stated that it had been established during the investigation of Bariev and his associates that documents containing slanderous fabrications against the Soviet social and political order could be found in P. Grigorenko's apartment.

I affirm—and I am ready to bear all the responsibility of this affirmation—that no evidence whatsoever of the possible existence of such documents in my apartment was presented to Procurator Malkov.

First, because there doesn't exist any 'case of Bariev and associates' and second, because no document containing lies against the political and social order of the USSR exists or could exist, which is linked, even indirectly, to the name of Bariev and his comrades.

WHAT then is involved here?

It is in fact ordinary police provocation of people struggling against the arbitrary acts of the authorities. You know very well that on April 21, 1968, in the Chirchik Park of Culture and Rest, the Uzbek police (who are still called militia for some reason) attacked Crimean Tartars peacefully celebrating the anniversary of the birth of the founder of the Soviet state and initiator of Crimean Tartar national autonomy, V. I. Lenin.

Hoses blasted powerful jets of cold water on the unsuspecting people who were peacefully amusing themselves; young people were dancing, groups were singing national and revolutionary songs and amateur actors were performing.

These jets of water knocked people over, damaged their clothes and traumatically shocked them.

Then the police clubs went into action. It was thought that the indignant people would take some self-defence measures which could later be used to accuse them of resisting the authorities.

But the people showed astonishing self-control and thwarted the provocation. They staged a peaceful demonstration as a protest against the humiliation to which they had been subjected.

In answer more than 300 people were arrested. Twelve of them, most of whom had not participated in the celebration and were arrested in their homes, were later tried and convicted for 'disturbing public order'.

Aider Bariev, a tractor driver, who managed to avoid arrest, flew to Moscow the same day and early on the morning of April 22 the Procurator's Office of the USSR received a telegram from him describing the Chirchik events in detail; events in which the human rights and the norms of human ethics were trampled underfoot with an unprecedented cynicism.

Naturally he did not express himself politely, but simply called a spade a spade in the language of workers.

Bariev stayed on in Moscow as the authorized representative of those who had sent him, knocking in vain at the doors of the administration you head and other state

organizations and institutions.

Wanting to make use of all the possibilities available to him, he tried to obtain the punishment of the Chirchik hoodlums and an end to the illegal proceedings instituted against the victims of the pogrom.

You did not react in any way to Bariev's telegrams and personal letters or to the collective appeals of the representatives of the Crimean Tartar people in Moscow.

You and your assistants never received these representatives and never even attempted to examine their complaints.

Moreover, you have never answered any of their letters. You have never reacted to their complaints concerning illegal police action undertaken by the Moscow police against the representatives of the Crimean Tartar people.

Supreme guardian of Soviet law, you have never been moved by the fact that men were pursued like savage animals through the streets of your capital and sent like cattle to hateful places of administrative exile. You who are a jurist and a magistrate have never even been swayed by the fact that it is no longer simply a question of individuals, but of representatives of a people; citizens who did not have the right to leave Moscow without the agreement of those who had sent them.

You passed over this just as you passed over the tragic events which followed from it. In order to be worthy of the confidence placed in them, the representatives of the Crimean Tartars resorted to desperate measures such as jumping out of moving trains to escape their police escorts and continue fulfilling the mandate given them by their people.

As soon as he was replaced in Moscow, Bariev returned to Chirchik where he was arrested.

Justification for this arrest was based on individual and collective letters sent by representatives of the Crimean Tartar people to various Soviet institutions, including the Procurator's Office of the USSR, social organizations and various representatives of Soviet opinion.

It was also based on communications sent from Moscow by the people's representatives.

According to individuals like

Berezovsky these documents contained slanderous lies directed against the Soviet state and social order.

I shall not attempt here to explain how a document containing a true description of an actual event can somehow be transformed into something slanderous.

I shall confine myself to asking you several questions directly related to the setting up of 'cases' of this kind.

I WOULD like to ask you as supreme guardian of Soviet law whether it is conceivable that a person be prosecuted for addressing a complaint to you when you have not found the time to examine that complaint?

Would you also tell me if it is possible, even by making the most incredible fantasy into proof, to describe the Chirchik massacre as a violation of public order?

Wasn't it rather brutal police provocation of the Crimean Tartars in order to create a pretext for severe reprisals against this people justly struggling for national re-birth?

After obtaining a correct answer to the questions posed above, it would no longer be worth the trouble to ask whether all that followed the Chirchik events was also the result of police provocation.

And if that is so, would the Uzbek 'guarantors of the law' present to Procurator Malkov proof of the existence of the documents described in the search warrant (that is, assuming that Malkov himself is not in on this provocation in a perfectly conscious way!).

So much for the legal justification for searching my apartment.

I could stop here, but I want to tell you that I do not understand your role in both the Chirchik affair itself and the court trials of Crimean Tartars that took place following the September 5, 1967 ordinance of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, as well as your role in the trials that are now being prepared.

The illegal and often flagrantly provocative nature of these trials is so obvious that it is astonishing that a jurist of international reputation who is at pains to teach the

entire world how to combat crimes against humanity cannot see this!

HAVING established the utter lack of connection between myself and the Uzbek matters, let us attempt to determine the real reason for this search, and who deemed it necessary.

An exhaustive answer is provided by the composition of the 'investigating' group and the official-departmental-agency affiliation of the person who actually directed the search.

In addition to Berezovsky, seven KGB functionaries and three 'witnesses'—also state security agents—were present at the search.

And so for one official of the Uzbekistan procurator's office—take note of this—ten Muscovites were needed, not counting those who barred entry to the house from the street. And all of them were from the KGB.

The search was directed by a certain Vragov, Aleksei Dmitrievich. That's all I could learn about him from Berezovsky. Vragov himself refused to reveal his position and his place of work—the Moscow Administration or Centre—as well as the terms of the law of which he was obliged to inform me.

This is how this petty official, not well-known to me, conducted the search. It was he who told Berezovsky what to do. It was incumbent upon him to settle delicate problems; to confiscate or leave such and such a document.

In practice he directed every move the other KGB agents made. The only thing the nominally responsible Berezovsky did was to dictate the list of documents assembled by the KGB agents to the man responsible for drawing up the official report.

The search was carried out by the KGB which used the 'Bariev case' as a pretext, as did the investigator in charge of the case.

It marked the end of another stage in my relations with the KGB. The first stage ended with my release from the most terrible prison in the USSR—the so-called special psychiatric hospital—where the KGB 'housed' me in an attempt to

get out of the impasse they found themselves in because of the unlawful nature of my arrest and my refusal to 'confess'.

The next stage started two or three months later when, without any plausible pretext, the KGB again took an interest in me. Since then, that is for three years, I have been subjected to constant surveillance: myself, members of my family and visitors are systematically followed.

My apartment is watched by visual and other special means; my telephone is tapped, my correspondence is examined and certain letters confiscated.

Twice in the last three years my apartment has been secretly searched. I have set this all out in a letter to I. Andropov, chief of the KGB, but as is usually the case in our country, the letter is still unanswered. The only result was that the surveillance became more discreet.

The search was a general inspection of my 'archives', a desire to examine what has not been seen up to now. It is however probable that new provocations are being planned for me. I have no intention of waiting for them passively.

I AM a communist and as such I hate with all my soul organs of oppression and despotism based on caste.

The organization created by Stalin, and today called the KGB on the advice of ministers of the USSR, is such an organization.

I do not conceal my hatred of this organization, which I consider hostile to the people, from anyone and I will fight by all possible means for its early liquidation.

That is why I refuse to have any contact whatsoever with it and I do not recognise its right to interfere in my private life or my public activity.

This parasitic organization which devours enormous sums of money and does inestimable wrong, must disappear from our society. The sooner the better.

I have known for a long time that in practice the courts and the organs of the procuracy are subordinate to the KGB. If proof of this is still needed, the search just made of my apartment is very characteristic.

On this occasion the representatives of the procuracy were just errand boys.

They can continue to play this role, but not in relation to what concerns me.

By my life, by my participation in the defence of my country, by the blood I have spilt for it, and by my communist convictions I have won the right to consider myself a co-master of my country and an equal member in the family of Soviet peoples.

I have the right to move without surveillance and unhindered on my native soil, freely to defend my convictions and to enjoy all the rights given me as a citizen of the USSR by the Soviet Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

No one, and least of all an organization like the KGB, may deprive me of these rights.

As for the organs of the procuracy, they should help citizens struggling for their legal rights and not organize to take them away.

After all I have just gone through, the only thing left is for us to determine the aim of the visit of the representatives of this disreputable organization, what they were looking for in my apartment, what they are fighting now and, it seems, prepared to fight in the future.

Let us try to find the answer by looking at what they confiscated.

IN FACT, they confiscated material that had nothing to do with the 'slandorous fabrications'. They took nothing that was described in the search warrant.

They took all my typed documents and manuscripts as well as my personal letters and notes.

There was nothing slanderous and certainly nothing anti-Soviet in any of them. Among them were anti-Stalinist documents and open statements of protest against violations of Soviet law by the authorities, against judicial tyranny, and against continuing acts of discrimination and genocide directed at the Crimean Tartars, the Volga Germans, and certain other small national groups.

This is what was confiscated:

Individual and collective letters sent to me by Crimean Tartars embodying the *cri de coeur* of a martyred people, as well as documents pertaining to the popular movement of the Volga Germans struggling for the re-establishment of their national equality.

Copies of my letters to the Politburo of the Central Committee denouncing both the arbitrary acts committed against me (illegal expulsion from the Party, demotion from general to private, loss of my pension), and the judicial tyranny and falsification of history to the benefit of renescent Stalinism.

A manuscript of the brochure by Academician Sakharov and my thoughts about it.

The complete works of the tireless fighter against Stalinism, the writer-Bolshevik, participant in the revolutionary movement since 1912 and member of the Bolshevik Party since 1916, who spent three years in Tsarist prisons and 17 years in Stalinist torture chambers and Kolyma death camps: Alexis Kosterin.

A manuscript assembling and analysing a list of all the facts that had come to my knowledge proving that the October 1964 plenum of the Central Committee took the decision discreetly but firmly to implement a rebirth of Stalinism.

Notes of public trials (criminal in form, political in substance) of Crimean Tartars who participated in the movement for national equality, and of free-thinking people in Moscow (the trials of Daniel, Sinyavsky, Khaustov, Bukovsky, Galanskov, Ginzburg and others).

Biographical notes on persons convicted for their participation in a Red Square demonstration against the intervention of the Soviet armies in Czechoslovakia and against the blood spilled by Soviet soldiers and Czechoslovak citizens.

A manuscript of a work by Academician Varga entitled 'The Russian Road to Socialism'.

A copy of a letter by a group of Soviet intellectuals (Artsimovich, Kapitsa, Kataev, Leontovich, Plisetskaya, Sakharov, Chukovsky and others) expressing their alarm at trends towards a rebirth of Stalinism.

A copy of a letter by 23 children of communists

savagely murdered by Stalin (Yakir, Petrovsky, Antonov-Ovseyenko, Berziz, Yenukidze, Bukharin, Vavilov, Piatnitsky, and others) also expressing their concern at the rebirth of Stalinism and the tendency to forget the crimes committed by Stalin and his henchmen.

The letter also recalls the decision of the 22nd Party Congress to erect a monument in memory of the victims of Stalinism.

Translations of articles in Czechoslovak newspapers—the 'Two Thousand Words', Smrkovsky's speech over Czechoslovak radio, etc.

A list of persons subjected to Party and administrative repression for having signed various documents protesting against violation of Soviet law and of elementary human rights by the courts, the procuracy and the KGB.

A typewritten text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, reproduced in the USSR in small numbers and only in special editions for jurists.

A typewritten text of the (unpublished in the USSR) Pacts on Rights adopted two years ago by the General Assembly of the United Nations: the Pact on Social and Economic Rights and the Pact on Political Rights.

The complete texts of the speeches made at the funeral of writer A. Kosterin.

Among the literary works confiscated were Anna Akhmatova's 'Requiem' for those who suffered in Stalinist dungeons including her only son; a number of Marina Tsvetaeva's works not published in the USSR; 'Tanka', a poem by N. Korshavin which exposes the corrupting influence of Stalinism; the book 'My Testimony' by A. Marchenko, describing present-day prisons for political prisoners; and a type-written copy of Hemingway's book, 'For Whom The Bell Tolls'.

This list gives a fairly clear idea of the principle on which the confiscations were based. I hardly need add that everything I had written was also confiscated, even scraps of paper on which I'd written a single word. Thus I was deprived of all my scientific work, my private correspondence, drafts of various documents, including those already disseminated, as well as those which had never left my desk.

It is clear that if I had not passed on the night before Korolenko's 'Letters to A. Lunacharsky', Gorky's 'Untimely Thoughts,' and the verses of Osip Mandelshtam, these would have been confiscated too.

I had a copy of a manuscript of a book dealing with the first months of the Second World War—'Notes Of An Intelligence Agent', the memories of V. A. Novobrantsev—with a personal inscription from the author.

When the KGB agents decided to confiscate this work I vigorously protested that it could in no way be classified as falling in the category of materials authorised for confiscation.

Then Justice Councillor Berezovsky, who had just received Vragov's order to 'confiscate!', decided to demonstrate the book's slander of the Soviet social and political order by reading the following sentence from the author's foreword: 'Stalin is dead, but the poisonous seeds sown by him continue to germinate'.

After that I refused to remain at the search any longer.

But they didn't need me anyway. Without even taking the trouble to make a note of half of what they were taking, they then threw the unrecorded items into a sack with the seal KGB 14 on it and took it all away.

Judge for yourself the degree to which the integrity of the sack's contents is guaranteed!

All the more so as the opening of the sack, in which I refused to take part because it would have been absurd, was performed in the presence of 'witnesses'—who are all agents of the organization conducting the search.

None of the true witnesses I insisted upon were invited.

THIS is how the guarantees of legality were observed in this case. But this is not the only case that interests me.

What I would like clarified is the relationship between the organs of the Soviet procuracy and Soviet law.

My personal experience indicates that these organs are interested in only one thing in political questions: collecting articles of the legal code which

can give the appearance of legality to the savage despotism of the authorities.

But I naively assumed that even for this it was necessary to know the law. Apparently, it is not.

Obviously 'specialists' on the law collect the appropriate articles. But the practical enforcers are in no way interested in the laws. They do what they are ordered to do without asking whether or not it is legal.

Berezovsky appeared without a copy of the Criminal Code or the Code of Criminal Procedure.

With the help of friends present at my apartment I often showed him how he was violating the laws, but he only changed his behaviour with the greatest reluctance.

The following incident shows how heavily the law weighed on him. As the search was drawing to a close my wife said, 'That is illegal'.

Berezovsky couldn't contain himself any longer. He let all the irritation of a long day explode and said ironically, 'Oh yes, What jurists you are! Look, your husband has a whole shelf of juridical literature!'

IN CONCLUSION I would like to try, with your help, to answer the question: why was all this done?

Was it a simple attempt at intimidation? That is doubtful. The KGB and I know each other too well to count on that.

Well, perhaps it was motivated by the hope of finding something that could be used to build a 'case' and put me away in some remote corner from which I could not make my voice heard?

It is entirely possible, but stupid. To stage a trial based on trumped-up charges is risky these days and to count on my engaging in criminal activities . . .

No, the KGB knows me too well to rely on that. I too, have never counted on the stupidity of an enemy.

Accordingly that leaves only one hypothesis: they wanted to control my activity, and at the same time to hinder my work by depriving me of my material and 'means of production'.

This last hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that they

confiscated my two typewriters (office and portable) with no official authorization.

The confiscation of a typewriter in our present conditions is intolerable despotism.

Judge for yourself. Taking a sample of a typewriter's print requires only a few minutes. Furthermore the owner of the typewriter should be present. Why then were my typewriters confiscated?

At best, to deprive me of using them. At worst—I will explain it to you in case you do not yet know—to prepare falsifications compromising the owner of the typewriter.

In response to my protests that I hadn't checked the documents they had confiscated Berezovsky asked me: 'Are you suspicious by any chance?'

I fear that you too may ask the same question. And I will answer you in the way I answered Berezovsky.

'I am not suspicious. I am merely indicating the possibilities resulting from procedural violations. And the future will show what will actually develop out of these possibilities.'

In any case I don't intend to wait passively for the outcome. Therefore I have decided to demand the annulment of all the violations of law committed against me.

Accordingly I demand:

● **The immediate restitution of all the confiscated documents and my two typewriters.**

● **That all illegal actions with respect to me and my family be discontinued: surveillance, observation of my apartment by visual and other means, the tapping of my telephone, and the reading and confiscation of correspondence.**

I assume that your authority and prerogatives (from the strictly legal point of view of course) are sufficient to compel the appropriate persons to satisfy my demands. It is in this spirit that I await your response.

I hope that you appreciate that for 14 days I have held back from making my complaint, therefore leaving the 'investigators' time to examine their plunder.

Hoping that you will take this into account, I will expect your answer in not longer than 15 days, the time fixed by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

December 4, 1968

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THIS book brings together for the first time in a single volume Trotsky's major writings on Germany during the critical years 1931-1933. But they must not be seen as of purely literary or historical interest. As the working class, particularly in Europe, enters a new and decisive stage of its struggles, the revolutionary movement has the responsibility of establishing amongst the most advanced layers of workers the lessons contained in the rise to power of fascism and the destruction of the organized German working class.

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Germany 1931 1932

Leon Trotsky

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