

# IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM

FOR A NEW LENINIST INTERNATIONAL

## *The Roots of the Czechoslovakian Betrayal*

Social Democracy, Stalinism, Lovestoneism, Trotskyism  
by

GEORGE MARLEN

---

THE CHARACTER OF THE COMING WAR . . . . .	p. 33
by J. C. HUNTER	
THE TROTSKYITES AS PROPHETS . . . . .	p. 44



---

THE LENINIST LEAGUE U. S. A.  
P.O.Box 67 — Station D  
NEW YORK



# The Roots of the Czechoslovakian Betrayal

By George Maxlen

\* \* \*

## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND STALINISM

**O**VER THE "DEMOCRATIC" ROAD paved with base treachery and fatal illusions, the toiling masses, in one capitalist country after another, are marching down into the dreary hell of Fascism. A bloody nightmare of sadistic brutality is creeping over the globe, spelling frightful tortures and physical extermination for the vanguard section of the international proletariat. The wide masses of toilers, blinded by the blizzard of nationalist ideology, clutched by hunger and terror, are docilely bending their backs under the whips of the hectoring Fascists, grinding at the industrial machine of the bourgeoisie.

The immediate outlook for the toilers in Fascist countries seems almost hopeless; for the few remaining sections of the world workingclass not yet under the blood-bespattered heel of Fascism the outlook is black.

Where is the restraining hand of the revolutionary class within the capitalist society to halt the forward sweep of the ghastly tide? What of Marxism which declared that the proletariat would overthrow the capitalists and establish its rule to pilot humanity upward toward a higher system of society, toward freedom from exploit-

ation and tyranny? What of Marx's and Engel's Communist Manifesto which declared that the victory of the proletariat is inevitable?

Is grim reality disproving and negating the theories and teachings of the founders of scientific Socialism? Are all the bouyant hopes and century-old heavy labors for liberation from wage slavery to end in futility, bitter frustration and most horrible thralldam?

If so, how to account, then, for the great October Revolution which swept the Russian capitalists and landlords out of power and terrified the world bourgeoisie out of their wits? How to explain the fact that the Russian workers and peasants, although greatly weakened by the slaughter of the imperialist war under the Tzar, and despite hunger and almost complete collapse of Soviet industry, succeeded in wiping out the huge fascist armies of the Russian capitalists and landlords, and, fighting on fourteen fronts, defeated the intervention of all imperialist powers?

The proletarian revolution in Russia was no miracle — miracles occur neither in nature nor in society. Above all, the reason why a White

Guard military dictatorship was prevented in Russia is that the Russian toilers followed the path which was lighted by the torch of Marxism held aloft by Lenin.

What is the reason that the structure of international capitalism, heavy with age and historically condemned, stands, while the class which history charged with the task of razing this decaying structure and building in its stead a socialist edifice, is gradually sinking into the yawning abyss of Fascism?

Only short-sighted people, who never heard of classes and the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, will conclude that the tragedy of the masses of Czechoslovakia was brought on exclusively by the action of the imperialists and had very little to do with the political situation within the workingclass. It is essential to know what were the policies of the workers of Czechoslovakia. Moreover, it is absolutely impossible to know the present without clearly seeing the picture of the immediate past. Now that Hitler occupies the center of the imperialist stage in Europe, it is important to subject to a close scrutiny and investigation the historical period that brought Hitler to power. Especially is it urgent to analyze the political position of the forces at the head of the German proletariat immediately prior to the advent of fascism.

Unfortunately we cannot here to into a thorough study of all the phases of that period. We must confine ourselves to the brief examination of the policies laid down by the most important organized bodies within the proletariat, particularly the policies of the Communist International.

We must start out with the indisputable proposition that there can be only one authentic Marxist movement. All others are pseudo-Marxist, cloaking their opportunist character with vivacious Marxist-sounding phraseology to deceive the workers. Which one of the existing tendencies represents Marxism today?

The oldest political movement within the workingclass is Social-democracy organized in the Second International. In 1914 virtually all the important sections of the Social-democracy went over to the imperialist bourgeoisie and under the slogan "Defense of democracy" saved capitalism from proletarian revolution in Germany and in a few other countries. Social-democracy continues its counter-revolutionary work to this very day betraying the proletariat to Fascism.

The Russian section of the Third International, the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin, established a proletarian State with a view to extending the Communist revolution to all countries. But for certain reasons instead of international victory, the workers in one country after another have suffered frightful defeats, some of really monstrous proportions like the catastrophe in Germany in 1933.

While the explanation of the success with which each imperialist State mobilized the masses for the 1914-1918 slaughter and of the abortion of the proletarian revolution in Central Europe in 1919 lies in the betrayal of Marxism by the Socialist parties, the basic reason for the debacles since 1923 is to be discovered in a different quarter.

The close of the civil war in 1921 left the proletarian State suffering from many ailments. Among the worst was the bureaucratic cancer which penetrated into the very vitals of the institutions of the republic. Instead of struggling against the disease with a view to destroying it and establishing in its place Workers Democracy as was specified in the Party program, a group of leaders of the Party, headed by Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin conspired to entrench themselves in high posts of the Party and the State. Even prior to this organizational opportunism of the leaders, Lenin characterized the Soviet State as "a Workers State with a bureaucratic distortion" (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, English Edition, Vol. IX, p. 33.)

Now the usurping leaders created

a bond between themselves and the bureaucratic cancer and organized the "bureaucratic distortion" into a system, a huge pyramid of privileged officials and functionaries resting on the shoulders of the wide masses. The system developed its mechanics and safeguards. There has been an uninterrupted concentration of all threads of power in the hands of a tiny clique headed by Stalin. Under the pretense of defending Leninism the Stalinist clique established a perennial chief target, Trotsky. The Comintern, headed by Stalin's partner in the usurpation plot, Zinoviev, and with Trotsky's indirect assistance, was transformed into an instrument for prevention of the establishment of a "rival" proletarian State. This was absolutely necessary for the privileged bureaucratic caste in the first proletarian State. A victorious proletarian avalanche sweeping over Europe and establishing everywhere the political and economic system of Workers Democracy would have

smashed the bureaucratic pyramid off Stalin. To forestall such eventuality Stalin and his bureaucrats introduced a zigzag method of diverting the proletariat from the revolutionary path.

The zigzag method consists in an ultra-Left policy and an ultra-Right one. In full control of a powerful proletarian State, draping itself in the Leninist mantle, utilizing the great traditions of October, Stalinism became the mightiest opportunist force within the international working class. Over a period of a decade and a half the Stalinist Comintern, objectively aided by Social-democracy and all the other opportunist organizations and tendencies disrupted a number of revolutionary situations and reduced the most dynamic revolutionary class in history to pitiable impotence. The effect of the bureaucratization of the first proletarian state was to release the unbridled fury of bourgeois reaction in the form of Fascism.

#### CLEARING THE PATH FOR HITLER

In the period of 1930-1933 Germany was rocked by one of the severest economic and political crises in the history of bourgeois society. The country came to the forking of the road, the unmistakable alternative being: Socialism or reconstruction of the capitalist power along Fascist lines.

Within the German workingclass were operating powerful opportunist forces preventing it from fulfilling its historical role of the grave-digger and destroyer of capitalism. Social Democracy, numerically the larger force, unalterably opposed to proletarian revolution and the formation of a Soviet Republic, pursued its traditional policy of support of bourgeois democracy as the lesser evil than Fascism. Stalin's Comintern, continually gaining ground among the German masses at the expense of Social Democracy, operated through its ultra-Left zigzag

preservation of private property, was making ready to cast aside its democracy. The faithful lackeys of finance capital, the Socialist leaders, were to receive the boot and Hitler was to be put in control of the State. Had there been a Leninist party it would have utilized to the fullest extent the growing economic and political crisis. Through a scathing exposure of Stalinism, Social Democracy and other opportunist forces, employing also the tactic of a genuine Leninist united front as conducted by the Bolsheviki in 1917 in the struggle against Kornilov, the masses would have been freed from the grip of opportunist deceptions. They would have been marshalled for the victorious battle against its enemies. The real revolutionary party would have to pursue its tactics in accordance with the turns of the struggle. Since the German bourgeoisie was definitely moving towards establishing a fascist regime, the revolutionary party would direct its main attention against this, right arm of the capitalist class. It is possible that having smashed this arm,

Threatened with the cataclysm of proletarian upheaval, the German bourgeoisie, governed by the passion of

the German proletariat would face the greatly enfeebled left arm of the bourgeoisie - the Social-democracy. In this case the main force of the struggle would be directed against this labor agency of finance capital. And by breaking both arms of the bourgeoisie, as Lenin did, smashing Kornilov in September and in October overthrowing Kerensky, the German proletariat would have established itself in power. The entire struggle of course would have to be based upon a correct evaluation of the historical situation and a correct policy in strategy and tactics. A misstep in the estimation of the situation and in the application of tactics inevitably puts the working-class upon one of the numerous fatal roads that lead to disaster.

But the Stalinist leadership shaped its analysis as well as its strategy and tactics in accordance with certain definite opportunist aims in view. While periodically conducting noisy putches against the Fascists, the Stalinist leadership diverted the minds of the workers from the real historical perspective. It assured the masses that the theory that the bourgeoisie was about to dismiss its Social-democratic ministerial menials from the helm of the State was false.

"Equally false is the theory that Social Democracy is about to be kicked out by finance capital to make room for open Fascism." (Rote Fahne, February 13, 1930.)

Papers, leaflets and pamphlets were pouring from the Stalinist presses allaying the anxiety of the workers and whipping up their feelings primarily against Social-democracy. This petty-bourgeois democratic movement, the Stalinists insisted, changed its basic features and became "Social-Fascist" and "actually Fascist."

The minds of the tractable Stalinist followers, unable to see the reasons behind the manipulations of theoretical ideas, with difficulty absorbed this fabrication.

"The fact that, in connection with the fascist tendency, which is

at the very basis of decaying monopolistic capitalism itself, the social-democratic has been transformed into a social-fascist party, has with difficulty penetrated into the consciousness of our parties." (A. Martinov, The Communist International, Vol. VII, No. 2-3, p. 67.)

Some Stalinist writers did not completely grasp the "constructive" line laid down by their superiors. Those who did not accept the Stalinist invention that Social-democracy is fascism but merely stated that it was only evolving into Fascism were vigorously criticized; and so were those who stated that finance capital would oust Social-democracy to make room for OPEN Fascism.

"The error committed by Comrade Murphy in describing the interrelations between social-fascism and fascism was also made in the Rote Fahne — where, by the way, it was immediately rectified. The article in Rote Fahne treats the development thus: 'Social-democracy after a short period of time, will be ousted from the government by finance-capital, so as to cede place to open fascism.' That article was based on the non-comprehension of the specific role of social-fascism and its significance for the fascist dictatorship.

"Indeed, social-fascism by no means needs to be developed into 'pure' fascism. It already IS actual fascism." (A. Fogarashi, The Communist International, Vol. VII, No. 2-3, p. 101. Capitals in the original.)

Running like a black thread through the publications of Stalinism during its ultra-Leftist zigzags was the policy of diverting the workers' thoughts from the danger of Fascism and directing them into the channels of conducting the main offensive against Social Democracy. This was the basic orientation of Stalinism:

"As the bourgeoisie cannot be overthrown without the overthrow of its main social support, it is not incorrect to say that we ought to

direct our main offensive against social-democracy." (Kuusinen, Prepare for Power, pp. 105-106. Emphasis in the original.)

The clear and definite instructions were: "All the resources of the party must be thrown into the fight against Social Democracy" (The Communist International, July 1931, No. 25-26, p. 1154. My emphasis - G.M.)

In the first half of 1932 Hitler's forces registered a turbulent rise, and even the most optimistic minds began to sense that the Nazi danger was real and very close. The Stalinist leaders fully armed with their line sprang forth with their warnings not to overestimate the Hitler movement.

"Nothing would be more fatal than an opportunist overestimation of Hitlerist Fascism." (Speech at the Plenum of the C. P. of Germany by Ernst Thaelmann, February 19, 1932.)

The closer the moment of Hitler's ascent to power the greater was the stress on the part of the Stalinist leaders to conduct its main offensive against Social-democracy. Even when the reactionary von Papen government was set up as a stepping stone to Hitler, the Stalinist chieftains declared that the fire against Social-democracy had to be intensified.

"On the basis of our class policy we must, in the new situation, apply the strategy of the 'main fire against Social Democracy' more than ever before....Nothing has changed as far as this principle orientation of ours is concerned." (Ernst Thaelmann, Labour Monthly, September 1932, pp. 586-588. My emphasis - G. M.)

And barely three and a half months before Hitler took charge of Germany, they said:

"Therefore, to beat the enemy, the bourgeoisie, we must direct the main blow against its chief social bulwark, against the chief enemy of

Communism in the working class, against Social Democracy, against Social Fascism.

"It may seem that in Germany, at the present time, for example, the chief social bulwark of the bourgeoisie is Fascism, and that, therefore, we should deal the chief blows against Fascism.

"This is not correct." (T. Gusev, The Communist International, No. 19, October 15, 1932, p. 674. My emphasis - G.M.)

The Stalinist leadership successfully pitted one section of the proletariat against the other. The reactionary line of the Social-democracy only facilitated the Stalinist policy. The Social-democratic leadership in control of the capitalist government permitted the capitalists to organize the Fascist forces. It did this through urging the workers to tolerate bourgeois democracy as the lesser evil than fascism. The Stalinist leaders "fought" this angle of the Social-democratic policy by declaring that it was a deception of the masses to state that Fascism was the main enemy. Such Socialist angle conflicted with the Stalinist version that Social-democracy was the main enemy:

"The Social-democrats, in order to deceive the masses, deliberately proclaim that the chief enemy of the working class is Fascism." (D. Z. Manuilsky, The Communist Parties and the Crisis of Capitalism, p.112)

Due to the weighty fact that Stalinism cloaked itself in Leninist traditions and wielded power in the first proletarian State, the German masses despite the continuous flow of Stalinist deception were swept to the Left by the crisis directly into the arms of the Stalinist misleaders. The influence of Social-democracy was on the decline. As to the Nazis, their movement close to the end of 1932 reached the stage of collapse. Had there been a Bolshevik Party instead of the Stalinist trap which was concealed under a "Bolshevik" cover, then the proletarian revolution in Germany, greatly overdue, would have been a foregone conclusion. Stalinism intro-

duced the fatally deceptive notion that capitalism goes through Fascism before reaching the stage of proletarian revolution:

"The capitalist world is heading for revolution but before succumbing it goes through the phase of Fascism. Fascism is going to be the last stage of capitalism before the world revolution." (D. Z. Manuilsky, speech at the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

This in a sense implanted into the minds the paralyzing illusion that the Fascist power in Germany should be even welcomed for it would be the prelude to the establishment of a workers republic.

Even bourgeois liberal historians studying the political aspect of the situation which permitted the transformation of capitalist rule in Germany from bourgeois democratic to Fascist were puzzled by the "inexplicable" policy of the "Communists."

"Until well on in the year 1932 German Communists were obeying the strange order that Hitler's seizure of power must be actually encouraged, because the path to Communism must go by way of the rule of Fascism and its collapse. Hence the German Communist Party right to the very end did not direct its fiercest attack against National Socialism but against Social Democracy." (Konrad Heiden, "A History of National Socialism," p. 154.)

When the betrayal was completed, the Stalinists unloaded their own share of guilt upon the criminal shoulders of the Social-democracy, meantime assuring the workers that Germany was facing an immediate revolutionary upsurge:

"Our Party says that owing to the treachery of Social Democracy, the German proletariat was forced to retreat temporarily, and that there is now commencing in Germany a new revolutionary upsurge." (The Communist International, No. 23, December 1933, p. 828.)

To the workers in the Comintern the indictment of Social Democracy was quite logical. Blinded by their leaders who exploited the workers' love for the Soviet Union to the fullest extent, the Comintern rank-and-file were unclear as to the policies of Stalin, but were to a great degree familiar with the lurid records of Social-democratic opportunism and treachery.

The support Social-democracy rendered to von Hindenburg and the despicable performance of Socialist deputies in the Reichstag voting confidence in the Nazi regime only strengthened the illusion that Social-democracy was the sole betrayer of the German masses.

As to the policies of disruption and deception the Stalinists themselves pursued, such as the invention about Social-democracy being actual fascism, the building of "Red" trade unions, united front "from below only," insistence upon the analysis that finance-capital was not getting ready to kick out Social-democracy in order to replace it with fascism, the tactic of voting together with the Nazis in the "Red referendum" (August 9, 1931), support of Nazi motions against Social Democrats, and all the other premeditated disruptive acts, the Stalinist Executive of the Comintern declared the following:

"The Presidium of the ECCI declares that the political line and the organizational policy pursued by the C. C. of the Communist Party of Germany, led by Comrade Thaelmann, before and at the time of the Hitler coup, WAS QUITE CORRECT" (Resolution of the Presidium of the ECCI, Daily Worker, April 17, 1933.

My emphasis - G. M. )

## THE NATURE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN "DEMOCRACY"

In the years of the Leftist zig-zag the Stalinist leaders, as a cover for their adventurist putchist tactics and for the theory of "social-fascism," employed quite extensively a number of entirely Leninist formulations. Bourgeois democracy was correctly presented as a masked dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, fundamentally in its class character of power not different from Fascism.

The establishment of the Czechoslovakian State by the Treaty of Versailles was correctly described as an auxiliary force for the French bourgeoisie in the eventuality of a new war with German imperialism.

In those days the Stalinists did not deem it necessary to hide some damning facts about the Czech bourgeoisie, its leader Mazaryk, and openly told of the exploitation and plunder and aggressive designs by this truly imperialist State.

"Under Mazaryk's leadership, the Czech bourgeoisie constituted itself as an independent State, and succeeded with the aid of the Social chauvinists in maintaining this State in face of the revolutionary wave in the years following the war, consolidating its positions, organizing the exploitation and plundering of the occupied districts and going over to an aggressive foreign policy." (Inprecorr, May 18, 1934, p. 1786.)

Stalinist publications openly wrote of Czechoslovakia as of a vassal of French imperialism participating in a scheme of an attack upon the Soviet Union.

"This year the French general staff has achieved great work toward coordinating the war-plans of the general staffs of Poland and the 'Little Entente.' At the conference of the general staffs of Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, held in the spring of 1932, under the leadership of the French general staff, plans for op-

erations against the Soviet Union were discussed. The Czechoslovakian munitions industry has been drawn into taking an intensive part in the work of the entire anti-Soviet alliance. Czechoslovakian firms are now constructing munitions factories in Rumania, Poland and Latvia." (Prepare for Power, Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Report by O. Kuusinen, pp. 55, 56.)

\*\* (Errata: Correction on bottom of page 31)

The sections of Stalin's Comintern were instructed to lay bare the fact that the Czechoslovak government was but a tool of French imperialism.

"To further develop economic and political struggles on the basis of the united front from below, linking up this struggle with the exposure of the role of the Czechoslovakian government as the tool of French imperialism." ("Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended," Thesis and Resolutions of the Twelfth Plenum of the ECCL, p. 18.)

Not for a single moment did the Stalinists attempt to conceal the imperialist nature of the Czechoslovak State. With severe directness the Stalinist leadership condemned as "Rights" those within their midst who underestimated Czechoslovak imperialism:

"A characteristic feature of the Czech Rights was a tendency to understate Czechoslovakian imperialism and to consider Czechoslovakia as an oppressed colonial country. This led to a weakening of the struggle against the Czech bourgeoisie and Czech Social-Democracy." (N. Popov, "Outline History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," Vol. 2, p. 392.)

The Czechoslovak exploiters were not one iota less greedy for profits than their brethren in America, England, France, Germany or Italy. In articles dealing with Czechoslovakia the Stalinist writers painted a vivid picture in figures and facts of the intense exploitation of the toiling



masses by the "democratic" parasites, the financiers and industrialists of the country.

"How intense the exploitation is in Czechoslovakia can be shown by a few figures." (Inprecorr, January 12, 1934, p. 40.)

"In spite of this frightful distress and impoverishment, affecting every stratum of the workers, nevertheless tax arrears and other debts are collected by the most ruthless methods from the small holders and tradesmen, and even from the unemployed.....The unbridled exploitation, the economic misery, the mass distraints, the cultural oppression of national minorities, and in addition to all this brutal terror exercised by the state apparatus, which is almost exclusively in the hands of the Czech bourgeoisie, are causing a widespread radicalization of broad strata of the population.

".....It is not by accident that the hatred of the Czech bourgeoisie is directed chiefly against Slovak working youth. These young people, utterly impoverished and at the same time radicalized by the ruling conditions, give the revolutionary movement its best cadres, and take the lead in all mass action." (Inprecorr, Vol. 15, No. 32, August 3, 1935, p. 838.)

The petty-imperialist Czech bourgeoisie in its policy of ruthless exploitation of the workers and of social and national oppression of the Slovak, German and other minorities, was driving the minority bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and hundreds of thousands of workers of the minorities to their national Fascists. This was admitted by the Stalinists even after they had shelved the ultra-Leftist line and had openly at the Seventh Congress adopted the policy of supporting bourgeois democracy.

"The struggle for influence over the hundreds of thousands of toilers, who still look upon Henlein as their future liberator, is thus elevated to the degree of a question of European importance. This strug-

gle is a particularly hard one as the governing elements of the Republic, in their treacherous self-delusion, are continuing their policy of social and national oppression, which renders easy the task of the superficial demagogues to awaken in the Sudetic district hatred 'against the Czechs,' and to place before the Sudetic-German people fusion with the Third Reich as the sole means of their salvation." (Inprecorr, Vol. 15, No. 55, pp. 1379-80, October 19, 1935.)

Besides being a treacherous ruling class plotting with the big imperialist bandits to attack and destroy the Soviet Union, the Czech bourgeoisie in its internal policy was striving to consolidate its domination by uniting the Czechoslovak people which unity would form the basis for Fascisizing the country. In an article entitled "The Czechoslovakian 'Democracy' Copies Hitler" published in the Inprecorr, June 22, 1934, p. 930, the Stalinists said something about this unification policy of the Czechoslovak imperialist "democracy":

"The policy of 'uniting the Czechoslovakian people,' demanded by Czechoslovakian financial capitalists and the big landowners, striven for by the fascists and energetically supported by the social-democratic parties, is already bearing fruit. The Presidential election and the glorification of Masaryk connected with it were the beginning of this 'union' which is to serve the Czech bourgeoisie as a basis for their fascist measures."

The Stalinists showed that the "democratic" bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia was suppressing the workers while doing nothing to stop fascism:

"....it is the Czech bourgeoisie and the social fascists who are responsible in the first place for the enormous increase in the fascist danger, as they have made use of every opportunity in order to suppress the labor movement, but have not taken any steps whatever against fascism." (Inprecorr, Feb. 2, 1933, p. 22.)

In point of fact, it is no exaggeration to assert that the little imperialist exploiter, Czechoslovakia, in time would have set up a full-blown Fascist rule modelled after that of Hitler and Mussolini.

The methods Czechoslovakian "democracy" employed in dealing with the oppressed workers and peasants were the approved methods of the Fascist dictators:

"The Czechoslovakian defenders of 'democracy' have learned all manner of things from Hitler, Mussolini and Pilsudsky. They 'defend democracy' with methods which would not shame the fascist rulers." (Inprecorr, Dec. 29, 1934, p.1738.)

"The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie and its government, which is introducing the fascist dictatorship, is working with the same means and methods as Fascism in Italy, Germany and other countries." (Inprecorr, March 23, 1934, p. 483.)

Already in 1934 the cowardly Czech bourgeoisie began to follow in the steps of Hitler and establish fascist labor camps for unemployed workers. The Stalinists then attempted to bring to light this brutal anti-workingclass development and allotted considerable space for the disclosures. In an article "Fascist Labor Service Camps in Czechoslovakia" they wrote:

"With the assistance of the social fascists the bourgeoisie is now striving to exploit the terrible impoverishment of the hungry unemployed young workers in order to carry out a measure whose fascist character and whose great significance for the further development of war preparations are quite clear — the establishment of labor service camps for unemployed young workers ..... This is the same tune as the one sung by Hitler and Goebels about their labour service camps. Their example is unmistakable... The first camp has already been opened in Bratislava (Pressburg) and it has a very definite military character." (Inprecorr, April 13, 1934, p. 589.)

In the legislative field too the reactionary Czech bourgeoisie adopted some strong anti-workingclass measures which indicated that, while boasting of democracy, the ruling class was laying the basis for transforming its form of power on the pattern worked out by Fascism.

"A number of political and economic laws of Czechoslovakia faithfully follow the footsteps of Hitler, Dolfuss and Mussolini..... the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie is consistently striving to set up the open fascist dictatorship." (Inprecorr, Vol. 14, #36, p. 931, June 22, 1934.)

The main hatred, virtually the weight of its repressive measures was directed by the dwarf imperialist Czech State not so much against the Fascist minorities as against the workers and radical intellectuals, especially those who in their reaction to the merciless exploitation were moving to the Left and entering the Stalinist "party" imagining it to be a Bolshevik organization. Towards the Nazis and other fascists the Czech courts exercised toleration and lenience.

"On June 28 the Prague Penal Court announced two verdicts: the two Communist defendants, Stotka and Richards Slansky, were sentenced to a total of 34 months rigorous imprisonment for alleged high treason — the fascist Maixner was acquitted altogether of the charge of high treason.....

"The Czech fascist, Maixner, admitted himself that he was in contact with the German Embassy and with the propaganda ministry in Berlin. He was caught in the act of negotiating with Nazi agents on a possible exchange of the German-speaking district in Czechoslovakia to Hitler. And yet he has been acquitted! The trial of the Communist members of Parliament consisted of a chain of scandalous violations of the law and provocative arbitrariness." (Inprecorr, Vol. 15, #28, July 6th, 1935, p. 741.)

To summarize in brief, the nature

of Czechoslovakian "democratic" republic proved to the hilt the correctness of Lenin's thesis that:

"The most democratic bourgeois republic never was and never could be anything else than a machine for suppressing the toilers by capital, than the tool of the political power of capital, dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XVI, p. 186. Russian edition,)

And the Czech republic was far from being the most democratic capitalist republic. The Czech capitalists' main concern was to secure their power, to further the exploitation of the toilers and gain a greater share of imperialist booty in the next redivision of Europe. The president of Czechoslovakia, the bourgeois democrat, Benes, cared not a fig about democracy and the fate of the masses, but about which gang of the imperialists could give most to the Czech bourgeoisie. When the French bourgeoisie broke its alliance with the Czech bourgeoisie, he made it quite plain. "If I felt that

we were not supported," said President Benes, "I could make right now a very good deal with Germany." (New York Times, October 1, 1938.)

Cowardly in their attitude towards the German and Italian Fascists, the Czech capitalists were merciless with workers and toilers in general.

The Stalinists themselves prior to their ultra-Right zigzag professed to advocate proletarian revolution in Czechoslovakia, preventing, however, the realization of this element of truth in its program through the policy of "social-fascism" and the rest of the disruptive paraphernalia of the ultra-Leftist period. Their writings of that period, now gathering dust, prove that the Stalinist slogan was against both Fascism and bourgeois democracy:

"Our slogan is: Not fascism and, also, not democracy of the rich, but the workers' and peasants government, Soviet democracy." (Gottwald, Inprecorr, May 12, 1933, p. 454.)

#### FROM THE ULTRA-LEFT TO THE ULTRA-RIGHT

While the betrayal of the German masses was carried out by Stalinism, always aided by other opportunism, through its ultra-Left zigzag, the betrayal of the Czechoslovakian toilers was brought about by means of the ultra-Right zigzag. The swing from the extreme Left policy to the extreme Right was accomplished by Stalinism with remarkable caution and skill.

The deep significance of the dreadful debacle in Germany gradually penetrated the minds of many workers. Some dimly sensed that something was wrong with Stalin's policies in Germany. Symptoms of disaffection put in their appearance in the French and the Spanish sections. The ultra-Leftist zigzag becoming untenable, Stalinism, to cover up the betrayal and to give the impression that the "correct" line was being adopted to the new situation, pushed the political pendulum to the Right. "Social Fascism" was approach-

ed with an olive branch and an understanding was reached between the two betrayers of the proletariat. Stalinism abandoned its rabid outcries and signed an agreement to refrain from criticising the Socialist agents of imperialism:

"Firstly, our party agreed to refrain from criticism of the Socialist party during the period of joint activity (that is, during the ultra-Right zigzag - G.M.). This is a very serious concession on the part of the Communists.

"They agreed not only to refrain from criticism on all urgent political questions during the period of the joint activity, but they also agreed to put aside the discussion of even theoretical differences." (Communist International, September 5, 1934, p. 656.)

The Stalinist leaders, who only yester-

day in the Resolution of the XII Plenum of the ECCI urged "systematically to expose the treachery of the social-democratic and reformist leaders..." now, with the ultra-Rightist swing gaining momentum condemned any attempt to unmask their partners-in-betrayals, the Social-democratic leaders.

".....We must reject sharply all attempts in our ranks to treat the united front as a formal arrangement, as a recruiting device for the Communist Party, ~~as~~ an opportunity to unmask the Social-Democratic leaders." (W. Ploek, Daily Worker, January 7, 1936.)

The agreement of the two betraying bureaucracies not to expose each others treachery was palmed off upon the workers as a revolutionary united front. And as the days rolled on, Stalinism, offering policy of unity as the panacea for the ills afflicting the working class, spread the lie that it sought to establish organic unity of the "social fascist" Second International and the Stalinist Comintern.

As has been shown above, the Stalinists spoke freely and openly about the vicious and reactionary character of the Czech republic and the need to establish a Soviet government. But with the ultra-Rightist zigzag there came a striking change — not in the character of the Czechoslovak "democratic" exploiters, of course, but in the Stalinist policies. In July 1935 the ultra-Right zigzag, already in operation, received an official seal of the "Seventh Congress of the Comintern." The workers of capitalist countries were assured that now, in the eighteenth year of the existence of the proletarian State, the choice for them was not proletarian revolution against capitalism but defense of capitalist democracy as the bulwark against Fascism. Meanwhile the winds of history compelled the Stalinist bureaucrats to veer from Germany to French imperialism and its vassal Czechoslovakia. A barrage of arguments adorned with gems of eloquence was loosed upon the world to prove that France is not a bloodsucking capitalist empire and that Czechoslovakia is

not a petty imperialist exploiter. Both, the "discovery" was made, were "democratic" republics which had to be defended by the workers. Having negotiated pacts with France and Czechoslovakia, the Stalinist clique in the Kremlin palace instructed their agents in those capitalist countries to support the military budgets. The central organ of the Czechoslovakian Stalinist party, "forgetting" about the criticism against the "Rights" who underestimated Czechoslovak imperialism and had not sufficiently fought against it, now urged the workers to make sacrifices for the capitalist army.

"The Minister of National Defense brought forward in the Defense Committee the program of material demands of the Army Administration. These demands are numerous, but they are necessary!.....Everyone: the workers, the small traders, peasants, civil servants, officials must make sacrifices for the army." (Rude Pravo, central organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, November 27, 1935. My emphasis - G.M.)

The Stalinist diplomacy, assisted by the flunkoys in the Comintern, pursued a policy of keeping the imperialist world divided. Stalin's man Friday, Litvinov, was galloping from country to country, was buttonholing the imperialist diplomats at Geneva, offering Stalin's friendship and military aid to one imperialist power against another. The Stalinist leaders assured the masses that such policy was Leninist. They carefully concealed the truth that while Lenin took all the advantage of the split in the world imperialist camp, he knew that all bourgeois countries wished to destroy the Soviet Republic. He never allied himself with any bourgeois camp but quite the opposite, uncompromisingly fought the entire imperialist world. Lenin called for revolutionary defeatism in all imperialist countries. Lenin was motivated by the interests of the workers in Russia and in the imperialist countries; Stalin is guided by his own interests and those of the Soviet bureaucracy which sustains him in power.

A CHANGE IN THE ORIENTATION OF THE IMPERIALIST POWERS

It is pertinent at this juncture to inquire briefly into the intricate developments within international imperialism since the advent of Hitler. Fascism was imposed upon Germany as a means to stifle the proletariat. The bankruptcy of the Nazi regime would automatically unleash throughout Europe a furious tempest of proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie. To demolish the class ideology lingering within the German proletariat Hitler had to demonstrate the "superiority" of nationalism, and the inescapable logic of the situation demanded that he proceed from success to success. With the threat of proletarian revolution in Germany hanging over their wise and experienced heads, the British and French bourgeoisie paradoxically enough, were compelled to yield to necessity and provide Hitler with victories. Thus Hitler, his hands free, reestablished the army, occupied and fortified the Rhineland, won the Saar, seized Austria and was out to dismember France's imperialist pawn, Czechoslovakia.

Either inter-imperialist war carrying with it the crash of the existing social and economic order, or inter-imperialist peace and collaboration with Germany as the spearhead for a mortal thrust against the half-undermined, bureaucratically warped proletarian State. Thus was the question put before the far-sighted statesmen of all imperialist powers. They could not fail to perceive the inevitably disastrous consequences of the former course and the possible inestimable advantages of the latter one. The destruction of the remnants of the proletarian State — socialized methods of production — in one sixth of the earth's surface would in a measure restore the former equilibrium of capi-

talism, rounding out the rule of imperialism throughout the entire globe. Next, the dismemberment of so colossal a State would more than satisfy for the time being all imperialist beasts who would require some years to digest the huge chunks each of them would devour. Finally, and this would be of prime importance, the bourgeoisie would demonstrate to the masses that Communism is an unattainable utopia. The bourgeoisie would see to it that the memory of the sight of all the symbols of October going up in a monstrous cloud of flame and smoke amidst mountains of slain workers and peasants indelibly burnt for centuries in the minds of men, plaguing and terrifying the toilers of all lands. The thought of a Bolshevik Revolution would no longer be a glowing hope to the oppressed masses but a ghastly nightmare of futility.

Balancing itself between the two ever-present mortal dangers, the threat of proletarian revolution and the menace of a concerted attack by world imperialism, the Stalinist bureaucracy, with unvaried success has warded off the first but was unable to continue indefinitely to maneuver among the imperialist powers.

Stalin was caught in a contradiction which it was not in his power to resolve. The cry of Stalinism for "collective security" of one group of imperialists against another, and all the labors to array the "democratic" bloodsucking bandits, the imperialists of France, England and the United States against the fascist bloodsucking bandits of Germany and Italy were proving of no avail. History inexorably was bringing the imperialist wolves together into one pack for an attack upon the sick proletarian State.

STUPEFYING THE MASSES WITH ULTRA-RIGHTISM

While the leaders of the bourgeoisie intelligently perceived the major problem which confronted them, and in matters of policy chose a line that stemmed from a correct estimation of the means of rescuing the perishing

capitalist civilization, the people boasting unrivaled influence among the toilers duped the masses with fatal illusions. Guided by its need to prevent the rise of another workers State, Stalinism with the aid of other oppor

tunist tendencies surrounded the international proletariat with virtually insurmountable ideological barriers. The mental vision of the vast masses was dimmed and distorted. The dominant key-note became "peace and democracy." World imperialism was divided into "fascist dictatorships" and "democracies." A further division was made within each "democracy." The liberal bourgeoisie were "progressive" and "real democrats," the conservatives were "Tories" and "economic royalists."

Concealing the fact that peace is impossible and war is unavoidable while the bourgeoisie control most of the world, the Stalinist bureaucrats duped the workers with the illusion that peace could be attained under capitalism. The "progressive" leaders of the bourgeoisie, only yesterday exposed as war-mongers, now were whitewashed into angels of peace.

Only in the very recent past the Stalinists, who knew Lenin's position on democracy under capitalism, wrote some true words on this matter:

"In capitalist society, we have a democracy that is curtailed, wretched, false; a democracy only for the rich, for the minority." (Lenin Corner, Daily Worker, Jan. 9, 1934.)

As the Rightist swing advanced the Stalinists "changed" the character of bourgeois democracy, to hide the fact that it is bourgeois democracy that paves the way for the Kornilovs, Mussolinis and Hitlers. The old Kautskian fraud about the progressive character of bourgeois democracy in the imperialist era was expounded and modernized:

"The victory of fascism in a number of European states and especially in Germany has changed the historical part played by bourgeois democracy." (Inprecorr, Nov. 20, 1937)

Naturally the Czechoslovakian masses were duped by Stalinism along with the masses of other lands. In May 1935, a little over two months prior to the "Seventh Congress," when the Rightist zigzag was young, the

Stalinist "party" in Czechoslovakia continuing using the Leninist cover to hide the transition to ultra-Rightism still issued slogans against collaboration with the bourgeoisie and for Soviet power:

"Against collaboration with the bourgeoisie; for socialist fighting unity; against fascism, capitalism and war; for the peace policy of the Soviet Union; for Soviet power; for Socialism!" (Slogans of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in May 1935 elections, Inprecorr No. 18, p. 474, 1935.)

But as months wore on the Rightist zigzag gained in weight and speed. Collaborating in perfect harmony with the "Social-Fascists," aggressive Stalinism with influence far beyond its size dimmed the class-consciousness of the workers and tied them securely to the bourgeoisie. Victims of the two powerful opportunist forces, which in one way or another were aided by all other mock Marxists the Czechoslovakian masses were robbed of every vestige of independent revolutionary activity. The words "class struggle" which state the central principle of Marxism and which for generations were a household expression among the workers were obliterated from the proletarian vocabulary. The Leninist evaluation of the League of Nations as an organization to conceal war preparations of the imperialists, was completely wiped out. Now to save peace the workers were told to save the League of Nations. "To save the League of Nations is to save peace" (Inprecorr, January 9, 1937). The basic historical difference between a bourgeois State and a proletarian, albeit bureaucratically mutilated, State was glossed over — "Soviet Union, France and the other democratic states..." (Inprecorr, November 20, 1937, p. 1222).

The puny capitalist State which Mazaryk set up with the assistance of the French, British and American financial diplomatic bandits, the little country of considerable imperialist grab, of intense exploitation of the working class, and of national oppression of minorities, was now "The life work of Mazaryk, the Czechoslovak demo-

cratic republic" (Imprecorr, September 18, 1937, p. 900). While previously they showed that Mazaryk was an old imperialist robber and exploiter, now the Stalinist bureaucrats, in the name of the working class, upheld Mazaryk's "traditions":

"The importance of the political antagonisms which during a long period of his political activities separated Masaryk from the working-class movement, recede before the common striving of all democrats to make Czechoslovakia a bulwark of anti-fascism. In the spirit of this struggle the working class of Czechoslovakia pays tribute to the legacy of Mazaryk and is ready to champion those traditions of Mazaryk's conception which are of lasting historical significance." (Imprecorr, September 18, 1937, p. 900.)

The workers of Czechoslovakia faced two dangers from the bourgeois camp. One was from their own exploiters who were laying the foundation for the fascization of the country, the other from the imperialists outside. In trapping phrases the masses were assured by the Stalinist and Social-democratic betrayers that against the threat of German fascism they were fully protected by the big "democracies" of the West, particularly by France with whom Czechoslovakian "democracy" had a mutual assistance pact guaranteeing each others safety against an aggressor. There was also a "pact with the great Soviet people" who would come to save the masses from Hitler should he attempt to invade Czechoslovakia. As to the internal danger of Fascism, the masses were told by Stalinism and Social democracy to rely upon the "democratic forces" which were dependable in a struggle for the workers' interests.

And so the "great democratic front" of Stalin, French imperialism and Czech bourgeoisie was formed, fully supported by the masses who with misguided faith followed their misleaders. The star of hope that guided the daily activities of the victims of the opportunists was "the democratic front against fascism." In the gigan-

tic May Day demonstration of 1938, just a few months before the mentally blind-folded masses were pushed into the yawning chasm, the workers marched not under the slogans "International proletarian solidarity," "Class struggle against the bourgeoisie," and "For a workers' and peasants' republic," but under the treacherous sign of the bourgeois—Stalinist "democratic front." The photograph of this elaborate May Day parade appeared in the Stalinist press:

"The May Day demonstration in Prague is pictured. Floats depict the democratic front — Paris — Prague — Moscow — against fascism." (Daily Worker, June 4, 1938.)

Almost to the very day when the betrayal was consummated the Czechoslovakian masses were prevented by their misleaders from awakening to the danger, were chloroformed into a sense of security by a spell-binding barrage of reassuring illusions. The Stalinist and Social-democratic opportunists instilled in the workers' minds reliance not upon revolutionary action of the masses but upon "democracies," upon "collective security," and last but not least, reliance upon Stalin.

"And who can doubt that the strength of Czechoslovakia comes not only from her own love of liberty, but from the strength which she derives from COLLECTIVE SECURITY pacts with the Soviet Union and France?" (Daily Worker, June 14, 1938.)

Stalin's diplomats and agents were giving glib promises without indicating even the slightest reservations:

"Remember that Litvinov has said that the Soviet Union will fulfill all of its obligations towards Czechoslovakia, as stipulated by the pact. There is no doubt but that this socialist state pursues quite a different policy than that of imperialist states.

"The people of the Soviet Union say that when Hitler attacks Czechoslovakia, they will help." (Gottwald, quoted by Theodore Draper, Daily Worker, June 4, 1938.)

"We have our principles and we are tied by our treaties. We will be faithful to these principles and to these treaties." (Alexander A. Troyanovsky, Daily Worker, May 26, 1938.)

"Above all, Hitler cannot doubt the firmness and resolve of Czechoslovakia's allies. The Soviet Union and France will fulfill their obligations." (G. Peri, World News and Views, Sept. 10, 1938, p. 1011.)

The unsuspecting Stalinist and Socialist workers took it all in with a quiet trusting attitude and confident hope. Later the Stalinists wriggled out of all these promises and assurances declaring they would fight if France fought.

While the masses were paralyzed in the strait-jacket of opportunism, not in Czechoslovakia alone but also in France, and not only in these two countries but throughout the entire world including the bureaucratically stifled Soviet Union, the tragic drama of the destruction of the contemporary labor movement moved on to the next stage.

To any one whose mind was free from opportunist confusion and was observing events with Marxist understanding, the course of history had been manifestly clear. The team-work between the "great democracies" and the Fascist powers was a fact. It could be seen with a naked eye in the principal mile-posts: rearmament of German imperialism; Saar, Austria. The attitude of Stalinism towards Hitler's advances was that of philosophic resignation with polite gestures to Hitler as exemplified by Litvinov's speech of January 19, 1935 at the Council of the League of Nations:

"With great satisfaction we can today record the success of the application of the right of self-determination of the peoples, which represents one of the basic principles of the international policy of my government.....The great majority of the Saar people has told us that it wishes to remain German

and that it wishes to share that destiny of its countrymen in every respect. We must confine ourselves to respecting such a decision and to congratulating the German people upon the return of its sons in the Saar."

The cold-blooded role the "democracies" performed when Hitler seized Austria made many a simple-minded petty-bourgeois gasp in astonishment. That the policy of the "democracies" was tacit approval of Hitler's predatory acts was unmistakable and sinister. The seizure of Austria was but the pattern of events to come. A few preliminary steps and Hitlerism would reach out to engulf more territories, its gigantic tide sweeping to the East towards the Ukraine and the Black Sea.

Hitler's lever in Czechoslovakia was the Henlein Nazi party. The day-to-day developments testified to the growing strength of the German nationalist poison. The fraternization of the toiling masses with their exploiters under the Stalinist and Social-democratic banner of "democracy" in Czechoslovakia and other "democratic" countries reacted disastrously upon the workers. It facilitated the efforts of the Nazis to break down class-consciousness among the German workers and under the sign of "racial purity" and "national unity" make dramatically swift inroads not only among the petty-bourgeoisie but even into the ranks of the proletariat.

It must be noted that the Czech "democratic" capitalists did absolutely nothing to stop the Henlein movement, though they were quite aware that the ultimate aim of the Sudetan Nazis was unification with Berlin. The reason for this was that the Czech bourgeoisie, unlike the misled proletariat, put its class interests above the question of State boundaries, and fearing a revolutionary development within the proletariat saw in the Sudeten Nazis a safeguard for private property. The Stalinists revealed this one month before the Seventh Congress:

"How was it that the Government



did nothing in order to check the development of a movement which was obviously in the service of Hitler? The answer is: The Henlein party was founded in order to prevent the radicalization process taking place in the German working masses from developing in a revolutionary direction. And here the class interests of the Czech and the German bourgeoisie coincided." (Inprecorr, June 22, 1935 p. 681.)

The Stalinists also admitted that the imperialistic Czech bourgeoisie, steeped in greed for immediate gains, played into the hands of the Hitlerites through the Czech nationalist policy:

"This advance of fascism is particularly serious in the German districts where the Henlein fascists are making use of the nationalist discrimination policy of the Czech bourgeoisie in their fascist propaganda and hardly conceal their real aim — union with Hitler Germany — by means of asseverations of loyalty. The government is not taking any action against this fascist propaganda, still less is it doing anything against the Czech fascists." (Inprecorr, May 18, 1935, p. 559.)

One would be in error to conclude that under the cry of defense of Czechoslovakia against Hitler the Stalinist bureaucrats were concerned with the dreadful lot that would befall the Stalinist and Socialist workers, the first to perish in concentration camps and on the scaffold. It would be idle to expect this from Stalinism. The only interests that Stalinism defends are the interests of the Kremlin clique and the privileged bureaucratic crust of Soviet society.

Lest the reader deludes himself with the idea that the hearts of the Stalinist bureaucrats bleed for the workers whom they themselves bring under the heel of fascism, we cite the fact that the leaders of the Stalinist Comintern, years back, at the Twelfth Plenum in 1932, even charged the Nazi movement with betraying the national cause of German minorities in other

countries. Stalinism accused the Nazi leaders of cowardice for not daring to demand back the German territories given by the Versailles treaty to Poland:

"What has been the nationalism of the Nazis in the question of the territories of German nationalities, severed from Germany? An open betrayal of the national cause of the Tyrolese. Unconditional surrender in the Anschluss-Question of the Austrians. The Nazi leaders have not even dared to put point blank the question of the reunion of the Polish territories snatched from Germany, with their German population." (Kuusinen, Prepare for Power, p. 145.)

Thus the Stalinists in those days actually egged the Nazis on to declare for seizure of territories, against which seizure the Stalinists today hypocritically protest.

Thus, not only were the workers of German minorities in Czechoslovakia and in other countries not forewarned that Hitler, once in power, would strive with might and main to lay his bloody hands upon them but they were actually made to believe the fatal fairy-tale that the Nazis were not nationalistic enough.

In the latter part of September 1938, against the background of the living textures of the historical development within the camp of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie, the great imperialist powers, "democratic" and fascist, made a sharp turn towards cooperation. A moment before, to those who contemplate history in a mysterious haze, the capitalist world tottered on the brink of doom.

To avoid unnecessary perilous leaps, the great imperialist powers staged an elaborate monster fraud of an immediate threat of an armed conflict among themselves and used the nerve-wracking "war" scare which they created to pave the path for the "peace" talks in Munich.

But though Stalin's diplomacy

failed to perpetuate the division among the imperialists, his bureaucratic agents of the Comintern - with Social-democracy contributing its share of petty-bourgeois poison - were highly successful in completely dazing the masses with the ultra-Rightist fumes. Living with their minds in an imaginary world, the guileless Socialist and Stalinist workers hopefully anticipated that the "great democracies" and the "great Soviet people" would save them from the clutches of the sadistic Fascists, German as well as Czechoslovak.

But the writing was there already on the wall. As in the previous cases of betrayal of the proletariat by the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucrats the new treachery culminated in purest horror for the Czechoslovak masses.

When the Stalinists in 1924-1927 shackled the Chinese masses to the bourgeoisie through the ultra-Rightist line, it was Chiang Kai-shek, they declared, who betrayed the Chinese masses. When through ultra-Leftism they delivered the German masses to Hitler, it was Social-democracy they insisted which was entirely responsible for the betrayal. Now the Stalinist bureaucrats raised the cry that it was Chamberlain who was a traitor to the cause of "democracy," or, in plain language, who turned the masses of Czechoslovakia over to Hitler's cutthroats.

It must be pointed out that to the Stalinist bureaucrats Chamberlain's policy was hardly a surprise. If the masses, lulled with treacherous promises and doped with illusions had no clue to the actual trend of affairs, the Stalinist bureaucrats had. Lost in the barrage of fakes about "collective security" and "democratic front against Fascism" were crumbs of news of an extremely serious nature. The Stalinists all along knew of the true character of the policy of the British government and also of the policy of their ally, the French government. For example, they saw the orientation of the democracies as early as in the Spring of this year, during the Anglo-French talks in London:

"It is already a truism that

the Chamberlain government is seeking an agreement with the fascist aggressors at all costs..... It is clear that with the united efforts of Britain and France jointly with other states which oppose war, it would be easy to curb fascist aggression, but only along the lines of collective security.

"However, the results of the Anglo-French talks in London have nothing in common with the organization of collective security. The decision adopted on the most important international questions by the British and French ministers directly encourage the aggressors in their further activities of plunder.....the conference of the Anglo-French ministers actually capitulated to the aggressors." (Pravda, May 10, 1938.)

And from the following statements it is obvious that the Stalinist bureaucracy had its eyes wide open when it led the Czechoslovak masses into the trap of Fascism:

"There is really very little mystery about the visit of the Nazi leader of the Sudeten districts in Czechoslovakia, Konrad Henlein, to London. The headquarters of the Chamberlain Tory government and of the Cliveden set is where all fascists planning adventure of plunder and rapine go before taking their next step.....Chamberlain desires above all to create the conditions whereby the Czech Republic will meet the fate of Austria." (Gannes, Daily Worker, May 14, 1938.)

"There is every evidence that Prime Minister Chamberlain is working hand in hand with Hitler to turn Czechoslovakia over to the brutal mercies of the Fascist war machine...." (Daily Worker, June 14, 1938.)

Thus the Stalinists knew that, as matters stood in the Spring, the doom of the Czechoslovak masses was decided on by the leaders of world imperialism.

Had there been a Leninist party in Czechoslovakia, or at least in the

Sudetenland, it would have made clear to the workers the distinction between Marxism, gathering dust, and flourishing opportunism. The nature of Stalinism (bureaucratic centralism of the proletarian State), how it originated and developed (Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev conspiracy; Trotsky's game of peace-making; the role of the Lovestoneites), Stalin's method (ultra-Left and ultra-Right zigzags) of preventing the erection of another — unbureaucratized — proletarian state, would have been made plain to the workers. The record of the major misleaders, Stalinism and Social-democracy, as mirrored in the history of the betrayals in China, Germany, Spain and elsewhere — the record as black as the ace of spades — would have been fully presented to the masses. Not reliance upon bourgeois-Stalinist treaties, these deadly snares for the toiling masses; not dependence upon hollow "collective security" whose fictitious, deceitful nature was covered up with hypocritical Stalin-Socialist-liberal chatter; not misplaced trust in "democracies" stopping Fascism; not unity with their bourgeoisie under Dr. Benes should have been the policy of the Czechoslovak workers. Independence of proletarian struggle against all its enemies, unity with revolutionary workers of other countries, alliance with the oppressed, impoverished peasantry, the struggle for workers', peasants' and soldiers' Soviets, to establish a toilers' republic — this should have been the line of the workers of Czechoslovakia.

Some completely demoralized people whose brain is corroded with pacifist acid will exclaim: But wouldn't that involve a hopeless war — a war with the Czech bourgeoisie and with Hitler? Precisely! Such "hopeless" war against its own and foreign imperialism was conducted by the Russian proletariat led by Lenin. Such "hopeless" war against the French bourgeoisie, with the victorious Prussian army standing at the gates of Paris was fought by the Parisian proletariat in 1871. Marx had little doubt that the workers of Paris, isolated from the rest of France and led for the most part by petty-bourgeois

utopian idealists, hardly stood a chance against the armies of Thiers and Bismarck. Yet, in a letter to Kugelman he wrote that capitulation without a fight would have demoralized the workers.

A federated Soviet republic of Czechoslovakia, set up even for a brief period, would have electrified the French, the world proletariat and would have called Stalin's hand. The treacherous character of the Stalinist betrayers and renegades would have been exposed before the masses of the entire world. Protected by natural powerful barriers and fortifications which ranked among the mightiest in the world — all of which was handed over by the dastardly Czech bourgeoisie to Hitler, the toilers would have put up one of the most glorious fights in the history of the struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors. Under a Bolshevik leadership they would have hoisted the Red flag of proletarian revolution, overthrowing Benes and rushing to the forts and mountain passes would have attempted to hold back Hitler while appealing for assistance to the workers of all countries, particularly to those of France, the Soviet Union and Germany. Guided by revolutionary internationalism, the proletariat of Czechoslovakia would have fraternized with the German workers increasing their class-consciousness. This inspiring example of proletarian solidarity would have aroused the workers in Poland and in other countries to a struggle against capitalism.

But there was no Leninist party in Czechoslovakia. The politically disabled masses were held ineluctably in the steel spider-web of opportunist deception. The Stalinist and Socialist betrayers deliberately prevented the possibility of smashing the Czechoslovak exploiters and establishing a proletarian republic after the example of the Russian workers in 1917. The workers were tricked into fraternizing with their own bourgeoisie. The result was that they without a fight were delivered to Fascism to die in prisons and concentration camps of their own bourgeoisie and of the Nazis.

Not only the advanced workers who were indoctrinated with the illusions about bourgeois democracy and were the first victims of their cowardly exploiters, but thousands of refugees, Jews, petty-bourgeois **democratic idealists** were forcibly delivered to Hitler.

And as for an asylum for refugees escaping persecution, it is a fact well-known to the Stalinist bureaucrats, that at no time was there in Czechoslovakia a real asylum for the victims of reaction:

"There has never been any right of asylum in Czechoslovakia for anti-fascist emigrants." (Inprecorr, March 9, 1935, p. 296.)

As every other bourgeois democracy in time of supreme crisis, the Czech democracy cast off its hypocritical mask and proceeded to institute Fascism. The "democratic front"—Prague-Paris-Moscow—against Fascism ceased to exist in the imaginations of the misled Stalinist workers. In real life this "front" never existed. The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie ceased being the vassal of French imperialism and became a vassal of Hitler.

Having skillfully poured into the masses the stream of ultra-Right poison for a few years now, the Stalinist bureaucrats during the hectic days at the close of September transformed this stream into a veritable Niagara of monstrous illusions and insensibility-producing fakery. The wide sweep of deception touched the most fictitious shores. "French People Firm for Pacts to Save Peace, Czechoslovakia" shrieked the chloroforming headline in the Daily Worker, September 20, 1938. And the "expert" on international affairs, Harry Gannes, in the same issue of the Daily Worker assured the workers that "Daladier and his fellow capitulators will face the mighty and powerful Popular Front." This "mighty" and "powerful" Stalinist-initiated ultra-Rightist device was already in a state of decay and was separated by only a few days from complete collapse.

"The people will be heard! In

the latest news, it is the PEOPLE who are beginning to say THEIR word" was the discovery by the editor of the Daily Worker on September 21, 1938.

Major diplomatic frauds of international imperialism were held up before the bewildered masses as weapons of struggle against Hitler. "America should reaffirm its adherence to the principles of the Kellogg-Briand Pact which provide for joint condemnation of an aggressor" said the Daily Worker editorial on September 23, concealing the fact, long established by Lenin, that all imperialist powers are aggressors. And in this case the aggressors against Czechoslovakia—to transform it into a spring-board for an attack upon the sick workers State—were not Germany and Italy alone, but also England, France and America to whom the American workers were told to look for action to save the Czechoslovak masses.

"The widest possible mobilization of all peace-loving forces is needed to urge President Roosevelt to declare the U. S. government ready to consult with all governments interested in preserving peace, and enforcement of paragraph 338 of the Tariff Act to stop all trade with Germany"—

was the "Bolshevik" tactic offered by the raving Stalinist bureaucrat, Israel Amter, in the Daily Worker of September 28th. "United Czechoslovak People will not yield, says brother of Bones" the Daily Worker reported in the same issue. "Indications mount that the Czechoslovak people intend to resist enslavement by Hitler" lied desperately the editors of the Daily Worker on October 1st. This was the day of the huge Stalinist "Save Czechoslovakia" parade which was part of their game of covering-up their ghastly betrayal, the very day when the cowardly Czech bourgeoisie, having ordered the army to clear the roads and mountain passes, let the Hitler troops enter Czechoslovakia. The main aim the Comintern pursued, that of preventing the masses of Czechoslovakia, shaken by the crisis, from establishing a Czechoslovak workers republic was crowned with success.

Following the consummation of the betrayal, the Stalinist bureaucrats proceeded to cover up the new hideous crime against the workers. This work was done neatly, and so far, quite successfully. While in Czechoslovakia radical workers, Jews and other prey of Fascism were being destroyed, many destroying themselves, the Stalinist bureaucrats placed the heavy accent upon themes that drew the minds of the Stalinist workers away from the central picture of historical developments. "LEWIS CALLS C I O CONVENTION NOV 14" (Main headline, Daily Worker, October 6, 1938). "A F L COUNCIL LEADER ASKS UNITY WITH C I O" was the chief headline in the Daily Worker, October 8, sandwiched between two lighter ones "YANKS, CUBS CLASH IN WORLD'S SERIES AT STADIUM TODAY" and "CHAMBERLAIN TRIES TO DRAG SPAIN TO THE GALLOWS."

. In the Saarbrucken speech Hitler flung a thinly disguised threat against the Soviet Union, pointed out even by the bourgeois press. But the Stalinist bureaucrats, fearing that their followers might become greatly alarmed and start out upon the path of investigation and frightful discoveries, changed the emphasis in Hitler's speech. "HITLER FLINGS NEW THREAT TO FRANCE" was the heavy line across the front page of the Daily Worker, October 10, 1938. The topmost headline read "YANKS WIN; BREAK ALL RECORDS WITH 3RD STRAIGHT CHAMPIONSHIP." As the terror against the masses spread throughout Czechoslovakia the Stalinist bureaucrats began to treat this gruesome tragedy as merely "...the episode of Czechoslovakia..." (Daily Worker, October 12, 1938, page 2 column 6.)

\* \* \* \* \*

The cold-blooded betrayal of the Czechoslovak masses is but an added link to the long and gory chain of the anti-workingclass treachery and crimes of Stalinism from 1922 on, the chief enemy among the workers which is aided directly or indirectly by all other opportunist tendencies within the proletariat. And unless Stalinism and the rest of the opportunist forces are exposed and thus smashed, new betrayals are as good as certain.

Owing to the bureaucratic distortion and degeneration of the first proletarian State there is a furious tempest of the blackest reaction raging throughout the entire world. To speak of encouraging signs at this moment is to deceive the workers. The outlook is dark. But dark though it is, it is not hopeless. True, numerous, really priceless achievements won by the international workingclass over a period of decades of bitter struggle have been ruthlessly swept away by the savage bourgeois reaction and the vile Stalinist bureaucracy. But all is not lost. Many of the gains such as the limited rights of organization, propaganda, etc. are still held by the workers in France, England, America and in a few other countries. Much can and must be done to hold what is

left and utilize it for the struggle to overthrow capitalism. Every effort must be made to defend the remnants of the conquest of October — the socialized industry — against both major devastating forces inside and outside the proletariat, the Stalinist bureaucracy and world imperialism. The furious cyclone of bourgeois reaction can and must be beaten back. Lenin's analysis may, after all, prove correct, that this is the epoch of imperialist war and proletarian revolution.

But it is important to bear in mind that things don't happen by themselves, either in the camp of the bourgeoisie or in the camp of the proletariat. Marx, Engels and Lenin stressed the importance of conscious revolutionary activity. Apathy and demoralization are deadly enemies of the workers and must be ruthlessly combatted for they invite defeats. An attitude of marking time, of dubious speculations augurs fatal consequences for the masses. Passive trust in the future is rank idiocy. Only the courage of an active mind, commensurate with the gravity of the historical moment, can cope with the task of arousing the masses against its enemies. If one really wants to see the end of this long spell of reaction and the

beginning of the turning of the tide towards proletarian revolution, one must work for it!

The task is clear. Opportunism must be destroyed root and branch. A flaming searchlight of exposure must be thrown upon Stalinism and other opportunist forces. The entire development of bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union, Trotsky's, Bukharin's role in assisting to bring about this degeneration must be made known to the workers in fullest detail. It must be made plain how Stalin, aided by the Lovestones and Fosters, transformed the Comintern into a powerful engine of reaction. The knowledge of the post-Leninist development is essential.

Unless this is done, unless the workers have the precise knowledge of how and when Stalinism arose, of what it is, what method it pursues to prevent the formation of another proletarian State, and thus, as a result, betrays one section of the world proletariat after another to Fascism, the workers will be unable to fight Stalinism and establish a new revolutionary party. Life to them, without them knowing it, is a thicket of effective opportunist bluff and deception imperious to the eye.

There are two alternatives the world proletariat is faced with today: elimination of Stalinism and other opportunism from its midst or universal Fascism. There is no other! It is impossible to reach the entire working-class at once; it is necessary to reach at first the class-conscious vanguard, particularly that section which is in the grip of Stalinism. The lessons of China, Germany, of Spain, now of Czechoslovakia, must be brought home to the proletariat in all their historical significance. The central point to remember — the masses had no Bolshevik party to lead them!

Only by attacking the evil at its roots can the situation be saved for the enslaved toiling masses and for the oppressed races and nations. Only by making it clear to the workers that since 1923 the world proletariat has been following the Stalinist policy; that Stalin's ultra-Left and ultra-Right zigzags are really one single line of deep-laid strategy to prevent proletarian revolution; only by the persistent work of tearing the proletarian vanguard from the mad carnival of opportunist delusions can a new Leninist movement of granite hardness be built and the masses stirred towards a victorious struggle to save the remnants of October, to overthrow world capitalism and proceed to erect the Communist society.

\*\*The following was left out from p.7:

An important point to be borne in mind symbolic of the dastardly nature of the Czech bourgeoisie is that as the first payment to the Allied imperialists for the establishment of a Czech State, the Czech bourgeoisie assisted in the attempt to destroy Soviet Russia and massacred tens of thousands of Red workers and peasants in Siberia in 1918, 1919 and 1920.

The Czech bourgeoisie under the leadership of Mazaryk and his foreign minister Benes, did not even recognize honor among thieves. When the Polish imperialist bandits, adding another cruel trial to the terrible ordeal of the Russian masses, sent almost their entire army against the Red Republic, the Czech bourgeoisie utilized the opportune moment to snatch from the Poles a section of Silesia.

Mazaryk and Benes were real imperialist robbers. The only thing that prevented them from grabbing more than they did was their material and military limitations, the dwarfishness of their empire. Sometime ago the Stalinists did not hide the incontrovertible truth about the imperialist nature of Czechoslovakia under Mazaryk and Benes:

"Czechoslovakia which had hardly obtained the national independence to which it was undoubtedly entitled, made an imperialist conquest and acquired possession of Carpatho-Ukraine. Instead of granting autonomy to this Ukrainian-Magyar country, as definitely laid down in the Treaty, Czechoslovakia immediately began to oppress it nationally, to fill all the posts with Czechs, with white guardists who had fled from Russia and, in exceptional cases, with corrupt Ukrainians who severely carried out Czechish desires." (Inp r e c o r r, April 7, 1932, p. 307.)

LOVESTONEISM AND THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN BETRAYAL

What was the Lovestoneites' part in the Czechoslovakian crisis? In what way did Lovestoneism lend aid and comfort to Stalinism and, consequently, to the international bourgeoisie?

The Lovestoneites are "ever-changing" and yet fundamentally they remain the same. Their basic line is that of support of Stalinism, but for appearance's sake the support is always disguised with rejection of some points in Stalin's policy and with general "criticism." Buried away in the Lovestone literature is hidden their zigzag policy which, a careful survey proves, is definitely in line with the Stalinist zigzags. The ultra-Left policy through which the Stalinist clique systematically blinded and strangled the German workers was ushered in with Lovestone's direct and eager assistance when he was still the Stalin-made secretary of the "Communist Party." He really brought forward the fraud of "social Fascism" and helped distort the workers' understanding of Social-democracy by stating that Social-democracy was collaborating in all forms of fascism:

"There is a noticeable and rapid fusion of socialist reformism with the capitalist state and increasingly open collaboration between socialist reformism and fascism in all its forms." (Jay Lovestone, *The Communist*, Nov. 1928, p.660. My emphasis-G.M.)

Expelled by his former lieutenants who obediently carried out Stalin's instructions, Lovestone went into "opposition" to the policy of "social fascism," exhorting the Comintern to abandon it.

The ultra-Left line which Stalin brought into play to continue preventing proletarian revolution was pictured as a "mistake." The truth is, of course, that through the policy of "criticising" the Stalinist Judases the Lovestoneites were accomplishing the purpose of appearing before the workers as the true followers of Leninism, at the same time strengthening the illusion that Stalinism was devoted to the interests

of the proletariat and could be influenced and "corrected." The Stalinist trap remained unexposed and did its work. Through the ultra-Left period the Lovestoneites saw to it that nothing of the true history of the development of bureaucratic centralism in the Soviet Union and in the Comintern became known to the workers. Essentially, therefore, Lovestone went hand in hand with his former boss.

When the Stalinist gang held its "Seventh Congress," on the floor of which the present ultra-Right trap of Popular Frontism and cooperation with Social-democracy was officially set up Lovestone made an about-face and took up a position somewhat to the Left of the Stalinists. The new zigzag was not revealed as just a part of the Stalinist general line to prevent revolution. The motives of Stalinism, the workers were assured by the Lovestoneites, were of devotion to the masses, and it was necessary to start the work of "correcting" Stalin all over again.

"The International is actually in danger of breaking with revolutionary principles.....We must not exaggerate the degree to which the Comintern has gotten off the rails. Its motives are those of unswerving loyalty to the proletariat and that is our asset to be counted on in fighting to correct its incipient blunders." (Bertram D. Wolfe, "The Comintern in Danger of Degeneration" *Workers Age*, August 10, 1935.)

Maintaining silence concerning the purpose of Leftist and Rightist policy, the Lovestoneites fed the worst illusions to the ensnared workers. After a series of the blackest deeds, almost a decade and a half after the first Comintern betrayal in Germany in 1923 the Lovestoneites coolly assured the masses that Stalin's international engine of counter-revolution could be "restored" to Bolshevism:

"For the very reason that the

CPSU, which is a Communist Party building socialism, completely dominates the Comintern, it would be wrong to deny the possibility of restoring the Communist International to revolutionary principles...." (Workers Age, May 15, 1937.)

One must bear in mind that this Lovestoneite poison, which helped Stalinism to continue its grip upon the masses, was poured into the workers' minds immediately after the May Days in Barcelona when the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy were still dripping with the blood of the best workers of Spain. This Lovestoneite fakery was spread among the masses more than four years after Stalinism, assisted as today by the Lovestoneites, delivered the German workers to Hitler!

To be sure the Lovestoneites punctuate their support to Stalinism with severe sounding "criticism" such as the following one:

"Stalinism is fast reaching the end of its rope and is revealing itself a dangerous anti-labor influence." (Workers Age, June 11, 1938.)

This indefinite evaluation is but one of the avenues of Lovestoneite evasion. In a direct way the Lovestoneites falsify the purpose for which Stalin employs his Comintern:

"Today the Communist Party is primarily dedicated to two tasks: (1) to defend Soviet foreign policy as malpracticed by Stalin; and (2) to defend the bloody Stalin regime, especially the so-called 'trials' in the Soviet Union." (Jay Lovestone, Workers Age, June 4, 1938.)

On the surface this looks like a strong anti-Stalinist blast. In reality it is a subtle distortion and a valuable assistance to Stalinism. The "Communist Party" since Stalin got control of it is primarily dedicated to the following tasks: 1) to prevent the rise of a new Marxist party, 2) to prevent proletarian revolution, and 3) to forestall the removal of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Its work in relation to Stalin's foreign and internal policy is supplementary.

. Had the advanced workers of Czechoslovakia known the exact nature of Stalinism, had they been clear as to the true aim behind the policies of the Comintern, had they understood the role of Social-democracy, little doubt that these advanced workers would have joined a revolutionary party which would have prepared the masses for any contingency. In the task of blind-folding the proletariat of Czechoslovakia the Lovestoneites played a criminal part. They have admitted that their group in Czechoslovakia supported not only the counter-revolutionary Social-democracy but also and mainly the treacherous and bloody Stalinist bureaucracy. Reporting this fact the Lovestoneites work themselves up to a high pitch of excitement and manifest a touch of the romantic. Taking advantage of the impossibility of verifying the facts, the Lovestoneites present the ridiculous fantasy that a section of the Czechoslovak Stalinist "Party" accepted the Lovestoneite political line:

"It is interesting to note that in Asch the Communist Party is being more and more influenced by the C.P.O. Tho the district leadership of C.P. in Asch has made many grave mistakes flowing from the policy dictated by the Prague leadership, the membership of the party has accepted the proposals of our group on all decisive questions. This was particularly true when it came to putting up economic, POLITICAL, cultural and national demands. Our demand for the liquidation of the Henlein party and the arming of the workers was unanimously accepted by the district committee of the C.P. The C. P. and C. P. O. are so far working closely together." (Workers Age, July 2, 1938. My emphasis and capitals - G.M.)

What revolutionary worker who had been under the Stalinist influence does not know that Stalin's main defense mechanism against even the mildest opposition consists of a solid wall of white hot prejudice, intolerance and physical inaccessibility? Eventually this wall will crumble into dust. So far, however, only the wildest imagination of



unscrupulous opportunists, who effectively employ bluff, bombast and deception, can discover cracks in this wall. And yet, the Lovestoneites, without batting an eyelash, tell their readers that the hermetically sealed minds of the membership of the Stalinist party opened to receive the proposals advanced by the Lovestone group of that country. The most arresting point advanced by the Lovestoneites is that a group of Stalinist leaders unanimously agreed to the Lovestoneite demands. Moreover, the Lovestoneites unblushingly trumpet about the "Asch district, where the Communist opposition was particularly active and where the local C. P. followed the C.P.O. line" (Workers Age, July 9, 1938). And it seems that nothing happened to the Stalinist members and leaders who "followed" the political course mapped out by the Lovestoneite C.P.O. No reports of wholesale expulsions, no vicious denunciations of these people as "Trotskyite-Bukharinite Fascist agents of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco"; not even a stern warning. Nothing! Indeed times have changed to a marked degree if Jay Lovestone expects serious workers to gulp down such rich fish tales as those cooked up in bland verbiage cited above.

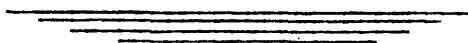
There was only one statement which was unquestionably true. "The C. P. and C. P. O. are working closely together." Working together not in direct collaboration, of course, but indirectly preparing the high tragedy for the workers of Czechoslovakia.

In this connection it is worthy of attention that the "Party" with which the Lovestoneites were "working closely together" was regarded by the bourgeoisie as an organization resembling Gladstonian liberals:

"Thanks to former President Eduard Benes's ruling years ago, that no parties which aimed at the overthrow of democracy would be tolerated in the democratic republic, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia developed for years along quite unique lines. It became entirely non-revolutionary and long since had dropped all demands for a "dictatorship of the proletariat." It became in aims and methods an organization closely resembling those of the Gladstonian Liberals in Britain." (New York Times, Oct. 21, 1938.)

One cannot look to The New York Times for an explanation of the true nature of Stalinism and its periodical ensnaring zigzags. Certainly not to Lovestone who, ranking high in his profession, without doubt understands Stalin's bloody game but who is highly inarticulate on this vital question. And who, moreover, politically always assists Stalin to push the international working class into the abyss of bourgeois fascist slavery.

The roots of the treacherous role of Lovestoneism lie hidden in the dusty past, in its corrupt origin as the eager stirrup-holder for the Stalinist clique in the Soviet Union. It helps to perpetuate the Stalinist cancer within the working class for politically it is inextricably bound up with the Stalinist system. Only by means of "thoroughgoing exposure can the opportunist disease of Lovestoneism be stamped out and the honest elements under Lovestone's pernicious influence won over to a Leninist organization.



TROTSKYISM AND THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN BETRAYAL

Trotsky's line is neither an accident nor a temporary aberration which time and criticism may cure. And it would be a mistake to imagine that Trotsky and his Cannons and Shachtmans are spinning their policy in a casual, amateurish, jumbling-along way. The roots of the Trotskyist line lie buried in the dusty facts of the post-Leninist history of the Soviet Union and the Comintern. Only a rigid investigation can unearth these roots. The shocking truth is that Trotsky bears a heavy responsibility for the rise of Stalinism and therefore for the black situation existing in the world today.

Trotsky started out in 1922 with opposing Lenin's line which was for removing Stalin ("I am against removing Stalin" Trotsky, MY LIFE, page 486). When Eastman revealed to the world that Lenin had left a "will" to the party advising the removal of Stalin, Trotsky, wooing Stalin's goodwill, suppressed the truth, this important document embodying the Leninist policy against Stalin. Trotsky wrote:

"Comrade Lenin HAS NOT LEFT ANY 'WILL'; the character of his relations to the Party, and the character of the Party itself, excluded the possibility of such a 'will'... All talk with regard to a concealed or mutilated 'will' is nothing but a DESPICABLE LIE....It suffices to ask: 'If we assume that the malicious characterization of our leading Party comrades given by Eastman is only partly correct, how is it possible that this Party should have emerged from long years of illegal struggle, how could it stand at the head of masses of millions, carried through the greatest revolution of the world, to further the formation of revolutionary parties in other countries?'

"There is no sincere worker who will believe in the picture painted by Eastman." (Inprecorr, September 3, 1925. pp.105,106. My emphasis—G.M.)

Much later, in explaining the reason for his outrageous deception of the

workers, Trotsky made an admission that his policy toward the scheming bureaucrat, Stalin, was that of conciliation and peace-making:

"My then statement on Eastman can be understood only as an integral part of our then line toward CONCILIATION AND PEACE-MAKING." (Leon Trotsky, The New International, November 1934.)

Unity with Stalinism was the keynote of Trotsky's platform of the Opposition. Although the Stalinists transformed the party into an instrument to secure and further the interests of the Usurper and his bureaucratic pyramid, Trotsky honored this instrument with the title "Leninist Russian Communist Party."

"The opposition is for the unity of the Party. Stalin propagates his own program — to 'cut off' the Opposition — under the false flag of a pretense that the opposition wants to create a 'second' party. The Opposition answers with its slogan: 'Unity of the Leninist Russian Communist Party AT ALL COSTS!' .....our task is to preserve the unity of the party at ALL COSTS." (The Real Situation in Russia, p. 125 — My emphasis—G.M.)

When Trotsky had been exiled to Turkey he was free to speak. And in an unguarded fashion, not unlike Stalin's reckless admission of the fact that Lenin had left word to remove him from the post of General Secretary, Trotsky made the astounding confession that he did all he could to avoid a struggle against Stalin. And what more, he stated quite bluntly that he did not regret the course he had followed, and he made it quite plain that he deliberately chose defeat instead of victory!

"To the last possibility I avoided the struggle. This is not the place to discuss the question whether it was correct at the price of the greatest personal concession to tend to preserve the ground of

collective work, or it was necessary for me to go over to an offensive along the entire line, despite the absence for this of political bases. The fact is that I chose the first path, and despite everything do not repent it. There are victories which lead into a blind alley, and there are defeats which open up new ways." (Leon Trotsky, "What Happened and How," p. 34. Six articles for the bourgeois press. My emphasis - G.M.)

With this position as the basis, Trotsky unfolded his "Bolshevik" line of winning renegade Stalin back to Bolshevism. Trotsky said no one could tear him away from the Stalinist "Comintern."

"The Opposition needs no other soil than that of the Communist International. No one will succeed in tearing us away from it." (The Strategy of the World Revolution, p. 86.)

The putrid criminals going by the name of "Communist leaders" were painted by Trotsky as misled revolutionists:

"The Communist leaders, though confused, poor and incapable, are revolutionists or semi-revolutionists that have been led from the right track. That is not one and the same. The social democracy must be destroyed. The Communist Party must be corrected." (Leon Trotsky, WHAT NEXT, p. 113.)

Meanwhile Stalin employed his ultra-Left zigzag to paralyze and disrupt the proletariat. Ahead loomed the monstrous betrayal in Germany. In those critical three years (1930-1932) it was necessary to tell the workers the whole truth about the treacherous nature of Stalinism which was strangling the world working class. No one on this planet knew virtually the entire truth except Trotsky. But Trotsky, instead of warning the workers against the "Communist Party" as a deadly trap for the masses, did the very opposite:

"Our differences with the Party's policy, which isolates it from the

masses and impedes the revolutionary movement in this and other countries, cannot eliminate the fact that the Communist party is the only working class party in the field, the only revolutionary party, the only party which stands for the interests of the working class TODAY and TOMORROW." (The Militant, Oct. 29, 1932. My emphasis—G.M.)

This Stalinist opium was given the workers exactly three months prior to Hitler's assuming power.

On Germany Trotsky's line misled the workers and played directly into the hands of Stalin and the bourgeoisie. Trotsky helped riveting the minds of the workers to Stalinism, assuring them that a Bolshevik turn on the part of the Stalinists was inevitable. "For a turn in the policy of the C.P.G." (The Militant, May 7, 1932). "Leninist turn imperative in Germany" (The Militant, June 25, 1932). "The About-face of the Stalinists is inevitable!" (Leon Trotsky GERMANY WHAT NEXT, p. 182. My emphasis - G.M.)

All this, naturally, helped to tie the workers securely to the Stalinist counter-revolutionary "party."

The only road that could have saved the German proletariat — the building of a new Communist Party — was flatly rejected by Trotsky as "criminal," insisting upon the policy of "correcting" the Stalinist bureaucrats:

"It would be a criminal act on the part of the Opposition Communists to take, like Urbans and Co. to the road of creating a new Communist party, before making some serious efforts to change the course of the old party." (Germany, What Next, p. 184.)

Trotsky's evaluation of the possibility of Hitler taking power also worked hand in glove with Stalinism. Prior to the advent of Hitler to chancellorship through the constitutional action of President von Hindenburg, Trotsky with a true "Marxist" fore-

sight wrote:

"If Hitler swears that he will attain to power only constitutionally then it is clear that the danger of Fascism is not so great today." GERMANY, WHAT NEXT, p. 148.)

This misleading assurance was given to the workers in September 1932! But a few weeks after Hitler had been given power, Trotsky muddled the workers' minds with this piece of "Marxian" analysis:

"There is no way of getting around without the Nazis. But it is likewise impossible to give over to them the actual power; today the threat on the part of the proletariat is not so acute that the higher-ups should consciously provoke a civil war with problematic outcome." (Trotsky Analyzes German Situation, THE MILITANT, February 24, 1933. My emphasis - G.M.)

In this manner Trotsky objectively rendered Stalin and the German bourgeoisie an extremely valuable service, helping to deceive, mislead and confuse the German proletariat and turn it over to the tender mercies of the Nazis.

So much for Trotsky's line during the Stalinist ultra-Leftist "Third Period."

When Stalin began to make the turn — not toward Leninism, as Trotsky had been telling the workers, but toward ultra-Rightism, Trotsky here, too, laid down a line that facilitated Stalin's dropping "social fascism" and going over to the close collaboration with Social-democracy, Trotsky launched his "French Turn" backed by the distortion of the true character of the reactionary Social-democracy:

"The destiny of the proletariat depends, in large measure, in our epoch, upon the resolute manner with which the social-democracy will succeed in the brief interval which is vouchsafed it by the march of development, in breaking with the bourgeois state, in transform-

ing itself and in preparing itself for the decisive struggle against Fascism." (The New International, September-October 1934.)

This was a distortion cut out of the whole cloth. Life proved conclusively that Social-democracy never breaks with the bourgeois State.

In the resolution approving the French Turn, Trotsky divided Social-democracy into two sections: one section serving the bourgeoisie, the other participating in the revolution against the bourgeoisie:

"To satisfy oneself with abstractions — 'reformism,' 'second international' — is to ignore or blur the differences between a social democracy which constitutes the power of the bourgeoisie, and a social democracy which participates in a revolution against the bourgeoisie." (Resolution on the French Turn, approved by the October Enlarged Plenum of the L.C.I. (B.L.)

Precisely what all the Browders and Thorezes told the workers in order to trap them with the ultra-Right device for preventing the revolution against the bourgeoisie.

The "united front" which the two treacherous bureaucracies organized to gut the proletariat was hailed by Trotsky as embodying "possibilities." "We have already said that the united front of the Socialist and Communist parties embodies immense possibilities. If only it wants it seriously, it will tomorrow become master in France. But the will must be there." (L. Trotsky, WHITHER FRANCE, p. 43.)

That's how Trotsky greased the road for the Popular Front government that paralyzed and betrayed the French workers.

In what way did the Trotskyites through their political position render inestimable service to the Stalinist reaction and international imperialism, aiding Stalinism to prevent proletarian revolution in Czechoslovak-

ia, thereby betraying the toilers of that country to Fascism?

The peril to the Czechoslovakian masses, in their own ranks, lay in Stalinism and Social-democracy. Against these two powerful opportunist forces only a correct analysis of both, only unvarnished truth, had the possibility of making headway. It is precisely in this field that the Trotskyist policy worked for the undoing of the toilers of Czechoslovakia.

In the first instance the nature and purpose of the Stalinist Comintern, this mightiest of all engines of counter-revolution exerting pressure and unmeasured influence among the masses, was not only not disclosed by the Trotskyites but was actually concealed and distorted.

"The American Communist Party, like its sister organizations everywhere, is nothing but a diplomatic instrument of the Soviet Foreign Office." (C. P. Convention, Socialist Appeal, June 14, 1938.)

This is false to the core! Such misleading statements serve as an effective cover for the actual role the Stalinist "parties" perform within the international workingclass. Workers could never suspect, once such distortions became part of their thinking, that the chief task the Stalinist "parties" are assigned to by the privileged bureaucracy of the Soviet Union is to prevent the proletariat from establishing itself in power.

One must bear in mind, while scrutinizing the Trotskyite position, that the proletariat, particularly its advanced section, in the titanic process of the class struggle, observes the experience of the workers of all countries. Moreover, it is equally important to remember that the Trotskyites have been active in Czechoslovakia, as in other countries, and were spreading Trotskyist writings containing some of the worst distortions, contradictions and confusion on the most vital issues confronting the workers (See IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM Nos. 3 and 5). Only by having this picture

in view can the extent of the damage done by Trotskyism be gauged.

The hiding by Trotskyism of the role of the Comintern has been quite systematic and persistent.

No inkling of an explanation of the ultra-Right and the ultra-Left zigzags as being two parts of the same hangman's noose has been given to the workers by Trotskyism. The basic lesson of the stifling of the German revolution through the ultra-Leftist zigzag, the deliberate betrayal of the workers to Hitler has been carefully concealed. The shrewd and cold-blooded action of Stalin in Germany has been given a false coloring, misrepresented as "capitulation" to Hitler. A film has been drawn over the workers eyes by picturing Stalin's policy as "cowardly" and "stupid." Not only was this chloroforming work being performed by Trotskyism among the Czechoslovakian workers while their fate hung in the balance, but it has been continued even after Stalinism and Social-democracy successfully brought the masses of Czechoslovakia to their doom. Trotsky writes in the New International for October 1938: "The revolting capitulation of the Comintern in Germany tacitly accepted by all its sections." In the Socialist Appeal for October 22, 1938, the Trotskyites give the following misleading "explanation" for the coming of Hitler to power — avoiding as ever telling the exact meaning of the Stalinist zigzags:

"The lamentable tragedy of the German and then the Austrian, the Saar and the Czech proletariat can be traced to the criminal capitulation of Stalinism to Hitler in 1933, in which it outdid the long-ago bankrupt social democracy in cowardice and treachery. Under guise of the thrice-stupid policy of 'united front only from below,' the Stalinists condemned the German proletariat to a state of division through which fascism marched unmolestedly to power." (Socialist Appeal, October 22, 1938, p. 3. My emphasis - G.M.)

While Stalin's ultra-Left zigzag

was represented as "stupid," "capitulatory," "mistakes," in brief, as a pragmatic makeshift, the ultra-Right zigzag, to which Stalinism had to resort to continue stifling the international working-class, was declared to be hinging upon Stalin's foreign policy. The workers of Czechoslovakia were told that the privileged Stalinist clique stifled the revolution in Spain not because the specific task of the Comintern since 1923 on has been to disrupt the revolution wherever it raises its head, and thus sell the workers down the river into bourgeois military slavery, but because Stalin wooed his allies in Paris and London. The same reason (Franco-Soviet Pact) was given for the Stalinist sabotage of revolution in France. The concealment and distortion of the true meaning of the ultra-Right line of the Seventh Congress aided Stalinism and the bourgeoisie to seal the fate of the Czechoslovakian masses. Presented in the Trotskyist light, Stalin's policy could not but appear correct to the confused and misled workers of Czechoslovakia. Indeed how else could they view a line whose aim it was to conciliate London and Paris, the direct and indirect allies of the "democratic" Czechoslovakia which stood in the menacing shadows of Hitler's guns?

Even when the dreadful waves of the Hitler and Czechoslovakian fascism closed over the heads of the workers of Czechoslovakia, the Trotskyites went on with distorting the character of the Rightist zigzag:

"This same policy led to the stirling of the Spanish revolution, because the Soviet Union feared that the workers' revolution there would antagonize its 'Allies' in Paris and London." (Socialist Appeal, October 5, 1938.)

"The keystone of the entire Kremlin policy — the F r a n c o-Soviet Pact, for the sake of which Stalin stopped the French revolution, sabotaged Spain, and handed Czechoslovakia to Hitler: dissolved by a three hour conversation in the Bavarian Alps." (The New International, October 1938, p. 292. My emphasis. - G.M.)

In other words, if Stalin had no allies among the bourgeois powers, no pacts with them, there would have been no cause to prevent proletarian revolution!

Apart from this, we call the reader's attention to the somewhat amusing fact that the opportunists, periodically caught in their own contradictions, of necessity must at the turn of events include among their fabrications some curious absurdities. It was for the sake of the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Trotskyites "enlighten" the workers, that Stalin "handed Czechoslovakia to Hitler"! Leering into the faces of the Trotskyites concrete life shows the world that the passing of Czechoslovakia into Hitler's hands spelled the beginning of the end of the Franco-Soviet Pact.

No sooner did the calamity overwhelm the Czechoslovakian masses than the Trotskyites poured a fresh torrent of destructive distortions and illusions into the tortured minds of the international proletariat. It was obvious that all the sections of the Stalinist "International" were active and quite vociferous in their sham struggle against Fascism. The fact must be stressed that unfortunately the working class fell under the sinister spell of the Stalinist and also of the Social-democratic and of other misleaders. The Trotskyites completely befogged and perverted this unfortunate reality.

"'Communist International,' self-avowed champion of the struggle for peace and against fascism — as silent as the Kremlin itself. Its French and British branches alone were active and vocal, chasing about in each country for agreements with the arch-nationalist bourgeois politicians and raising a furious clamor for a holy war against fascism to be directed by the notorious democrats of the English banks and the French steel trust — a clamor to which the working class fortunately paid not the slightest attention." (Socialist Appeal, October 22, 1938, p.3. My emphasis - G.M.)

The above misshaping of the actuality is but an attempt at a harmonious adjustment with the perennial Trotskyist dupery that in this period the working class does not follow Stalinism. It is in line with the policy of confusing the honest Trotskyist rank-and-file within the fool's paradise by keeping alive a basic fraud of Trotskyism, as well as of Lovestoneism and of other pseudo-Bolsheviks - the illusory "mass line" through which the workers will be reached and organized, the Trotskyites and the other "mass-liners" argue, and led to overthrow capitalism, behind the back of Stalinism.

Even before Munich it was plain that the situation which divided the world in two — the social order based upon private ownership of the means of production on the one hand, and socialized property established by the October overthrow of Russian imperialism on the other — was coming to a close. After Munich it has become crystal-clear that at last the imperialist world has succeeded in shelving its conflicts and in ganging up to destroy the bureaucratically crippled proletarian State. Should Hitler halt this gigantic tide, which today with the full support of French, British and American bourgeoisie so irresistibly sweeping to the East, then the inter-imperialist conflict would leap to the fore, breaking the Munich alignment and spelling suicide for the bourgeois order in Europe. The way is being cleared to the East for a smashing drive against the remnants of the October revolution, and any sober-minded revolutionary worker can see it. Not wishing to alarm the workers, Stalin, while feverishly fortifying the frontier in the Ukraine, tells the workers that Hitler's eyes look toward France, toward China, Spain, South Americas. His faithful friend Duranty obligingly aids him with reporting to the bourgeois press the fairy tale of a possibility of Stalin's understanding with Hitler. The Trotskyites, as do the Lovestoneites, lap this up with relish and throwing in their mite of assistance to Stalin in the matter of putting over this newest fake, they distract the attention of the workers from the real situation by declaring

that "Stalin's next move will be a diplomatic approach to Hitler, and Hitler, in turn, will talk business" (Socialist Appeal, October 15, 1938. My emphasis - G.M.)

In their destructive work within the proletariat the Stalinists serve in the first place the fat bureaucratic crust in the Soviet Union; indirectly they preserve and strengthen world imperialism — both the "democratic" and the "Fascist" bourgeoisie. The Trotskyites completely warp this fact out of its realistic shape:

"The Stalinists showed themselves, once again, more glaringly shameful than ever, as nothing but disappointed office boys of the democratic capitalist masters." (Socialist Appeal, October 15, 1938, My emphasis - G.M.)

Caught in an extremely difficult pass, just as following the German betrayal, Stalinism will be compelled, in order to continue its deadly grip upon the workers, to resort once again to a new zigzag. A sharp warning must be sounded to the workers who otherwise will inevitably fall into the illusion that, now that Popular Frontism is abandoned, the "Comintern" is "returning" to the correct Bolshevik policy. The workers must be forearmed with the understanding of the zigzag method of Stalinism in order not to fall into the ultra-Left trap.

Here is how Trotsky "forewarns" and "forearms" the workers:

"'People's Fronts' on the one hand — fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution." (Socialist Appeal, October 22, 1938. My emphasis - G.M.)

This is a confusion of the twofold bourgeois method of rule — bourgeois democracy and fascism — with the twofold method Stalinism employs in forestalling proletarian revolution. The German bourgeoisie was saved by Stalinism; and so was the French, Spanish and Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, al-

though in the first case the saving was accomplished through the Leftist "Third Period," in the latter instance through the ultra-Rightist "Popular Front." Trotsky actually supplies a cover for the deadly Stalinist ultra-Left trap which is without doubt already in its planning stage. While Trotsky does some empty finger-pointing at Stalinism he is again, as ever, tipping the scales in favor of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

It has been the Trotskyist policy throughout to hide the connection between the Stalinist zigzags. They take them up as distinct and separate entities.

During the Leftist period the Trotskyites were rejecting the theory of "social fascism." Now they reject "Popular Frontism." Then at least they definitely stated, perhaps they could not help stating, that "social fascism" was a Stalinist invention. In the case of the "Popular Front" they distort the fact that in application and origin it is much different from the ordinary coalitionism of Social-democracy, which took place also during the Stalinist Left zigzag, and that Popular Frontism is the Stalinist zigzag laid down at the Seventh Congress.

Perhaps one of the most dastardly documents that post-Leninist Trotskyism has ever produced is the "Open Letter to the Members of the C.P." appearing in the Socialist Appeal, Oct. 1, 1938. Here the cowardly, treacherous, evasive, truly criminal nature of the Trotskyist opportunists comes into view. There is a careful concealment of the basic facts the knowledge of which would make the Stalinist workers comprehend the appalling significance of Stalinism. Not a word that the Popular Front is a consciously conceived trap employed by the shrewd usurper Stalin for the same purpose as was the ultra-Left line, namely, to disrupt the proletarian revolution and thus safeguard the Stalinist bureaucracy from the danger from the Left. Not a word that Stalin's engine of betrayal, the Comintern, and the entire pot-bellied bureaucracy of the Soviet Union must be

smashed. Silence of the necessity of breaking with Stalinism politically and organizationally and of the supreme need of building a new Communist Party — not even a half-hearted appeal to the Stalinist workers to join the "Bolshevik" organization of Cannon. Silence about the need of building a new Bolshevik party in the Soviet Union. Instead of a clear statement that Stalin has been deliberately betraying the international proletariat for a decade and a half, only the last four years are mentioned. And the finger is pointed not at the Judas Stalin and his vile paladins but at collective security and the People's Front. "Against the lies and defeats and treacheries of collective security and the People's Front." This cry is so reminiscent of the other cry some years back: "To reject and condemn the theory of Social Fascism!" (See the 11 points). At that time it only made it easier for Stalin to drop his ultra-Leftist snare. Now the cry against the Rightist policy only facilitates matters for Stalin. Is it not obvious that such lop-sided "criticism" can aid in producing only one effect upon the Stalinist workers: when Stalin abandons "Popular Frontism" and swings the Comintern to ultra-Leftism the Stalinist workers will hail the change as a turn to a "better Leninist policy!" Already there are signs that ultra-Leftism again will raise its grisly head among the workers.

There is in the Trotskyist letter to the members of the Stalinist "party" a wretched string of "your leaders have told you" and "For four years your leaders have preached" with the main weight of "criticism" directed not against the blood-bespattered Kremlin clique but against — Stalin's road.

As in the case of Lovestone, behind all the major policies of the Trotskyites lies the dread of genuine exposure of Stalinism, which exposure would inevitably involve the exposure of Trotsky. Hence too, the "mass line" which diverts the thoughts and energies of the most advanced workers from the problem of studying to the minutest detail the origin and character of



Stalinism and from opening against it a powerful offensive.

Stalinism is not only one of the mightiest political systems that ever operated within the working class; it is also one of the most complex. In its path it is being followed by a train of nebulous satellites, some of extremely irregular political form. Among the erratic members of its remarkable system, the most important one, in outward appearance standing in violent antagonism to it, is the Trotskyist movement. At one time very close to Stalin's political line (1922-1926), the post-Leninist Trotskyism has been apparently receding from it to greater and greater distances yet never completely severing itself

from Stalinism. Post-Leninist Trotskyism is constrained to move over an elongated orbit, being firmly attached to Stalinism with invisible historical threads.

Trotskyism is the most serious obstacle in the task of tearing the advanced workers from Stalinism. And the road to the masses lies only through the advanced workers.

An effective, truly Leninist, struggle against capitalism is out of the question without smashing all opportunism, particularly Stalinism, the main enemy within the proletarian ranks. And it is impossible to shatter Stalinism without revealing the whole truth about Trotsky.

#### LEFT TROTSKYISM WORKS FOR STALIN

In our previous works we indicated that such groups as the Revolutionary Workers League (Oehler, Stamm), the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party (Field) and some others are Left Trotskyites, performing a sabotaging role in the task of the struggle against Stalinism. Not having a clear conception of what Stalinism is they follow in the footsteps of Trotsky, objectively assisting Stalin to put over his most vicious lies. The L.R.W.P. for example for years misled the workers by assuring them that Stalinism and Social-democracy would fuse into one movement, thus concealing the true nature of Stalinism, particularly the meaning of the zigzags.

In the present work we have revealed that the reason Hitler came to power in Germany is that there was no revolutionary party in Germany or anywhere else; and Stalinism which masqueraded as a party of revolution, with Social-democracy, assisted by Lovestone and Trotsky, betrayed the masses. The Fieldites in an article "Shall We Defend Czechoslovakia?" give the following explanation:

"The Republican capitalist governments that preceded Hitler in

Germany were unable to prepare a war of revenge because there was a powerful Communist and labor movement in Germany that threatened to turn any war that the bosses might start into a socialist revolution. But once Hitler has smashed the labor movement with the help of the 'great democracies,' the German capitalists had their hands free to prepare for war." (Workers Voice, October 1, 1938. My emphasis - G.M.)

This deceitful tale of the existence in Germany of "a powerful Communist and labor movement" threatening to overthrow the German bourgeoisie, when the exact opposite was the fact, is an effective cover for the fiendish crimes of opportunism in Germany, shrouding in obscurity the roots of the Czechoslovakian and other betrayals and plainly taking on the aspect of a snare. This monstrous distortion is perfectly in line with the Stalinist shrewd sophistry that the cause of Hitler's smashing labor is the "betrayal" by the great 'democracies.' The L.R.W.P. is an enemy of the international working class. It is a sabotaging agency in the struggle of exposure and destruction of the Stalinist reaction.

THE CHARACTER OF THE COMING WAR  
AND THE TASKS  
OF THE PROLETARIAT

by

J. C. HUNTER

(Note: This article was written shortly before the signing of the Munich Pact.)

**T**HE GREATEST THREAT facing the toiling masses today is that of a new world imperialist war. More than ten million men are already under arms today and war preparations in every country are being rushed at a terrific pace. The memory of the horrors of the imperialist slaughter of 1914-1918 stands sharply in the mind of the toilers. Let the sugar-coated promises of the capitalists also be recalled. The "war to end war" and "to make the world safe for democracy" was sold to the masses by every deception known to the rapacious bourgeoisie. But the balance sheet of history tells an unmistakable story and tears down every lie of the imperialists: For the workers — immense suffering and degradation; for the capitalists — unprecedented profits and power.

Without a clear political understanding of all the factors involved in the present chaotic situation, the toilers will again fall victim in huge numbers to the villainy of the bourgeoisie. Today, as in 1914-1918, every possible trick is being used by the imperialists to get the support of the masses for their criminal war plans. At the present time the bourgeoisie possesses an advantage they did not have in 1914. Then they had in the ranks of labor a great number of agents in the form of social-democratic and reformist leaders, while now they have in addition the powerful aid of Stalinism, the most potent opportunist force of all. The political paralysis of the proletariat has become all-pervading, for the influence of the Stalinist, social-democratic

and reformist traitors over the working class is paramount.

The movement of events shows that the imperialist attack on the Soviet Union which must inevitably be made if the capitalists are to preserve and stabilize their rule is maturing. World imperialism, "democratic" and fascist, is using Nazi Germany as the spearhead in this attack. "Democratic" France and England are now openly working hand in glove with Hitler in the drive toward the East. Hitler was fixed in power with the active aid of British finance and the tacit political approval of French imperialism. Germany's rearmament was subsidized by the British, French and American capitalists. Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland was unopposed by French and British imperialism, while the latter, through the League of Nations, engineered the surrender of the Saar Basin to Germany. The Nazi seizure of Austria aroused not even a murmur of opposition from the imperialists of the great "democracies." And now, the dismemberment of "democratic" Czechoslovakia, the general acquiescence of the Franco-British "democratic" imperialists to Hitler's demands and the "hands-off" policy by the great American "democracy" make clear the criminal game being played by world imperialism in its advance on the Soviet Union. The land of the October revolution, though distorted by the ugly Stalinist bureaucratic plague, still contains a basic feature of the proletarian State — socialized property.

The Czechoslovakian crisis pro—

vides a wealth of material to expose the machinations of the imperialists. The true meaning of the war scare deliberately created by the bourgeoisie can now be understood. Since the lack of opposition to Hitler's seizure of Austria caused great indignation among the masses of the "democracies," it was necessary to make a show of resistance to Hitler's attack on Czechoslovakia in order to camouflage the banditry of the "democracies" and their collaboration with fascism. This deceived the masses in the "democracies" into thinking that Hitler's assaults would be stopped. At the same time, however, the war scare served to terrorize the masses into accepting any crime committed by the imperialists if only "peace" was preserved. The "peaceful" settlement of the Czechoslovakian crisis, i.e., the complete surrender to Hitler, aroused a universal sigh of relief. The bourgeois press was quick to note this:

"All over France tonight millions of people are saying with relief in their hearts: 'And so there will not be war'. For this morning the French Cabinet accepted the plan for the solution of the Czechoslovak problem negotiated yesterday in London by Premier Edouard Daladier and Foreign Minister Georges Bonnet." (New York Times, September 20, 1938.)

But it is precisely this "peaceful" settlement which is a major step in the steady march of imperialism against the Soviet Union and hence in the unleashing of war. Other such "peaceful" settlements will undoubtedly follow soon — in Memel, Poland, Rumania, until German imperialism will be directly on the borders of the Soviet Union and ready for the launching of the actual attack.

In the Czechoslovakian affair we see clearly how Popular Frontism initiated by Stalinism and collaborated in by Social Democracy and Radical Socialists works entirely in the interests of imperialism. The French Popular Front government, which the Stalinists tell the workers is a "bulwark against fascism," took the initiative

in negotiating the acceptance of Hitler's predatory demands. Chamberlain's negotiations with Hitler were actually suggested by the Radical Socialist Daladier:

"In a communique issued late this evening Premier Edouard Daladier in some ways claims credit (sic!) for the suggestion, for he always has been a partisan of a get-together policy with Germany, and late last evening, he suggested by telephone to Mr. Chamberlain that something should be done for having something like a three-power conversation to consider the situation. In his statement this evening M. Daladier said: 'At the end of yesterday afternoon, in the presence of a rapid sequence of events in Czechoslovakia, which made local negotiations difficult, I took the initiative in establishing direct personal contact with the British Prime Minister with a view to examining with him the possibility of attempting exceptional procedure that would permit an examination with Germany of the most effective means of assuring a friendly solution of the differences that separate the Sudetens and the Prague government and, in consequence, of maintaining peace in Europe.'" (N.Y. Times, Sept. 15, 1938. Our emphasis.)

The Stalinists spread the lie that the British Tories practically alone are at the root of all evil, thus creating the false impression that French imperialism is just a lump of helpless jelly which automatically obeys the commands of "London." That the French Popular Front government plays an active part in supporting Hitler in his drive against the Soviet Union is clear from Daladier's "I took the initiative." The destruction of the remnants of October, the distorted workers State is as much the primary aim of the French bourgeoisie (whose instrument is the Popular Front government) as it is of the British, German, American, Italian, Japanese and every other bourgeoisie.

World imperialism is plotting to solve its problems at the expense of

the Soviet Union. Up to 1917, the basic conflicts requiring immediate settlement were those amongst the imperialists themselves. Imperialism as a whole was solid and the bourgeoisie could afford to fight amongst themselves even to the extent of completely smashing the opponent, as we saw in the crushing defeat of Germany by the Anglo-French bloc. Proletarian revolution was as yet not an actuality, but remained rather within the theoretical realm of a few far-sighted revolutionaries like Marx, Engels and Lenin. But since 1917, world capitalism is in complete decline and proletarian revolution is immediately on the order of the day. The process of revolutionary overthrow of imperialism was begun in October 1917 and to date the final issue still hangs in the balance. For various reasons the imperialists were unable to conquer the Soviet Union up to now, so that the impossible situation of a proletarian State existing in the midst of imperialism has been able to continue for over twenty years. As early as 1918 Lenin realized that the workers state and imperialism could not live side by side for very long:

"International imperialism, with its mighty capital, its highly organized military technique, which is a real force, a real fortress of international capital, could not under any circumstances, on any condition, live side by side with the Soviet Republic because of its objective position and because of the economic interests of the capitalist class which are embodied in it — it could not because of commercial connections and international financial relations. In this sphere a conflict is inevitable." (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, English Edition, Vol. VII, p. 288.)

Hence Lenin staked everything on world proletarian revolution coming to the aid of the workers state:

"Of course, if we take the position on a world historical scale, there can be no doubt that if our revolution remains alone, if there are no revolutionary movements in

other countries, our position will be hopeless. When the Bolshevik Party alone took this matter entirely into its own hands we were convinced that the revolution was maturing in all countries and that in the end — but not in the beginning — no matter what difficulties we experienced, no matter what defeats were in store for us, the international socialist revolution would come — because it is coming; would ripen — because it is ripening. I repeat, our salvation from all these difficulties is an all-European revolution." (V. I. Lenin, Ibid., p. 291.)

And to leave no room for doubt, Lenin states the problem in the harshest possible terms:

"Until the socialist revolution is victorious in all countries there is a danger that the Soviet Republic may be reduced to slavery." (V. I. Lenin, Ibid. p. 301.)

By now the imperialists fully realize that the conflict between capitalism and the victorious socialist revolution, although now bureaucratically distorted, must be settled once and for all. A war amongst the imperialists themselves cannot be undertaken, for the danger of proletarian revolution is too great to be risked. The defeat of German imperialism — inevitable in the face of a serious fight by the Anglo-French-American capitalist combination, aided by Stalin's "Red" army — would unleash revolution throughout Europe and would spell the end of world capitalism. Their "capitulatory" policy with regard to Hitler appears capitulatory only to those who are blind to the nature of reality. In actuality this "capitulatory" policy is one of giving every active, positive assistance possible to Hitler. It is a policy of facilitating in every way his drive against the Soviet Union. Of course, the imperialists must proceed cautiously and with discretion so as not to excite the suspicions of the workers. Especially in the "democratic" countries it would be inexpedient at the present moment for the bourgeoisie to raise any cry of attacking the Soviet Union. The imperi-

alists are rapidly gathering their strength and will soon be in a position to bludgeon the workers, blinded by nationalism, into supporting an attack on the Soviet Union. Once Hitler attacks the Soviet Union, world imperialism must come to his aid for the only other alternative is to face proletarian revolution.

In the present situation, certain hitherto non-existent contradictions are found. The Soviet Union is a workers state with bureaucratic distortions. Despite every crime of the Stalin bureaucracy, despite the intense oppression of the masses in the Soviet Union and the uninterrupted undermining of the workers State, the socialized economy which is the basis of the workers state still remains. It is the duty of every class-conscious worker to fight to preserve this proletarian character of the Soviet Union and to destroy the bureaucratic distortions. The Stalin regime has taken a path which will result finally in the complete destruction of the workers State. Stalin is in the peculiar position of being threatened by both proletarian revolution and imperialism. Stalin reels back and forth between these two dangers which threaten his existence, but by his policy of preventing proletarian revolution, he is constantly strengthening his imperialist foes. In so far as he could, Stalin tried to make peace with imperialism and to tie the Soviet Union now to one imperialist camp (Germany 1922-1934) now to another (France, Czechoslovakia). Thus we find this "greatest disciple of Lenin" actively supporting the war aims of French imperialism:

"M. Stalin understands and fully approves the national defense (sic!) policy of France in keeping her armed forces at a level required for security." (Stalin-Laval Communique, 1935.)

The day of reckoning is rapidly approaching, however, and imperialism gathers its forces for the necessary attack on the Soviet Union. The "collective security" system is being thrown into the garbage can of history.

The Czecho-Soviet Pact is already in the grave and soon the Franco-Soviet Pact will become a corpse. The united front of imperialism against the Soviet Union, headed by Germany, will be more or less solid.

Stalin, of course, relies entirely on the strength of the Soviet Army and on his ability to compromise with the imperialists. It is notable that despite the fearful rush of Germany to the East, the Stalinist bureaucrats do not so much as breathe a whisper about "Defend the Soviet Union." Nowhere in the present-day Stalinist press can one find even a mention of the impending attack on the Soviet Union or of any call on the world proletariat to come to the aid of the Soviet Union by overthrowing imperialism. The Stalinists in fact make every effort to prevent the workers from thinking along these lines. The bureaucrats constantly peddle the illusion that the imperialists at the present juncture are going to fight amongst themselves. All talk in the Stalinist publications is in terms of nations and never in terms of classes. "England" is doing so and so; "France" should do this and that for "Czechoslovakia"; "Spain" must be defended; "Germany" must be curbed, etc. In the Stalinist Russian papers, editorial comment on the Czechoslovak crisis is practically absent, the few remarks that have been made consisting wholly of formal diplomatic jabber.

The Soviet papers employ the most vicious incitement to nationalistic chauvinism as their main weapon in trying to arouse the "democracies" to attack the fascist powers. The following is a sample of this from "Izvestia," the official organ of the Stalinist government. Here, crudely appealing to the traditional French hatred of Germans, the Stalinist paper warns "France" that she is losing "influence" in Central Europe while Germany is gaining:

"If during the recent period the influence of France as a great power in Europe and on the continent, has fallen considerably, and if a number of countries in Central and Southeastern Europe began to reckon

with this influence less and less, then from the moment when the London decision in which Daladier and Bonnet participated, became known, French influence in Europe can be counted as liquidated. Hitler has succeeded in throwing France back even beyond the Maginot line and removed French influence from Central and Southeastern Europe." (Editorial in Izvestia, quoted in the Daily Worker, Sept. 21, 1938. Our emphasis.)

The same criminal utilization of jingoism is also made by De Kerillis, the multi-millionaire backer of French fascism, who is not as far-sighted as Daladier and hence opposes the "surrender" to Germany:

"When the French people, in a few days or a few months, realize the extent of the humiliation we have suffered and the consequences of this defeat, without precedent in our history, they will turn upon those responsible." (De Kerillis, quoted in the N.Y. Times, September 21, 1938.)

Thus, Stalinism, which prevents world proletarian revolution, the only means of defending the Soviet Union, aligns itself with imperialism and helps poison the mind of the masses with the murderous nationalist "patriotism" against which Marx, Engels and Lenin fought.

There is only one salvation for the toiling masses of Czechoslovakia: the organization of a genuine Leninist Party which can destroy the influence of Stalinism, social-democracy and other opportunism, and which with the aid that the international proletariat can give it will strive to lead the workers to a seizure of power and the establishment of a Federated Soviet Republic. Any other "solution," whether it be reliance on the treacherous "democratic allies" of Czechoslovakia and the renegade Stalin or on armed resistance by the Czech bourgeoisie, could but lead only to a hideous slaughter of the masses and the eventual crushing of the Czechoslovakian masses under the heel of both Hit-

ler and "their own" fascism. A seizure of power by the Czechoslovak workers would electrify the entire European proletariat, especially the French, would provide the necessary impetus to turn back the fascist onslaught and would make possible the renewal of the October Revolution. In the ultra-right zigzag, the Stalinist bureaucrats try to paralyze the will of the workers by painting fascism as all-powerful and proletarian revolution as inopportune "at the present moment." History, however, gives the lie to this treachery of the Stalinists. The Czechoslovakian crisis has aroused the world proletariat tremendously. Let it not be imagined that, if a Czech Soviet were established, the French workers, to cite only one case, would sit idly by and permit the imperialists to destroy it. Aside from proletarian revolution there is no outcome possible but the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and the increased oppression of the Czech toiling masses, and the movement of Hitler further on the road to the Soviet Union.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is in the peculiar position of being threatened by proletarian revolution and world imperialism. Proletarian revolution would sweep aside the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy and renew the movement of the proletariat toward the creation of a world socialist society. Imperialism, to solve its basic problem of the present historical epoch, must destroy the remnants of the October Revolution. Stalin, therefore, in a war against imperialism will have to avoid actually defeating imperialism for that would create immediately the danger of proletarian revolution, and at the same time he will have to prevent imperialism from destroying the Soviet Union. Stalin will fight the imperialists only to compromise with them and, by giving them various concessions, to bring the war to a speedy close. Whether or not the imperialists accept Stalin's concessions, depends on the developments in the working class. If no revolutionary movement threatens imperialism, then the capitalists will be free to proceed to the final destruction and dismemberment of the Soviet Union.

Revolutionists in the Soviet Union must endeavor to foil Stalin's criminal plans by urging the workers and peasants to push the war forward along revolutionary lines to bring about the complete defeat of imperialism and the overthrow of world capitalism. They must convert the Stalinist war to preserve the Soviet bureaucracy and world imperialism into a revolutionary war to destroy these two reactionary forces. At the front the Russian toilers must strive to push forward the war against the bureaucratic limitations that will be imposed on it by the Stalinist clique. Fraternization with the toilers in the imperialist armies is essential. Stalin's reactionary slogan to the effect that the Soviet Union does not seek to obtain even an inch of any other country's territory must be exposed as indicative of the treacherous, limited, compromising war that Stalin intends to wage. Every effort must be made to divert the workers attention from the false question of territory and spread revolutionary propaganda amongst the workers and peasants. Only the united efforts of the international proletariat led by a new Communist Party can defeat world imperialism and create a socialist society.

When German imperialism attacks the Soviet Union and others aid indirectly in such an attack, only one policy can serve the interests of the international working class: the utter defeat of international imperialism and the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war. No support in any way whatever to any capitalist power under any conditions and a struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, is the only correct line for the proletariat:

"A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot help wishing the defeat of its government, it cannot fail to see the connection between the government's military reverses and the increased opportunity for overthrowing it," (G. Zinoviev and V.I. Lenin, "Socialism and War," English Edition, p. 24.)

Class conscious workers who have been

forced into the imperialist armies must make every effort to establish comradely contacts with the workers and peasants in the armed forces of the Soviet Union. They must make clear to the Russian toilers that Stalinism is a reactionary force and must be removed so that by the united efforts of the international proletariat the imperialist war against the Soviet Union can be converted into a revolutionary war against imperialism. Revolutionary workers must be careful to gauge the temperature of the specific situation accurately. If the demoralization of the workers is complete or nearly so, then obviously the work of sabotaging the capitalist war machine must proceed cautiously. On the other hand, if the workers are class-conscious and a substantial section of them are in a militant, revolutionary mood, then organized sabotage of the imperialist war machine will be the correct tactic so that the imperialist war can be transformed into a war for the establishment of a workers republic.

This is the immediate task of the workers in a war situation. The broader problem is the political one which centers around the building of a new revolutionary party and International without which the overthrow of imperialism and the creation of a socialist society are impossible.

The opportunists will strive with might and main to prevent a successful proletarian revolution. While the imperialist war is continuing, some of these misleaders will keep up a pacifist chatter, "Stop the war," "Peace," and so forth, hiding the fact, explained a thousand times by Lenin, that without the overthrow of capitalism peace is but an empty, petty-bourgeois cry. The Stalinists especially are likely to use such treacherous tactics, as we now see them doing in Japan. The Stalinists, if they retain the ultra-right zigzag, will have as their aim the cessation of the war and the stabilization of capitalism in what they will call a "democratic republic." That this "democratic republic" will from the moment the war begins be nothing but a military dictatorship

they will conceal with demagogic phrases about marching "through democracy to socialism". The plunging of "democratic" imperialists into a war against the Soviet Union or their support of Germany in such a war, however, may make the fraud of "defending democracy against fascism" so obvious to the workers that the Stalinists may be forced to abandon the ultra-right line and to resort once again to an ultra-left zigzag. In this case the Stalinists will mix pacifist deception with wild "revolutionary" phrases and with incitement of the workers to suicidal, adventurist escapades. Above all, the workers must not allow themselves to be trapped by "revolutionary" phrases which the Stalinists will emit in the very probable future leap to ultra-leftism, but must free themselves from every Stalinist influence. The Stalinist bureaucrats will trade heavily on the sympathy of the workers for the Soviet Union and will resort to every kind of "left" demagogy. Only the power of genuine Leninist exposure resulting in the isolation of Stalinism from the workers can keep the masses from suffering a long and horrible round of bloodbaths.

The opportunists of the non-Stalinist varieties will use a different line of deception. There is already noticeable amongst some of the "left" groups which opportunistically try to avoid a genuine Leninist fight against Stalinism to regard the Soviet Union as no longer a workers State. This fraudulent pretense gives these opportunists a very convenient excuse for avoiding a real fight against Stalinism, for, if the Soviet Union is no longer a workers state, "why should we bother so much about Stalinism?". It is only necessary to throw the Soviet Union in the same category as the capitalist countries and to confine oneself to denouncing capitalism in general. Some such "left" groups are spreading the infamous lie that the bureaucratically distorted Soviet Union is today a fascist state! Revolutionary workers, clearly realizing that the Soviet Union is still a workers state despite its criminal distortion by the Stalinist bureaucracy, will reject such "left" opportunists.

A particularly vicious brand of confusion being circulated amongst the workers consists of talk about a "mixed war", i.e., a war in which some imperialists are allied with the Stalinist bureaucracy. The usual alignment posited is that of the "democracies" and the Soviet Union against the fascist powers, particularly Germany. This deception bases itself on the belief or hope that France will be involved in a war with Germany and will be joined by the Soviet Union (Franco-Soviet Pact) and possibly by some of the "democracies" which stand closest to France. Of course, it goes without saying that the workers in the "democracies" are told that they must support "their" government in such a "mixed war."

Objective reality explodes this "mixed war" theory completely. Facts show that the "democracies" are closely collaborating with the fascist nations in a concerted drive against the Soviet Union. In actuality this "mixed war" theory is part and parcel of the Stalinist ultra-right zigzag. Since the Stalinist bureaucrats tell the workers that they must defend "democracies" against fascism, it is only logical to add that the "democracies" will fight the fascist countries and will aid the Soviet Union. Thus exploiting the sympathy of the workers for the Soviet Union, the Stalinists concoct a "mixed war" theory which tricks the workers in the "democracies" into supporting imperialism and its war preparations. At the same time it diverts the workers from the path of revolution. The historical conflict between the Anglo-French and the German imperialists lends an air of plausibility to this "theory." But life teaches that this historical conflict is now being temporarily shelved in order to settle the more basic conflict between imperialism and the workers state — privately-owned industry vs. socialized industry.

The opportunists of the "left," whose main concern is to avoid a real fight against Stalinism and the self-exposure this would entail, diligently sell this Stalinist "mixed war" theory to the workers. Foremost amongst



these traitors-from-the-left is Leon Trotsky who in confusing the workers with "mixed wars" really outdoes himself. In the first place, he blandly proceeds on the assumption that France will fight Germany with the Soviet Union "naturally" allied to France. The total trend of world imperialism as a whole toward a clash with the Soviet Union, which is the fundamental fact in the present situation, is set aside for the fancy that French imperialism at this time will fight Germany. Having started on a false theoretical premise, Trotsky must perforce support himself with incorrect arguments. In this hypothetical "mixed war" the following will be the tactics Trotsky will ask the workers to accept:

"In France I would remain in opposition to the Government and would develop systematically this opposition. In Germany I would do anything I could to sabotage the war machinery. They are two different things." (Leon Trotsky, "The Case of Leon Trotsky," pp.289—290. Our emphasis.)

The utterly slavish adherence of Trotsky to social-patriotic ideology is apparent. Trotsky rejects the fundamental Leninist principle that the nature of a war is determined only by the nature of the ruling class of whose politics the war is a continuation. Trotsky sets up a "new" thesis, that the nature of a war is determined by the nature of the allies on whose side it is fought. Thus, since French imperialism is allied in this hypothetical war to the Soviet Union - at least in Trotsky's bewildered imagination - the war fought by French imperialism is different from that fought by German imperialism. "They are two different things." In imperialist Germany Trotsky would do anything he could to sabotage the war machinery. But in imperialist France? Are the workers to be given Lenin's line of transforming France's imperialist war into a civil war? Is revolutionary defeatism to be the workers line in France as in Germany? France and Germany "are two different things," says Trotsky, avoiding to call for revolutionary defeatism in imperialist

France. In 1914-1917, Tzarist Russia was allied to "democratic" France in a war against Kaiserist Germany. Those groups were also "two different things." But Lenin said "a plague on both your houses." Lenin, guided only by the nature of the ruling class which waged the war, called for the defeat of all the imperialists, "democratic," autocratic or constitutional-monarchist. Lenin left no room in the mind of the workers for chauvinist poison. Recognizing that imperialism of any stripe can fight only a reactionary war, regardless of the nature of its allies or enemies, Lenin by his policy of revolutionary defeatism and of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war established the first workers state. The French workers must hold firmly in mind this fundamental principle: Any war fought by France while it remains capitalist will be wholly reactionary regardless of against whom or in alliance with whom it will be waged, and regardless of whether France is the "aggressor" or the "defender." Imperialism, whether "democratic" or fascist, whether allied with the Devil or with the Lord has only one purpose - imperialist plunder, suppression and exploitation of the masses.

The utter fallacy of Trotsky's position on "mixed wars" is glaringly exposed by the ludicrous phantom situations he must conjure up to bolster his arguments. In an article grandiloquently entitled "Learn To Think," Trotsky has imperialist France defending - a Soviet Belgium!

"Let us imagine that in the next European war the Belgian proletariat conquers power sooner than the proletariat of France. Undoubtedly Hitler will try to crush proletarian Belgium. In order to cover up its own flank the French bourgeois government might find itself compelled to help the Belgian workers' government with arms. The Belgian soviets of course would reach for these arms with both hands. But actuated by the principle of defeatism, perhaps the French workers ought to block their bourgeoisie from shipping arms to

proletarian Belgium? Only direct traitors or out-and-out idiots can reason thus." (L. Trotsky, "Learn to Think," The New International, July 1938, p. 206.)

And so, with a wave of the wand — "Let us imagine"— Trotsky annihilates the whole of historical experience. The history of all proletarian revolutions beginning with the Paris Commune teaches that when the workers overthrow capitalism the bourgeoisie make every effort to drop their differences and unite to crush the revolutionary developments. What the Belgian workers can expect if they seize power before the French is that French imperialism will make a ferocious onslaught on the Belgian Soviet and if necessary will turn Europe inside out to destroy the workers state in Belgium. Only the literary gifts of a Trotsky will enable one to "imagine" that French imperialism will not only tolerate a new workers state right on its borders but will actually help it. If the imperialists were at one time not entirely clear as to the necessity of forming a united front to destroy every revolutionary attempt on the part of the workers, we may rest assured that the experience of the Russian and other revolutions at the end of the world war has not been wasted on them. Unlike Trotsky, the imperialists are not guided by "imagination" but only by the requirements of the class struggle. But Trotsky, who played so vital a part in defeating the interventionist forces during the Russian civil war, solemnly assures the "Belgian Soviet" that French imperialism will help it. There is only one reply to this Trotskyist gibberish: Learn to think.

\* \* \*

The Lovestoneites also spread social-patriotic illusions about "mixed wars." They state clearly that they will not call for revolutionary defeatism in any capitalist country if it is allied to the Soviet Union in one of these hypothetical "mixed wars":

"On the other hand, the International Communist Opposition (Lovestoneites) voted against the war resolution because this resolution called for a policy of revolu-

tionary defeatism for all capitalist countries engaged in war including those allied with the Soviet Union. The I. L. P., although it voted for the resolution, shared the viewpoint of the I. C. O. on 'mixed wars'." (Workers Age, article on the Paris Conference, April 2, 1938.)

Thus we see that even the centrist I. L. P. in order to save its face went through the form of voting for the near-Leninist resolution introduced at the Paris Conference.

It is impossible to have a Leninist position on all the aspects of the contemporary war problem without an understanding of all the forms of opportunism that infect the proletarian ranks. Every opportunist organization, despite all its cries to the contrary, in one way or another gives aid and comfort to Stalinism and the bourgeoisie. A glaring example of indirect assistance to Stalinism is the article, "Siberian Clashes Set Stage For Soviet-Jap War," in "Labor Front," the organ of the League for a Revolutionary Workers' Party (Fieldites), in its September 1938 issue. Field accepts Trotsky's erroneous position on Stalinism, i.e., that Stalinism is "bureaucratic centrism" based on the false theory of "socialism in a single country." Hence, Field holds that in a mistaken effort to build socialism in a single country Stalin vacillates from ultra-rightism to ultra-leftism and vice versa. This in turn causes the defeat of the proletariat in the capitalist countries and forces Stalin to rely more and more on one or another camp of imperialism.

Field, therefore, like Trotsky, bases his analysis of Stalinism on an idealistic premise, namely, Stalin's fake theory of socialism in a single country. In reality, however, Stalin bases himself only on his bureaucratic usurpation and centralization of power. The "theory" of socialism in a single country, which Stalin knows just as well as Trotsky and Field is sheer opportunistic invention, serves Stalin as a demagogic cover for his bureaucratic centralization of power. In order

to preserve his personal power and the bureaucracy which supports him, Stalin, since 1923, has been consistently preventing world proletarian revolution which he realizes would destroy both him and his bureaucracy. For this purpose he has been using the ultra-right and ultra-left zigzags in the "Comintern." To stave off his other enemy, world imperialism, Stalin tries to compromise with such of the imperialists as will for reasons of their own sign "pacts" with him for the time being.

In their discussion of the recent Russo-Japanese clashes on the Siberian border, the Fieldites foster various illusions in the mind of their readers, which flow naturally from their false analysis of Stalinism. We saw that after some noisy squabbling on the border, Stalin again, as usual, struck up a bargain with the Japanese imperialists and the shooting died down. This, of course, is wholly in line with Stalin's policy of compromising as long as possible with the imperialists. Actually, to defeat imperialism is the desire farthest from Stalin's mind, as a defeat would immediately create the danger to Stalin of having to face a proletarian revolution which would expose and strive to remove the bureaucratic distortion of the first workers state. What is Field's position on this latest retreat of Stalin's? Field ascribes it to the weakening of the Red Army by the shooting of the eight generals (Tuchachevsky, etc.). Otherwise, says the Fieldite organ:

"Had it not been for this the situation would have been favorable for a Russian war against Japan."  
("Labor Front," September, 1938.)

In this analysis, the Fieldites spread a double falsehood. In the first place, the shooting of eight of Stalin's lackeys was for the sole purpose of further centralizing power in Stalin's own hands and had nothing whatever to do with Stalin's retreat in the recent border war. Secondly, even if these eight henchmen had not been sacrificed to Stalin's greed for power, Stalin would still have pursued his

policy of compromising with imperialism. Stalin's policy in time of war flows from his policy in time of peace. During peace Stalin has a line of preventing proletarian revolution and of compromising with imperialism, and during war he has followed and will follow exactly the same line. Field's analysis fosters the illusion that Stalin might actually want to engage in a real war with imperialism but that his "foolish" policy of murdering army officers prevents him from doing so.

Why, according to Field, did Stalin engage in even the little fighting that did occur?

"It must rather be considered as a Russian diversion for the purpose of assisting China — and for the also important purpose of reestablishing the much damaged reputation of the Red Army at home and abroad."  
(Ibid. Our emphasis.)

A more monstrous misconception than that contained in the underscored part of the above-quoted sentence can hardly be imagined. Consider its downright childishness from just the military angle. How a few days of skirmishing on the border is a help to China Field fails to explain. The border clash has caused no change whatever in the alignment of military forces in Asia and Japan's attack on China has continued unabated. Further, why should Stalin want to help China? Obviously, Field believes Stalin would like to see China defeat Japanese imperialism. For what purpose, we ask, would Stalin want this to occur? So that revolution can be unleashed throughout Asia, and perhaps in the entire world? Is this what Field conceives to be Stalin's line? Reality, however, shows that just the opposite is Stalin's line. Prevention of revolution, which incidentally results in the stabilization of imperialism is Stalin's policy. If Stalin wanted to aid China, is it necessary for him to engage in border clashes and compromises? Only an idiot would engage in such piffling tactics when he has at his command an immense army and a huge war industry — and Stalin is far from

being an idiot. On the contrary, Stalin has consistently since 1923 shown himself to be remarkably capable in carrying out his original plans. The utter falsity of Field's analysis becomes more and more glaring as we proceed to examine the situation realistically.

Like Trotsky, Field's incorrect analysis of Stalinism leaves him entirely helpless to combat this chief menace in the proletarian ranks today. Field's "opposition" to Stalinism boils down to addressing kind words of advice to the Kremlin gang of scoundrels. Field would like the "Soviet Union" to become revolutionary:

"If the Soviet Union is to win the support of the toiling masses in capitalist countries, if it is to prepare them to resist the war propaganda of their own capitalists, then instead of representing the struggle as one over territory, it should explain frankly to the workers of the world that what is involved is a struggle against Japanese and world imperialism, a struggle for the liberation of the Chinese masses and the colonial masses the world over." (Ibid.)

This is how Field "combats" Stalinism! Instead of a clear statement that the Soviet Union (read: Stalin) can never adopt a genuine revolutionary position, Field leaves the reader with the impression that the thing to do is to continue advising Stalin until he has a turn of heart. Instead of pointing out that for Stalin to turn revolutionary would require him to expose all his crimes of the past fifteen years and hence to commit political suicide, Field creates the illusion that if enough pressure is exerted against Stalin the latter may be forced to become revolutionary. Instead of teaching the workers that there is no liberation possible except through the destruction of Stalinism and every form of opportunism and the building of a new revolutionary international in terms of such destruction, Field leaves the reader with the vague hope of better times ahead — presumably as soon as Stalin finds the time to read "Labor Front." This line of hoping

against hope that Stalinism will reform itself — with the help of advice from Trotsky-Field — can only disarm the proletariat before the ever-increasing onslaughts of reaction. While such false conceptions of the nature of Stalinism, the main enemy within the working class, hold sway, all talk of building a Fourth International is nothing but empty chatter. A Fourth International can be built only in terms of destroying the influence of every kind of opportunism infesting the proletariat. If one does not understand the nature of the most potent form of present-day opportunism, Stalinism, one can only end up as a victim of capitalist reaction which thrives on the assistance given to it by opportunism. The proletarian vanguard must know the story of the true origin of every form of opportunism, what it consists of and how it operates, else it will go down under the heel of universal fascism. In his work to form the Third International, Lenin clearly defined the chief enemy in the proletarian camp: "Opportunism is our principal enemy." (V. I. Lenin, "The International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the C.I.", July 19, 1920). Lenin consistently fought for the destruction of every form of opportunism, without which destruction he understood the overthrow of capitalism to be an impossible task. Lenin made no shabby and cowardly attempts to avoid the struggle against opportunism by turning away from the vanguard of the proletariat which was under the domination of the opportunists. On the contrary, Lenin's whole struggle for the building of a revolutionary international was framed in terms of first winning the proletarian vanguard away from the opportunists. Nor did Lenin foster illusions of the possibility of reforming the opportunists, for he recognized them as the scoundrels that they were and, we may say, still are.

Physical diseases can often be cured without an exact knowledge of their origin and of how they function. In politics, however, things are far more complicated. The workers must know the entire truth about all the opportunists or the victory of reaction is assured.

## THE TROTSKYITES AS PROPHETS

By J.C. Hunter

**A** FUNDAMENTAL TEST of genuine Marxism, as of science in general, is its ability accurately to predict the course of the future in outline form at least.

According to the Trotskyites, the basis of the Stalinist zigzags, ultra-leftism and ultra-rightism, is Stalin's false theory of "socialism in one country." Stalin, say the Trotskyites, does not understand the A B C of Marxism and through his bureaucratically dominated machine lurches back and forth from sectarianism to reformism. Stalinism is considered by the Trotskyites to be "bureaucratic centrism." The ultra-left and ultra-right zigzags are held to be the vaccilations of a centrist.

During the ultra-left days of 1929-1934, the Trotskyites considered themselves a faction of the Stalintern whose task it was to correct Stalin by means of letters, appeals and critiques addressed to the Master in the Kremlin. While keeping up a barrage of "advice" to Stalin, they preached confidence in the Stalinist party. "All eyes to the Communist Party." (L. Trotsky, "Germany — What Next?" 1932, p. 186.) In 1934 the Stalinists made a turn to the present ultra-right zigzag and as a prelude formed a fraudulent united front with the Socialist Party of France, a "united front" which was in reality a convenient agreement between these two counter-revolutionary organizations to keep mum about each others crimes. Trotsky, however, hailed this "united front" as a change for the better on the part of the Stalinists:

"We have already said that the united front of the Socialist and

Communist Parties embodies immense possibilities. If it only wants it seriously, it will tomorrow become master in France. But the will must be there." (Leon Trotsky, "Whither France," p. 43.)

When the "united front" developed into a full-fledged ultra-right zigzag, Trotsky and his henchmen, arguing on the grounds of the coincidence of a social-patriotic line in the Stalin-torn and the existence of the Franco-Soviet Pact, maintained that the Popular Front line is based on Stalin's desire to win the friendship of the "democratic" imperialists. For the sake of an alliance with the "democratic" imperialists, Stalin abandoned the revolutionary struggle, said the Trotskyites, implying that prior to the installation of the ultra-right zigzag Stalin was a revolutionary — who made some mistakes.

Today we see that Stalin has lost the "friendship" of his French imperialist "allies." Hence, according to the Trotskyites, he will have to turn to American imperialism as his last hope because America is a "democracy." Still conceiving the Stalintern ultra-right zigzag to be wholly based upon Stalin's foreign policy, the Trotskyites predict that the C P U S A will make a new zigzag — still further to the right:

"In this country you may expect that you will be called on to make yourselves more than ever devoted patriots, ardent partisans of Roosevelt, of American imperialism, which is now Stalin's best bet." (Socialist Appeal, October 5, 1938; front page editorial.)

Thus the Trotskyites "warn" the members of the C P U S A. This prediction is precisely the central point of the present article. We hold it to be entirely false, and in opposition predict that the C P U S A and the entire Stalintern will make a lurch to an ultra-left zigzag after passing through some intermediate stages.

The basis of our prediction is the thesis that Stalin is not a mistaken centrist but is rather a conscious counter-revolutionary and has been so since 1923. Stalin, in order bureaucratically to centralize all power in the Soviet Union in his own hands, has since 1923 been employing the "Comintern" to prevent proletarian revolution. For this criminal purpose he has been using the ultra-right and ultra-left zigzags. Although practiced by the Stalinist sections of all capitalist countries, it took effect, actually preventing proletarian revolution in the following countries:

1923 - Ultra-right zigzag	-	Germany
1924 - Ultra-left zigzag	-	Estonia
1925-1928 - Ultra-right	-	England) China)
1929-1934 - Ultra-left	-	Germany) Spain, France)

From 1935 to the present, an ultra-right zigzag - Spain, France, China.

In each case the purpose and results have been the same, Stalin, who contrary to the fairy tales spread by the Trotskyites, is quite well acquainted with Marxism, realizes that a proletarian revolution sweeping the world would wipe him and his counter-revolutionary bureaucracy out of existence. Hence his general line is to prevent revolution while at the same time endeavoring to dicker with one or another group of imperialists to forestall intervention in the Soviet Union. That the Stalintern line is not directly dependent upon Stalin's foreign policy is clearly shown by the "friendly" relations obtaining between Stalin and German imperialism up to 1933 despite the ultra-left howling of the Stalinists in Germany. When the victory of Hitler in 1933 made the ultra-left zigzag obviously untenable

as an instrument of counter-revolution, Stalin gradually and cautiously introduced the present ultra-right zigzag. Fundamentally, it makes no difference to Stalin which zigzag he uses, for they both accomplish the same ends, the prevention of proletarian revolution.

At the present time, the course of events is such that the ultra-right, Popular Front zigzag is becoming a patent fraud which if continued may cause many Stalinist rank-and-filers to begin to break with Stalinism and thus give rise to the danger (for Stalin) of the formation of a new and genuine revolutionary movement. The "democracy versus fascism" slogan is being made ridiculous in light of the way the "democracies" together with the fascist powers are ganging up on the Soviet Union. Hence it is necessary for Stalin soon to abandon the ultra-right zigzag for an ultra-left one. Regardless of the ultra-left shrieking which will be heard in the near future, Stalin will try to continue his policy of attempting to divide the imperialists, compromising with some of them, though his chances of succeeding are practically zero for world imperialism has at last come to an understanding to launch a united attack on the Soviet Union.

There has hardly been a Trotskyist analysis and prediction that proved correct, (L. T. on Germany.)

To sum up: the Trotskyites predict a turn further to the right in the line of the C P U S A. We, on the contrary, insist that, unless a strong revolutionary movement arises, a turn to the ultra-left in the C P U S A and throughout the Stalintern is in the offing. If the future proves our prediction to be correct, will the Trotskyite leaders openly admit that their analysis of Stalinism and its methods are false or will they, as usual, discreetly "forget" their much vaunted "Bolshevik-Leninist self-criticism"? Never! For Trotskyism does not admit its wrong predictions and the resultant damage to the workers. It goes right ahead making false prophecies confusing the workers, misorienting them and objectively assisting Stalinism and international reaction.

R E A D

# STALIN, TROTSKY © R LENIN

By  
George Marlen

A DOCUMENTARY RECORD OF THE STALINIST BETRAYALS OF THE WORKINGCLASS—  
TROTSKY'S ROLE AS AID TO STALINISM —  
THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT TODAY—

Paper: \$1.00

493pp.

Cloth: \$1.50

The Leninist League U.S.A.  
P.O.B. 67, Station D  
New York

R E A D

# IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM

LENINIST EXPOSURE OF OPPORTUNISM IN THE RANKS OF THE PROLETARIAT —  
A PROGRAM OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTION TO OVERTHROW CAPITALISM —

Single Issue - 5¢

Yearly - 50¢

The Leninist League U.S.A.  
P.O.B. 67, Station D  
New York