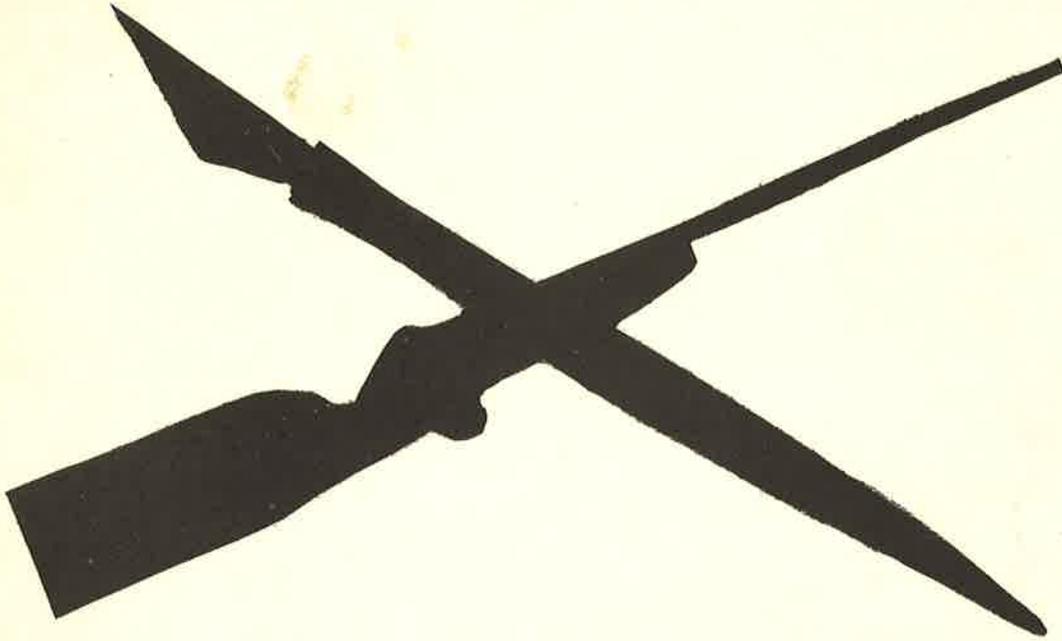


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Comrades and Friends:

We are happy to present the first issue of PROLETARIAT, a theoretical journal published by the Communist League. We hope that PROLETARIAT will serve as a forum for the struggle to clarify and deepen the understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought which all communists, revolutionaries and honest people need in our fight to build a genuine communist party to lead the American working class to smash imperialism and build socialism.

One thing we would like to make clear. The articles appearing which are signed by individuals do not represent the official position of the Communist League. Only articles signed by the Central Committee do so. We say this in order to encourage individuals to write for PROLETARIAT and to help develop it into a tool for struggling over line and developing clarity about the revolution which is happening in our country. People interested in writing articles or simply getting in touch with us should write to:

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With communist greetings,

C J
J A, Editors

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LENIN'S IMPERIALISM 54 YEARS LATER

In 1916, in the midst of the first really world war, Lenin published his scientific treatise IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STATE OF CAPITALISM, which showed why the war was being fought and why wars like it would continue to be fought as long as capitalism exists.

At the time of publication the international socialist movement had suffered a severe defeat. Most of the leaders of the European socialist parties - the leaders of the Second International Workingmen's Association, founded in 1889 - completely rejecting the Marxist slogan, Workers of the World, Unite, had totally betrayed the workers of the world, and had come out in support of the monopoly capitalist ruling classes of their various war-making nations. German workers were told to fight French, English and Russian workers by German 'socialists'; French, English and Russian workers were told to fight German workers by French, English and Russian 'socialists'; and when the US entered the war in 1917 American workers were told to fight by American 'socialists' like Victor Berger, Jack London, Walter Lippman and E B DuBois. At the most crucial moment in the entire history of the working class movement up to that time, at a moment when hatred of capitalism and wars of aggression was rising to new heights among working and poor people of all nations - at a time when laws had to be passed prohibiting the fraternization of 'enemy' troops in the trenches of Europe - at a time when the world stood on the brink of proletarian revolution like never before - most 'proletarian leaders' proved to be traitors to the proletariat.

What was World War I all about? asked Lenin. 'A struggle for markets and for freedom to loot foreign countries, a struggle to suppress the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and democracy in the individual countries, a desire to deceive, disunite, and slaughter the proletarians of all countries by setting the wage slaves of one nation against those of another so as to benefit the bourgeoisie - these are the only real content and significance of the war.' (1) Germany was not after 'democracy', but England's and France's colonies and Russian land. And 'the Triple (and Quadruple) Entente is waging war, not over Belgium;* this is common knowledge and only hypocrites will disguise the fact. Britain is grabbing at Germany's colonies and Turkey; Russia is grabbing at Galicia and Turkey; France wants Alsace-Lorraine and even the left bank of the Rhine; a treaty has been concluded with Italy for the division of the spoils (Albania and Asia Minor); bargaining is going on with Bulgaria and Rumania, also for the division of the spoils.... Where does "defense of the fatherland" come in here?' (2)

In Imperialism Lenin gave the scientific reasons for these indictments of the rulers of these nations and their lackeys, the pro-war 'socialists'. He showed the profound truth of Clauswitz' statement that War is the continuation of politics by other means. In doing so he threw a bombshell into the camp of the ruling classes, the bourgeoisie, and rallied the forces of the proletariat. The 1917 October Revolution, the first victory of socialism; the formation in 1919 of the Third (Communist) International; the emergence of the then-Leninist Party of the USA - all these advances and much more all came about largely out of *England and France claimed that they were waging war to 'defend' Belgium, which Germany had invaded in 1914.

(including false friends) of the working class who say that Marxism is 'outdated', 'true for Europe but not for America', 'empty and rigid dogma', and similar garbage. Then we shall discuss the role of imperialism in the world, how it always brings fascism and war down on the heads of the workers, and how the only response of the workers can be to crush imperialism by overthrowing it and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF IMPERIALISM

'If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism.' (3)

Imperialism is capitalism, not a policy of capitalism or something apart from capitalism in any way. This is the essence of the Marxist view. Imperialism is capitalism at its most recent, most advanced, most developed and last stage, the monopoly stage.

Expanding his definition, Lenin lists five things which go to make up imperialism.

'(1) The concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this 'finance capital', of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international capitalist combines which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed.' (4)

Let's examine these five features one by one in light of present-day facts about the US, remembering that the US is only one example (the biggest) of imperialist nations, others being England, France, Germany, Japan, Italy, and now Russia since it was taken over by the 'new tsars' like Khrushchov, Brezhnev and Kosygin. Let us go for our main facts to a book written by a non-Marxist liberal named Richard J Barber, a former teacher at Yale Law School, called The American Corporation.

(1) THE CONCENTRATION OF PRODUCTION AND CAPITAL HAS DEVELOPED TO SUCH A HIGH STAGE THAT IT HAS CREATED MONOPOLIES WHICH PLAY A DECISIVE ROLE IN ECONOMIC LIFE.

Industry, like animal-development, goes by the law of 'the survival of the fittest'. Where at the beginning of the steel industry you might have, say, 100 steel-mill owners each turning out 10 tons of steel a year, after a while you have 10 owners turning out 100 tons a year - or a lot more, actually, because as production becomes more concentrated (one big factory instead of ten small ones), it becomes more productive through improvements in machinery, technique, division of labor etc. The 90 ex-owners have fallen by the wayside because they weren't as clever, lucky, ambitious or ruthless (didn't speed up the line as fast) as the remaining ten. The remaining ten compete among themselves, each

quences. The most serious disease is "power" - the ability of a seller or small group of sellers working together to influence what goes on in the market. Add this feature and the system breaks down, no longer a reliable allocator or a protector of democracy.' (8)

Monopoly, then, is the control of the market by the producers, the exact opposite of free enterprise. Whether one producer or a small number of producers control a branch of industry, the result is monopoly. We add this because bourgeois economists refer to the second instance - where a few owners are in control - as oligopoly, taken from the Greek word for 'few'. Call it what you want, it makes no difference: in both cases the producer or producers are in control of the market.

Lenin says (AND THIS IS CRUCIAL), 'At a certain stage of its development concentration itself, as it were, leads straight to monopoly, for a score or so of giant enterprises can easily arrive at an agreement, and on the other hand, the hindrances to competition, the tendency towards monopoly, arises from the huge size of the enterprises.' (9)

Concentration leads to monopoly, and monopoly leads to further concentration. This is the Marxist view. Compare it to Barber's liberal, timid, vague phrases about free enterprise's 'sensitivity' and 'a variety of disturbances', as if monopoly didn't have to happen. No. Monopoly develops naturally and inevitably out of free enterprise, because monopoly means more power and higher profits for the industrialists, and these things are the name of the game. Not only Marxists, but the big businessmen themselves admit this! Listen to Ralph Ablon, President of the Ogden Corporation, whom Barber himself quotes as saying that agglomeration* is 'the natural evolution of big business.'

'A score or so of giant corporations,' says Lenin, 'can easily arrive at an agreement.' How do these agreements benefit them? Barber provides one example out of thousands:

'General Motors, the auto industry titan, sets the prices at which it will sell its cars in such a way as to yield a rate of return that will provide after-tax profits equal to 20% of its net investment. Such a profit rate is nearly twice that of the average corporation and almost half again as large as the profits of most large manufacturing firms. Because of its commanding position in the auto industry GM tends to set the lead and Ford, Chrysler and American Motors fall in line. Sometimes the smaller auto companies gleefully boost the prices they have already established in order to conform to GM's initiative. A good illustration took place just a few years ago. Ford announced an average increase of 2.9% in the prices of its new models. A few days later GM announced it was increasing its prices on comparable models by an average of 6.1%. Some might be so unrealistic as to think that Ford would have let its lower prices remain in effect, hoping thereby to steal sale away from its bigger rival. Ford (and later, Chrysler) promptly hiked its prices to match the GM prices—almost dollar for dollar. More commonly, as with the 1970 model cars, the others wait for GM to post its prices, then follow along in lockstep fashion.' (10)

*Agglomeration, or formation of conglomerates (one huge corporation buying up and controlling from the top many different companies of different kinds), is the latest form of concentration.

For example, if I own a car and simply use it for my own private transportation, its value doesn't expand and it's not capital. But if I decide to make it into a taxicab, and hire somebody to drive it and make money for me, then it becomes capital, because it's used to make a profit.)

Bank capital, in the same way, is expanding money, money which yields a profit by being invested or lent out at interest. If I have ten dollars and put it in a sock, or buy food with it, it isn't capital. But if I put it in a bank it becomes 'activated', because the bank uses it to make more money. In this way the money becomes bank capital.

Who really has power in industry (not to mention 'high finance')? You might think it's the big industrialists, the people who run GM, AT&T, IBM etc. But it's not them, it's the people who stand behind them, the bankers. One good example is Rockefeller, who started out an oilman but ended up a banker with oil only one of his many interests. Or Morgan, who started out in steel but became a banker, with steel only one of his enterprises and sources of income. Henry Ford, on the other hand, remained an auto manufacturer without going into banking, and Ford Motors eventually got swallowed up by Morgan's banks. The Duponts stayed in chemicals without getting into banking in a really big way. Powerful as they were and still are (they even got control of GM for a while), they were unable to expand enough (to keep up with competition) without borrowing money from Morgan and Rockefeller banks. The price they paid was control of GM (which is now owned by a consortium of banks)*, and a backseat in terms of total power.

The reason is that an industrialist alone, no matter how big, controls and can use only his own capital if he doesn't want to borrow. But a bank has capital coming in from many different industrialists, who deposit their 'extra' funds (funds not going directly back into production) in order to activate them and make them yield a profit. So, when Rockefeller, for example, went into banking, he broadened tremendously his source of wealth, and was eventually able to bring more and more non-banking competitors under control. As Lenin says,

'As regards the close connection between the banks and industry, it is precisely in this sphere that the new role of banks is, perhaps, most strikingly felt. When a bank discounts a bill for a firm, opens a current account for it, etc, these operations, taken separately, do not in the least diminish its independence, and the bank plays no other part than that of a modest middleman. But when such operations are multiplied and become an established practice, when the bank "collects" in its own hands enormous amounts of capital, when the running of a current account for a given firm enables the bank - and this is what happens - to obtain fuller and more detailed information about the economic position of the client, the result is that the individual capitalist becomes more completely dependent on the bank.'

The banks have what every industrialist needs to keep up with increasingly brutal and expensive competition - money. And when they lend it out they want something back - control. GM, with its \$14 billion in

*For this and similar information on who owns what, see Progressive Labor Magazine, February, 1970.

men - the same men, financiers, - who govern the fate of the entire economy.

'Finance capital,' says Lenin, 'concentrated in a few hands and exercising a virtual monopoly, exacts enormous and ever-increasing profits from the floating of companies, issue of stock, state loans, etc, strengthens the domination of the financial oligarchy and levies tribute upon the whole of society for the benefit of the monopolists.' (16)

Barber echoes, 'Presently the assets of all institutional investors total about a trillion dollars, and of this the banks, either in terms of the assets they own in their own right or those which they administer as trustees, control about 60%. Big though it is, even this sum, in all it \$600 billion magnificence, understates the powerful role the banks play in the US economy, for banks, as the principal lenders of capital, add even more to their strength. In their capacity as trustees the banks manage most of the nation's pension funds and control more than \$125 billion in private trust accounts.' (17)

Does monopoly over the economy means monopoly over the government? Of course, even though the liberal will get cold feet and start hemming and hawing. Lenin quotes a German banking magazine as saying, 'What about the integrity of a state official who in his inmost heart is aspiring to a soft job on the Behrenstrasse?' (The main banking street in Berlin). And how about the state official who was a in banking to begin with?? Without going deeply into the tie between business and the state at this time, let us merely note down a few examples of the union of government and 'high finance' in the US in recent years. You'll notice that both the Republican and Democratic Parties are well-stocked with big capitalists:

Dean Rusk, one of the so-called 'architects of foreign policy' under LBJ, became the president of the Rockefeller Foundation.*

David Rockefeller, president of Chase Manhattan, is the chairman of the Council for Latin America, a 'public office' which might have something to do with Rockefeller interests in Latin America such as Anaconda and Kennecott copper, Venezuelan oil wells, Pan American airways, International Tel and Tel, bank branches etc.

Nelson Rockefeller, governor of New York, was also the director of the Rockefeller Center, Inc, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund*, and is on the International Development Advisory Board and the Association for Economic and Social Development*. His brother Winthrop Rockefeller is governor of Arkansas.

Robert McNamara, former Secretary of Defense and now head of the World Bank*, was the president of the Ford Division before he entered 'public service'. Ford is controlled by Morgan.

George Brown of Brown Root Co of Houston, longtime 'friend' of LBJ, is a director of IT&T, Arco Steel, TWA, First National City Bank of Houston, and the Louisiana Land and Exploration Co, involved in foreign construction in places like Vietnam.

David Kennedy, the present Secretary of the Treasury, is a vice-president of the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust (one of the top 15), the World Bank, the International Money Fund, and the Asian Development Bank; he's also a director of Abbott Labs, International Harvester (with

* See end of article for brief explanations of what these various organizations are and what they do.

If you want to find one of the main sources for the Vietnam war, you don't have far to go if you look in the right places. A New York Times story in 1965 reported that the two biggest US banks were seeking branches in South Vietnam, and quoted the First National City Bank vice-president, Henry Sperry, as saying, 'Afterwards you'll have a major job of reconstruction. That will take financing, and financing means banks.' As of 1967 US banks had branches in 55 countries, opposed to 16 in 1918. These banks comprised 298 branches, against 61 in 1918. In the areas of industry, you can see the growth of foreign production by US companies by comparing the growth figures from 1958-68, during which manufacturing increased at home 72%, abroad 471%.

And we must understand that this figure represents only a portion of the actual expansion of US capital abroad, since much is done indirectly, not through, say, a GM factory in Argentina, but through a factory controlled by US capital but in the name of someone else. For example, US capital got control in the middle fifties of 80% of the factories in Laos, although these factories were supposedly 'owned' by Laotians. Another source of US imperialist profits is giving economic or military 'aid' to countries like Laos, on the condition that they buy US weapons, products, etc. What this arrangement comes down to is, US workers' taxes are used by the government to buy McDonnell-Douglas's or Lockheed's planes, which are 'given' (paid for by our dollars) to the Laotian lackeys of the imperialists in order to destroy the workers and peasants of Laos. Or else US banks 'lend' money to Laos at exorbitant interest rates, these 'loans' paid ^{back} out of the sweat and blood of the workers and peasants of Laos. The result of these 'profitable' deals pulled off by US weapons manufacturers and bankers is poverty and war for workers here and the people of Laos. A lovely arrangement! Is it any wonder that the Laotian workers and peasants (the Pathet Lao, etc) are kicking the US imperialists' ass out of Laos?

As we can see from Barber's figures, the investment of US capital abroad (building factories, investing in foreign industries, etc) indeed acquires 'exceptional importance'. Because of capital's need to expand to get more of the market for a product, to keep up with competition, and so on - because of this US business constantly needs more. More raw materials for industry and 'defense', more markets for goods produced, more cheap labor (the LA times of June 15, 1970, said that in a Motorola factory in South Korea, electronic parts are made at one-tenth the price it would cost to produce them in the US) - this is what imperialism needs. On this third point, too, Lenin was absolutely right.

(4) THE FORMATION OF INTERNATIONAL MONOPOLIST CAPITALIST COMBINES WHICH SHARE THE WORLD AMONG THEMSELVES.

A term familiar to all of us from newspapers and television is 'sphere of influence'. Latin America is in the US' sphere of influence, Eastern Europe is in Russia's sphere of influence, there's now a question as to whose sphere of influence - the US or Russians - the Mideast is in, etc. These 'spheres of influence' are precisely the shares of the whole world that belong to each big imperialist nation.

Lenin says, 'Monopolist capitalist combines, cartels, syndicates and trusts divide among themselves, first of all, the home market, seize more or less complete possession of the industry of a country. But under capitalism the home market is inevitably bound up with the foreign market. Cap-

little but formal attention to national boundaries. "What is taking shape, slowly and tentatively, but nevertheless unmistakably," said Fortune in an editorial, "is 'one world' of business, a world in which business will truly know no frontiers, in which the paramount rule governing the movement of goods and money will be the rule of the market." (22)

It is one of the fundamental observations of Marxism that nations come into being during the rise of capitalism. Since commodity exchange on a wide scale needs a common money system, a common language, laws to systematize trade, national boundaries, etc, nations replace the small, isolated kingdoms common under feudalism. The development of new nations is taking place even today in Southeast Asia and Africa. But at the same time as capitalism builds nations, imperialism begins to break them down. The different currencies, trade laws, banking regulations and so on begin to become a barrier to further expansion on the part of the biggest industrial and financial powers, and they attempt to get around them by all sorts of methods. 'One worldism' from a capitalist standpoint (the complete freedom of the imperialist powers to expand) becomes a sort of ideal. Again, we can see where the most 'forward-looking' (within very definite limits!) imperialists approximate a Marxist standpoint, for it was Marxism, over a hundred years ago, that first began discussing in a scientific way the inevitability of one world - under socialism.

The difference between the Marxist concept and the imperialist concept of one world (where national boundaries wither away) is that the imperialists 'forget' one small point, that is, the inevitability of their imperialist 'one world' being torn apart by wars among the imperialist nations, between the imperialist nations and the oppressed semi-colonial nations, and between international finance capital and the constantly more united (by just this international capital itself) international proletariat. Imperialism can attempt to build one world only by violence and profiteering. Only socialism, which stands for the equality of all nations, can really begin to do away with the increasingly obsolete system of nations and national boundaries. But it is interesting that the imperialists themselves, by talking of 'one world', themselves admit that imperialism, just as Lenin said, is a stage of transition from 'pure' capitalism, which built nations, to socialism and communism.

The fifth of Lenin's features is as follows:

(5) THE TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF THE WHOLE WORLD AMONG THE CAPITALIST POWERS IS COMPLETED.

'The development of premonopolist capitalism,' says Lenin, 'of capitalism in which free competition was predominant, reached its limit in the 1860s and 1870s. We now see that it was precisely after that period that the tremendous "boom" in colonial conquests begins, and that the struggle for the territorial division of the world becomes extraordinarily acute. It is beyond doubt, therefore, that capitalism's transition to the stage of monopoly capitalism, to finance capital, is connected with the intensification of the struggle for the partition of the world.... Great Britain during (the years 1884-1900) acquired 3.7 million square miles of territory with a population of 57 million; France acquired 3.6 million square miles with a population of 36.5 million; Germany

magnesium.' Further, the president's International Development Advisory Board (on whose Board of Directors is - Nelson Rockefeller), set up in the fifties, reported that three-quarters of the imported materials included in the stockpile program (for the development of missiles, planes etc) come from the 'underdeveloped' nations (tungsten from South Korea and Bolivia; Columbian from Brazil and Mozambique; cobalt from the Congo and Zambia, etc etc). '...It is to these countries that we must look for the bulk of any possible increase in these supplies,' the Board continues. 'The loss of any of these materials, through aggression, would be the equivalent of a grave military set-back.' (27)

Summing up, W W Rostow, LBJ's closest advisor on national security, said in 1956, 'The location, natural resources, and populations' (!!) 'of the underdeveloped areas are such that, should they become effectively attached to the Communist bloc, the US would become the second power in the world....We evidently have a major national interest' (!), 'then, in developing a free world coalition which embraces in reasonable harmony and unity the industrialized state of Western Europe and Japan on the one hand, the underdeveloped areas of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa on the other.'

The fascist dog W W Rostow has earned the thanks of Marxists everywhere for stating the position of US imperialism briefly and clearly. The 'free world coalition' he speaks of include the fascist countries of Spain (where it is forbidden to strike), Greece, South Africa, Brazil, South Vietnam, and so on endlessly. The 'populations' include South African blacks who work for \$9 per year; the millions of (literally) starving Brazilian peasants bled white by the US-supported feudal landlords, and the Brazilian Indians being murdered by poison gas to make way for plantations (controlled by US capital); and so on. Rostow's 'national interest' is the same as the 'national interest' Fred Barch, president of General Electric (controlled by Morgan), speaks of, the same GE which increased its profits 78% in 1960-69, while their workers' wages rose 2.8%; the same GE convicted for price-fixing in 1960; the same GE that offered its workers less of a wage increase than they had lost through higher prices in 1969. (29)

Comrades and friends! How long will American workers and other toiling people put up with these degenerate swine and the obscenities they spew forth - in our name?! Not for long!

Lenin ends his discussion of the division of the world by quoting the historian Driault: 'During the past few years, all the free territory of the globe, with the exception of China, has been occupied by the powers of Europe and North America. Several conflicts and displacements of influence have already occurred over this matter, which foreshadow more terrible upheavals in the near future.' This was written seven years before the beginning of World War One. 'It is necessary to make haste,' he continues. 'The nations which have not yet made provision for themselves run the risk of never receiving their share and never participating in the tremendous exploitation of the globe which will be one of the most essential features of the next (TWENTIETH) century. That is why all Europe and America have lately been afflicted with the fever of expansion, of "imperialism", that most noteworthy feature of the end of the nineteenth century.' (30)

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin, Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in War, Collected Works, Moscow, 1956, vol.15, p15.
2. V.I. Lenin, Socialism and War, Col. Works, vol.21, p305.
3. V.I. Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1965, p105.
4. Same, p106.
5. Richard J. Barber, The American Corporation, E.P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1970, p30.
6. Same, p22.
7. Same, p169.
8. Same, p170.
9. Imperialism, p14.
10. The Amer. Corp., p25
11. Imperialism, p44.
12. The Amer. Corp., p62.
13. Same, p65.
14. Same, p65.
15. Same, p64.
16. Imperialism, p61.
17. The Amer. Corp., p64.
18. Quoted in The Age of Imperialism, by Harry Magdoff, Modern Reader, New York and London, 1969, p67.
19. Imperialism, p79, p86.
20. The Amer. Corp., p254.
21. Same, p264.
22. Same, p264.
23. Imperialism, p92.
24. Same, p98.
25. Same, p99.
26. The Age of Imperialism, p45.
27. Same, p51.
28. Same, p54.
29. People's Tribune, (political paper of the Communist League,) vol.2, no.1
30. J.E. Driault, Social and Political Problems, quoted in Imperialism, p104.

capital was that their governments were following undesirable policies. The solution, therefore, was for the IBRD to withhold loans in a strategic attempt to encourage (blackmail) the government into changing their policies. (Quoted by Magdoff, p143)

Magdoff goes on to say, 'The Bank sets up rigid conditions of control over independent nations as terms for its loans, dictating, as in the case of the Yankee Power Project in Thailand, that the government set up a separate Power Board apart from the normal government authority; that all key positions in the electric power authority, including general manager, be made with prior consultation with the Bank; and that no contracts be let without approval of the consulting engineers who in turn must be approved by the World Bank.' (p143)

With people like McNamara and David Kennedy running the World Bank, you can be pretty sure it's not going to be the workers and peasants of Thailand, etc, who get to 'approve' what's done - to them, and in their name.

The question remained unsettled until a few weeks later when our collective received a directive from the central committee to re-organize our sections so that communist work is primary. Many of the same arguments I had given (though my criticisms have deepened since then) were the reasons for the organizational re-evaluation, but in this case the comrades were in full agreement and thought it was correct. Or did they?

Time now has elapsed since the directive was implemented throughout the League. The results have clearly shown in the newspaper, and recently distributed leaflets, that the problem in the League does not lie in the need to make "communist work" primary, but actually the leadership does not even appear to understand these concepts. Why else can so-called communist leaflets be written and distributed that differ from anti-imperialist propaganda only in that "CCL" is added at the bottom. A good example is the most recent leaflet on the Chicano Moratorium. In no way does it attempt to explain how socialism is in the interests of the working class. And with regard to the united front, it is an example of "all unity and no struggle." It simply endorses wholesale the Chicano Moratorium.

It was Comrade Nelson that said, "I've never before seen an organization with such spirit, that comrades carry out tasks without fully understanding them." From this statement alone we can see that the lack of communist training of cadre at all levels in the League is no accident. This statement, plus the different attitude displayed when the subject of united front work was initiated by a higher body brings us to another contradiction: slavishness versus self-reliance. Comrade Stalin has said, "The strong point of the new cadres is that they are acutely sensitive to what is new and are therefore enthusiastic and active to a high degree-- The very qualities which some of the old cadres lack." Chairman Mao sums it up this way, "Cadres, new and old, should respect each other, learn from each other and overcome their shortcomings by learning from each other's strong points, so as to unite as one in the common cause and guard against sectarian tendencies." I have seen in my experience with the League strong sectarian tendencies in dealing with comrades who struggle at lower levels; and Comrade Nelson's statement, describing how comrades blindly follow instructions, is encouraging nothing more than pure and simple slavishness. Chairman Mao puts forth that, "Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads (self-reliance) and carefully think over whether it corresponds to reality and is really well founded (analyze); on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness."

Approximately three to four weeks prior to the announcement of an ideological rectification campaign to be initiated, I had waged a struggle in my collective around the question of ideological weakness that I felt was the basis for allowing the uneven development of cadre in the League to go unchecked. From the outset of the discussion it was evident that the comrades had engaged in very little discussion before around the significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China. The urgency to grasp the teachings of Mao, on deepening our ideological understanding, was clearly demonstrated in the results of this one discussion.

It was precisely due to the experience of the Soviet Union, to the errors as well as the achievements, that was responsible to a great degree, for developing Marxism-Leninism to a higher stage; Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

In their study of this era, the Chinese discovered that the main internal weakness was due to over emphasis placed on the development of the economic base while not recognizing in theory that classes and class struggle continue under the dictatorship of the proletariat and under socialism for a long historical period. While the entire country of Russia was preoccupied with socialist production, the superstructure was not transformed and not transformed correctly, enabling opportunism to consolidate itself and eventually take over.

Chairman Mao says, "It (materialist dialectics) holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis for change." In applying this knowledge to the actual circumstances at the time in the Soviet Union, we will objectively want to look to Stalin, not to characterize him as some immortal human, incapable of error; but instead to open our minds and investigate just where it was that these errors of Stalin were made that allowed the internal conditions to weaken. Mao has said on the subject, "You can't solve a problem? Well, get down and investigate the present facts and its past history! When you have investigated the problem thoroughly, you will know how to solve it. Conclusions invariably come after investigation, and not before. Only a blockhead cudgels his brains on his own, or together with a group, to "find a solution" or "evolve an idea" without making any investigation. It must be stressed that this cannot possibly lead to any effective solution or any good idea." (Oppose Book Worship) But the League repudiates this analysis in theory and practice. Outside the collective to critically analyze Stalin would be to violate centralism; inside the collective to critically analyze Stalin would be to take an anti-Marxist position. Therefore, the League's line on the errors of Stalin is: Comrades cannot discuss the errors of Stalin internally (defined as an "antiMarxist position"), comrades cannot discuss the errors of Stalin externally (defined as "attacking" Stalin and a violation of democratic centralism); therefore, one might conclude that it is forbidden to critically analyze!

The most important place to discuss the errors of Stalin is among the workers. The proletariat won't be fooled by simply evading the question. "The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." (Mao; Quotations from Mao Tse-Tung p. 198) Communists must be prepared for such questions from among the people; but an organization that refuses to discuss a particular question organizationally, will certainly not be able to honestly deal with these contradictions among the people. To attack Stalin is to attack the working class; but critically analyze him is a service to the working class--and the duty of communists.

It is also argued that the reason we don't criticize Stalin is because the bourgeoisie does. (Is that reason enough to not criticize ourselves

The success of the Chinese, in repudiating revisionism and the erroneous economist theory of the productive forces, was due to their Marxist-Leninist approach in analyzing the revolutionary period in Russia. The CCL has not made a scientific analysis of this period; and any attempts to do so (seek the truth) is characterized as being; "anti-Stalin", "anti-working class", or the most popular, "Trotskyism". For the League, or anyone, to characterize his errors--is to discredit the real greatness of his leadership and to distort the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. The League tries to copy Stalin's strengths and his weaknesses; to mechanically copy his strengths is to reduce them to a caricature; to copy uncritically his errors reminds me of Marx's remark that history often repeats itself, "The first time is tragedy; the second is farce." (Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte)

"To oppose the subjectivist, one-sided approach to problems, we must demolish dogmatist subjectiveness and one-sidedness." (Mao Tse-Tung; Rectify the Party's Style of Work) Dogmatism exists to a serious extent within the CCL. This is not a characteristic of the League that the comrades are unaware of. Quite the contrary, for when on occasion I have criticized this tendency, the comrades were quick to remind me that dogmatism is a positive quality; one that Marxists should strive for! It was Stalin, at the 6th Congress of the Bolshevik Party held in Petrograd, July 26 to Aug. 3, 1917, that said, "There is dogmatic Marxism and creative Marxism. I stand by the latter." An example:

(This example will attempt to illustrate how all the manifestations of subjectivism, that exist in the League, can be found in the analysis of just one discussion.)

Recently, after the YCL* conference, a group of five comrades and four contacts got together. In discussing the events of the evening there was mention of a person who had "split" from the YCL. This person was referred to by one of the comrades as a "blond bastard".

(1. dogmatism versus Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought)

(a. characterization versus scientific analysis)

My response to such chauvinism, was that this was not a communist attitude. I explained that we must concern ourselves and not see our views as fixed and final for all time. With the only necessary tool, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, we don't have to resort to "name calling". "We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from analysis of these facts." (Mao Tse-Tung; Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art)

(b. slavishness versus self-reliance)

I questioned the comrades if they had each investigated exactly what these differences are; they explained that on the basis that these people had "split" from the YCL, was sufficient proof that they are traitors to the working class. They did not agree that their conclusion was based on heresay, which is a mere substitute for the truth.

* (Editor's note: YCL is the abbreviation for Young Communist League. Also, CCL - California Communist League - was formerly the name for the CL, or Communist League)

you were merely pretending all along to be our friend, while actually you are an enemy.'

Therefore it is a 'slave-owner's mentality' that produces lazy dogmatists. Mao says that "dogmatists are lazybones." For those who solemnly adhere to the "unprincipled peace policy", they are guaranteed a life that is "stabilized". "Some comrades do not like to think much about difficulties. But difficulties are facts; we must recognize as many difficulties as there are and should not adopt a 'policy of non-recognition'. We must recognize difficulties, analyze them and combat them. There are no straight roads in the world; we must be prepared to follow a road which twists and turns and not try to get things on the cheap." (Mao Tse-Tung; On the Chungking Negotiations Selected Works Vol IV p. 59)

What is perhaps most disturbing about this incident is the racial slur against the person in question. And since I opposed such a slur as "blond bastard" (would we attack a Negro with whom we disagreed as a "black bastard"?) from a position generally critical, it was not necessary for the comrades to compound their initial error and all chime in that he was a "blond bastard and we'll stick to it." It is a little difficult to tell here whether it is racism or slavishness ("My CCL right or wrong") that is principal in causing this approach.

The League talks about ideological struggle and encourages the comrades to struggle, but from what I've seen they waste no time in implementing an "isolation campaign" on those comrades who dare to struggle! The results cannot be seen as yet, but such a style of work will contribute nothing but harm to the revolution. "The masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. Those who can only follow the old routine in a revolutionary period are utterly incapable of seeing this enthusiasm. They are blind and all is dark ahead of them. At times they go so far as to confound right and wrong and turn things upside down. Haven't we come across enough persons of this type? Those who simply follow the old routine invariably under-estimate the people's enthusiasm. Let something new appear and they always disapprove and rush to oppose it. Afterwards, they have to admit defeat and do a little self-criticism. But the next time something new appears, they go through the same process all over again. This is their pattern of behavior in regard to anything and everything new. Such people are always passive, always fail to move forward at the critical moment, and always have to be given a shove in the back before they move a step." (Mao Tse-Tung; The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside Chinese edition Vol. II) The League's tendency to "stand pat" and isolate dissidents is directly related to its tendency to place its own unity above the class.

(2. metaphysics versus dialectics)

(a. unity, struggle, unity)

"Idealism and metaphysics are the easiest things in the world, because people can talk as much nonsense as they like without basing it on objective reality or having it tested against reality. Materialism and dialectics, on the other hand, need effort. They must be based on

operate, in turn allow the comrades to dismiss a letter like this. Chairman Mao teaches us, "Throughout history, new and correct things have often failed at the outset to win recognition from the majority of the people and have had to develop by twists and turns in the struggle."

Comrades will perhaps say that "if she was any good she would have fought it through." Well, I would generally agree, and on the basis of struggle being the essence of revolutionary practice, my decision had been to 'stay in' and struggle. Time went on and my understanding developed to a higher level on these fundamental differences. These contradictions on which I was basing my criticisms on were merely manifestations of the real problem. The real problem, subjectivism, is in the very foundation that the League was built on. Therefore if the manifestations are found at the lower levels, then the basis for the problem and principal contradiction is deeply entrenched in leadership. My struggle would therefore be with leadership, because to resolve these manifestations we must first deal with the basis for them.

Whatever or wherever we are struggling must be based on an analysis of the needs of the over-all struggle of the proletariat for socialism. Chairman Mao says, "They (communists) must grasp the principle of subordinating the needs of the part to the needs of the whole. If a proposal appears feasible for a partial situation but not for the situation as a whole, then the part must give way to the whole. Conversely, if the proposal is not feasible for part but is feasible in the light of the situation as a whole, again the part must give way to the whole." In my analysis, for me to prepare to spend as much time as necessary to struggle over the initial principles around which an organization is formed is not to subordinate the part to the whole. Therefore, for me to remain in the CCL while I am conscious that my time could be more beneficial to the working class elsewhere is in essence doing harm to the revolution. "To govern one's own conduct by this style is to harm oneself, to teach it to others is to harm others, and to use it to direct the revolution is to harm the revolution. To sum up, this subjectivist method which is contrary to science and Marxism-Leninism is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation; it is a manifestation of impurity in Party spirit." (Mao Tse-Tung; Reform our Study)

Lack of experience and the fact that I've been a Marxist for only one year has been chiefly the cause of a number of tactical errors on my part. It is also attributed to why I achieved only little success in convincing other comrades of my ideas.

It was comrade Nelson that has said on many occasions that comrades are either "moving toward or away from the League." If conforming to that analysis, then I am moving away from the League. But, before I leave, I hereby present this letter of resignation and my criticisms to the CCL. My real hope in writing this letter is that I will be proven wrong --that the comrades will weep the truth! "Blame not the speaker, but be warned by his words."

Comradely, Susan -

entire period in which I was a member and before my last week; but the rest have been added following my statement of resignation.

The charges are not of a political nature but stress organizational errors only. Other than the innuendo about Stalin it is evident that the League is not interested in even discussing the political issues. This is a prime example of how the League operates. In filing these charges over a week after having received my statement of resignation, the League is clearly justifying their political position by an organizational maneuver.

of Susan Y's criticisms, and show that they do not constitute a base for splitting. There correct aspects relate to the questions of united front vs. communist work, and of ideological rectification, which she discusses on pp20-22 of her letter. She says about the first:

Very early in my practice with the League I initiated a discussion in my collective around why there was almost total emphasis placed on united front work while communist work was either neglected or seemingly avoided. (p20)

Comrades, all of us, on the higher and lower levels, are aware of errors made along these lines in the past. Many of us, in fact, have raised quite similar criticisms which have been acted on, as Susan Y herself admits. We have raised these criticisms freely in both lower and higher bodies without fear of 'isolation campaigns' etc being directed against us. The basic question is not one of past errors, but of what we have done to correct them. Susan Y is very fond of quoting, so I will copy her and quote Lenin:

The attitude of a political party toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest criteria of the seriousness of the party, and of how it fulfills, in practice, its obligation toward its class and toward the masses of working people.

Were our errors ones of basic line? No. We go for our guidance to Stalin, Dimitroff and the Comintern. Our errors were ones of applying what we knew, of grasping concretely the meaning of united front work in a period when there is no party to lead the class, when many of us suffer from such ideological weaknesses as anti-communism, fear of the masses, and 'mechanicalness'. Experience teaches, however, and we are in the midst of rectification of our communist work and united front work, and have every confidence in our ability to push ahead on the basis of the League line as expressed in such articles as 'Build a Class Party, Build a Mass Struggle' (People's Tribune, vol 1, #6) and so on. The same is true of bad leaflets, which I daresay we have all written at one time or another. (I do not mean the ones around the Chicano Moratorium, which were not bad.) Do we use them as an excuse for getting a bad case of the 'petty bourgeois blues', as Engels says, for attacking the line of the League? or do we use them as a basis for real criticism? Merely stating the question in this way gives us the answer. Susan's approach reminds me of the 'Marxists' like Plekhanov who attacked the Bolshevik Party and the entire Russian masses for not winning in 1905-07, and subsequently deserted to the bourgeoisie. But when October 1917, came around, who was on top and who on the bottom, the working class and the Bolsheviks, or these 'Marxists'?

Furthermore, when Susan Y (whose original criticisms have 'deepened') attempts more, attempts to render her criticisms 'more profound', she falls into unutterable confusion. She says, 'Such (UNITED FRONT" work has its place in a communist organization but generally must come after considerable inroads have been made among the most advanced.' (p20) To separate the two kinds of work is to deny both. How, comrades, do we activate the advanced elements (make 'inroads') had develop their capacity to 'raise the level of the intermediate and win over the backward'

and subsequently adds on separate and independent segments to itself. First you have Marxism, then you have Marxism-Leninism (separated by a hyphen), finally you have Marxism-Leninism-Maoist Thought. Simple, isn't it? Not a word about how everything Lenin said, all of his 'developments of Marxism to a higher stage', were developments of things contained in Marx and Engels, often, of course, in embryo, but there nonetheless. And not a word about how everything Mao has said and done is, similarly, contained in full or in embryo in the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. If you treat matters in this way, if you treat Marxism as a science and not a tapeworm, you can't get away with what Susan Y tries: namely, to split Mao, the Cultural Revolution etc off, to reify them, so to speak, that is, to make them things in themselves, separate from Marxism (the League) and especially, that's right - Stalin.

Susan Y 'deepens' her criticisms of ideological weaknesses in the League by passing directly from them to 'the fundamental reasons' for them. These boil down to the League's line on and defense of Stalin.

STALIN

Susan Y instinctively grasps the importance of the Stalin question, spending more than a page on it. It is in her and the League's line on Stalin that all her 'fundamental differences' (they indeed are) with the League manifest themselves, both theoretical (the nature of the experience of the USSR, the Cultural Revolution, etc) and practical (the 'slavishness' and 'sectarianism' of the League, its 'dogmatism' etc). Why do I say, comrades, that these differences 'manifest themselves' in the question of Stalin, that they do not, for example, 'originate' in it? In other words, why is the difference on Stalin a symptom instead of the cause of Susan Y's split?

Because we, as materialists, must see the material world as coming first, before ideas. We must understand that the fundamental question is not that of Susan Y vs. Stalin (just as it never was that of Trotsky or Bukharin vs. Stalin), but of bourgeois ideology vs. Marxism. Trotsky, and later on Liu Shao-ch'i did not attack Stalin for some abstract, theoretical reason. They (like Khrushchov) attacked him in order to lay the basis in the Party and among the people for doubts about the dictatorship of the proletariat, about socialism, and about the people themselves in the USSR and China. They attacked him in order to justify their anti-Marxist counter-revolutionary attempts to destroy socialism.

Just as the bourgeoisie has always attacked communism and Stalin (like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao) to justify preparation for war, aggression, dirty deals, and so on; and just as various deviators within the communist movement have attacked Stalin to justify their own petty-bourgeois anarchism, spinelessness, lack of principles and lack of confidence in the proletariat - similarly, Susan Y and her ilk attack Stalin in order to justify their organizational opportunism, rebellion against centralism, and, finally, their rebellion against the Line, Marxism-Leninism. In a moment I will sum up this dialectic between 'the thesis', petty-bourgeois anarchism; 'the antithesis', which is theoretical confusion about Stalin; and how these lead to 'the syn-

it because of Engels's 'inexperience' that revisionism took hold in the German Party, or because of 'material conditions primarily, the 'twists and turns' - the peaceful expansion of imperialism and the renegacy of Bernstein and Kautsky, etc? The formulation 'inexperience' sounds reasonable but is in fact abstract and needing of plenty of supporting evidence, none of which is given.)

Second of all, are Stalin and the League in fact guilty of this error 'of the productive forces'? Instead of quoting from Economic Problems of the USSR, where Stalin with crystal clarity demolishes Comrade Yaroshenko's errors on precisely this point, I will give an example or two from Stalin's earlier work on the question of 'the superstructure reacting on the base'. Here is one from The History of the CPSU (B), Short Course:

An important place in Comrade Stalin's report (to the Seventeenth Party Congress, 1934) was given to the question of ideological-political leadership. He warned the Party that although its enemies, the opportunists and national deviators of all shades and complexions, had been defeated, remnants of their ideology still lingered in the minds of some Party members and often asserted themselves. The survivals of capitalism in economic life and particularly in the minds of men (NOTE THIS) provided a favorable soil for the revival of the ideology of the defeated anti-Leninist groups. The development of people's mentality (THE SUPERSTRUCTURE) does not keep pace with their economic position. As a consequence, survivals of bourgeois ideas still remained in men's minds and would continue to do so (FOR "A LONG HISTORICAL PERIOD, PERHAPS?") even though capitalism had been abolished in economic life. (p321)

Compare this passage with Mao's statement in his Speech at the CCP's National Conference on Propaganda Work:

In our country bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, anti-Marxist ideology, will continue to exist for a long time. Basically, the socialist system has been established in our country. **We have won the basic victory** in transforming the ownership of the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political and ideological fronts. In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. (Red Book, p19)

How do these two statements differ? They don't. Both make a clear distinction between the economic sphere (and economic classes) and the political and ideological sphere (and political and ideological classes). Stalin speaks of the 'abolishment of capitalism in economic life', which in 1934 approached conclusion. Mao talks about the 'basic victory in transforming the ownership of the means of production', that is, about the economic victory of socialism. But - in contrast to the almost-completed abolishment of class antagonisms in production, both talk about class ideology in men's minds which remains after the material base for them has been abolished, because (as Stalin says here as well as in Dialectical and Historical Materialism, etc) the productive forces invariably outstrip the productive relations, the superstructure does not develop as fast as the base. The existence

- is completely different from - the 'Reference Material' etc which follow it in the 1967 edition.)

8) For their own ulterior purposes, the authors of the Report (PUT OUT BY THE REVISIONIST 'GROUP OF FIVE') demand a 'rectification campaign' against the staunch Left in a deliberate effort to create confusion, blur class alignments and divert people from the target of struggle.

Then, from an article called 'Epic Changes in Two Years' in China Pictorial, 1968 #9:

Chairman Mao pointed out: 'The great proletarian cultural revolution is in essence a great political revolution under the conditions of socialism made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.'

The handful of deposed capitalist roaders were not reconciled to their defeat. To protect themselves, they created dissension among the masses, pitting one group against another. They made common cause with the bad elements who had wormed their way into the revolutionary mass organizations, to oppose and attack the proletarian headquarters.

At this crucial juncture personnel of the Chinese PLA helping the Left arrived. Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's great teaching, 'Never Forget Class Struggle', they went deep among the broad masses to publicize repeatedly Chairman Mao's latest instructions. ... Mass organizations that had been at loggerheads with each other soon entered into revolutionary great alliances. The spearhead of struggle was directed against China's Khrushchov and the handful of capitalist roaders, renegades, special agents and counter-revolutionaries in the printing press. (THE ARTICLE IS ABOUT A PRINTING-FACTORY)

It was necessary to re-direct the attack directly at the real enemy - 'the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes' - because this same enemy was trying everything possible to direct attention away from itself and onto the people. How? In large part by abstracting the whole notion of revisionism, 'the bourgeoisie' and the cultural revolution itself - by 'blurring class alignments and creating confusion'. These fascist dog revisionists set the masses against each other by accusing them - accusing this student group, that mass organization, this teacher, that PLA unit - of being the revisionists, of having revisionist ideas. 'The discussion in the press,' say the authors of the Report (Circular, p4), 'should not be confined to political questions, but should go fully into the various academic and theoretical questions involved.' In other words, If we keep it strictly theoretical and away from the realm of power, we can accuse anyone we want - for example, the real Left - of having revisionist ideas, and so forth, for doesn't everybody have bad tendencies, hasn't everybody made mistakes at one time or another? This is the line of

'error of the productive forces', Dialectical and Historical Materialism, where he discusses not once but twice, at the beginning and end of the book, the tremendous role of ideas, 'the superstructure', with regard to the material base, should be gone over. To accuse Stalin or the League of being guilty of the error of the productive forces is to prove yourself a total illiterate in Marxism. What is Stalin's sin in the eyes of these anarchist intellectual illiterates? It's that he doesn't see ideas as being primary all the time (as they do), it's that there was no Cultural Revolution (such as they define it) in Russia. Mao Tsetung, you see, being superman, wished the Cultural Revolution to happen, made it materialize out of thin air. Dumb Stalin, ridden with theoretical 'errors', wasn't godlike to generate spontaneously this Cultural Revolution in a totally different historical situation. Since for Susan ~~Y~~ etc ideas are principal in history, Stalin could have made a cultural revolution happen if he'd been smart enough; but he wasn't, and he didn't. This is the 'content' of her exposition of Stalin's 'errors', the ones she will 'discuss' among the workers. I wish her luck.

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

To punish Susan ~~Y~~ for her phrasemongering, I have saved the best for last on this question of the League's 'theoretical errors'. I refer to the way she sets up in opposition to each other these two statements:

Most important: they (THE CHINESE) have made a century of technological and industrial progress in two decades. (Draft Proposal for Merger of MLWA and CCL, Feb 1970)

This wide dissemination of Mao Tsetung Thought in a big country with a population of 700 million people is the most significant achievement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. (Lin Biao, Address to Ninth Party Congress, p24 of the letter)

Are these two statements in contradiction, comrades? Let's refer for an answer to an arch Stalinist - Lenin - quoting another arch Stalinist - Marx:

In Capital, Karl Marx ridicules the pompous and grandiose bourgeois-democratic great charter of liberty and the rights of man, ridicules all this phrase-mongering about liberty, equality and fraternity in general (SUCH AS WE MIGHT RIDICULE PHRASEMONGERING ABOUT THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN GENERAL, WHICH DOES NOT CONSIDER WHAT IT WAS FOR), which dazzles the petty bourgeois and philistines of all countries.... Marx contrasts these pompous declarations of rights to the plain, modest, practical, simple manner in which the question is presented by the proletariat - the legislative enactment of a shorter working day is a typical example of such treatment. The aptness and profundity of Marx's observation become the clearer and more obvious to us the more the content of the proletarian revolution unfolds. The 'formulas' of genuine communism differ from the pompous, intricate and solemn phraseology of the Kautskys, the Mensheviks (ETC) ...in that they reduce everything to the conditions of labor.
(A Great Beginning)

a tactic (not some thing in itself) in the drive of the masses and their leaders to win the battle of 'the workers' earnings and their working day'.

The League understands this, Lin Piao understands it. But the bourgeois intellectual, caught in his subjective idealist 'superstructure-monogering', will never understand it, and is doomed not to take part in the 'simple, plain, ordinary' business of revolution. He will continue to quote Lin Piao against the League line, and thus manifest his aristocratic - hysteria and confusion.

MAO TSETUNG'S PLACE IN HISTORY

Mao Tsetung is the greatest living Marxist-Leninist. Applying the science of Marxism in a living way and by doing so developing and enriching it, he has proved an infallible guide for the Chinese people and the people of the world. Profoundly understanding, like Lenin and Stalin before him, the nature of revisionism, he has safeguarded the treasure of Marxism, safeguarded the proletariat - and the magnificent child of these, the dictatorship of the proletariat - from the swine who would deny and destroy it. Understanding the importance of his Party, he has continually worked to strengthen and enrich it, to expose and purge the revisionists and other lackeys of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement. He has carried on the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in a brilliant way, and in doing so has added his name to theirs as one of the very greatest scientists of the class struggle.

Is there a contradiction between the teachings of Mao and those of Stalin? Here is what he says in 'Reform our Study':

...In studying Marxism-Leninism, we should use the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Short Course) as the principal material. It is the best synthesis and summing up of the world communist movement in the past hundred years, a model in the integration of theory and practice, and so far the only comprehensive model in the whole world. When we see how Lenin and Stalin integrated the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Soviet revolution and thereby developed Marxism, we shall know how we should work in China.

If Susan E ever edits an edition of Mao's works, no doubt she will include a footnote to this passage saying something like, 'Of course Mao does not refer here to the numerous 'errors of Stalin' which permeate the book: 'the error of productive forces', his lack of understanding that classes and class struggle continue to exist under socialism for a long historical period, etc.' Perhaps she will explain this interesting omission by saying that Mao was being a bit 'slavish' here, or that he fell into the error of 'dogmatism' or 'subjectivism' - that he thoughtlessly, in this one place, 'copies Stalin's weaknesses as well as his strengths'. Whatever she says, however, is bound to be an interesting - revision. I sincerely hope that Susan E does discuss these errors 'among the workers', if she knows any, so that they'll have an opportunity to put her 'ideas' where they belong.

'The Party tie,' says Lenin in One Step Forward, 'must be founded on formal, "bureaucratically" worded Rules (bureaucratic from the standpoint of the undisciplined intellectual), strict adherence (WITH OR WITHOUT "FULL UNDERSTANDING") to which can alone safeguard us from the wilfulness and caprices (DISGUISED UNDER THE SLOGAN "FIGHT DOGMATISM") characteristic of the circles, from the circle wrangling that goes by the name of the free "process" (THE "ADMITTEDLY LOW THEORETICAL LEVEL") of the ideological struggle.' The League has a line and formal rules of democratic centralism. Comrade Nelson is right to applaud the sort of spirit which is manifested by people who carry out orders 'without fully understanding them', because in a real, communist organization these people possess also the other half of this lack of understanding, that is, the eagerness to grasp, to 'fully understand' in the act of testing the order and line in real struggle. This is what proletarian ideology is.

Susan Y is constantly referring to casual remarks of comrades made (according to her), private discussions etc, none of it relating to the League's line. The point we must consider is, Admitting that all of us in the League have backward traits, what does the League do about such unavoidable differences in the levels of various comrades? In a growing organization, as comrade Nelson said at the Merger Conference, growth means a lowering of the level of the whole. But does the League tail behind people's backwardness, or does it systematically set about to correct the errors comrades make, to raise the level of all comrades by study, by practical work, by internal struggle and by criticism and self criticism? Susan Y, in a hurt tone of voice, talking of 'isolation campaigns' etc being directed against comrades who struggle, of course denies that the League is interested in correcting real errors (not garbage like her thesis on 'Stalin's errors' after the saturation point is reached) and raising the level of the whole. But I think we know different, comrades.

LIKE OATS, PETTY BOURGEOIS DEVIATIONS GROW ACCORDING TO HEGEL

It is an old trick of opportunists to 'fulminate' against 'the demand for "implicit obedience";' says Lenin in One Step Forward. Summing up we should ask, what is it that ties all of Susan Y's various 'theses' and accusations together? It is the 'dialectic' between petty bourgeois ideology and opportunist theory I spoke of before. Lenin says in the same book,

'...The factory, which seems only a bogey to some, represents that highest form of capitalist cooperation which has united and disciplined the proletariat, taught it to organize, and placed it at the head of all the other sections of the toiling and exploited population. And Marxism, the ideology of the proletariat trained by capitalism, has been and is teaching unstable intellectuals to distinguish between the factory as a means of exploitation (discipline based on fear of starvation) and the factory as a means of organization (discipline based on collective work united by the conditions of a technically highly developed form of production). The discipline and organization which come so hard to the bourgeois intellectual are very easily acquired by the proletariat just because of this factory 'schooling'.

the working class. Finally, this absurd system of views about Stalin's 'errors' (doubts about the dictatorship of the proletariat disguised in flashing 'Left' academic dress) is used as an excuse, after he is expelled for breaking the line, to attack the League. If Stalin hadn't existed, you might say, it would have been necessary to invent him. And historically it was. Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and Marx and Engels, were attacked for the same things as Stalin is attacked for now.

The dialectic goes like this. Feelings of rebelliousness in the face of proletarian discipline, 'the base' of petty bourgeois ideology, are transformed into a 'line' on Stalin's errors, 'slavishness', 'dogmatism' etc, which constitutes 'the superstructure'. In turn, this 'theory' is used further to strengthen the base, to give it theoretical justification, just as bourgeois ideology is used by the bourgeoisie to support capitalism, and the 'anti-monopoly alliance' of the CPUSA is used by them to justify what they have always wanted to do, idolize John F Kennedy. Susan Y* no doubt believes that the League's 'fundamental errors' on Stalin, etc, were the reasons she split. But the League knows that it was her refusal to push the line and to accept discipline that was the reason for her being expelled.

Isn't the dialectics of it beautiful? And it goes even further than this, because once the theoretical justification for opportunism is developed and applied, it stops, as Stalin says in Mastering Bolshevism, being simply a wrong tendency in the working class movement (an 'ignorance-knowledge' contradiction), and instead becomes a wrecking operation, a class contradiction. Quantity changes into quality. The negation (the vague doubts about Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat) is negated through interaction with ideology, it is changed into a brand new, anti-Marxist system. The base gives rise to the superstructure and in turn reacts onto it and changes it, at the same time changing itself. Oats do, as Lenin says, grow according to Hegel, and so do petty bourgeois deviations 'grow' according to Hegel. Susan * should be impressed with such a 'dialectical interplay' of base and superstructure, one which Stalin, of course, probably wouldn't 'grasp'.

SPLITS

We shouldn't be upset, comrades, when splits such as this take place. They are an excellent thing from our point of view, the necessary expulsion by a healthy, growing organism of waste matter, which, if it remained, would certainly corrupt it. 'To be attacked by the enemy is a good thing, not a bad thing, because it means that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves.'

With communist greetings,

J A

The Communist Party USA's Views on the State; or,
Right-wing 'Communism', a Senile Disorder

In the first issue of our theoretical journal we did not want to devote a lot of space to Olgin's polemic against Trotskyism, without dealing with the equally bourgeois propaganda of the revisionist CPUSA, in particular the 'New Program of the Communist Party USA'. This document is a complete and thorough exposition of bourgeois ideology within the working class movement. In the name of communism, the revisionists have distorted every basic tenet of Marx and Lenin. They have adapted Marxism-Leninism to the aims of the imperialists, and against the proletariat, on every question, from that of the state, to questions about violence, democracy, imperialism and fascism. We think it is important to deal carefully with these distortions, because they mean in practice that the working class is betrayed; that the working class is led down the path to fascist slaughter instead of to socialism. The line of the revisionist Communist Party is the theoretical justification for class collaboration with the imperialists, the butchers of the proletariat. We intend to show that the CPUSA is likewise the enemy of the proletariat, that its policy is counterrevolution in practice.

It will not be possible to deal with all of the trash in the 'New Program' in a single essay. We intend to take separate sections of it and treat them one at a time, even though the revisionist bourgeois theory and ideology is a white thread running throughout the Program, linking the separate questions in a disgusting knot of distortions and opportunism.

Here we want to deal with the section of the Program in Chapter 4, entitled 'The Socialist Path'. In this few pages there are several major distortions, all of which add up to the revisionists' furious battle to postpone the revolution and destroy the revolutionary movement. They say that our immediate strategy is not the dictatorship of the proletariat and the fight for socialism, that instead our present task is the formation of an 'anti-monopoly coalition' against 'monopoly' (the proletariat should ally with the 'small' bourgeoisie against the 'big' bourgeoisie). In other words, the US revolution will take place in two stages. First the anti-monopoly coalition stage to throw out the big imperialists, and then later on some time the fight for socialism. Further, they distort the Marxist-Leninist analysis of democracy, substituting democracy in general for class democracy and denying the class character of democracy. They talk about 'reversing the growth of militarism', 'averting monopoly violence', and contend that there is no need for the class to seize power by means of armed struggle. Finally, they evade entirely the question of the state, and the question of fascism, and divorce imperialist politics from imperialist economics.

We will deal with the deviations of the revisionists in several major areas having to do with the state, democracy, imperialism, and the concept of a revolutionary party. Our method will be to quote statements in the Program and compare them with Leninism, both separately and integrally according to topic.

'Similarly, the struggle to invade "management prerogatives" and bureaucratic prerogatives in the administration of society, and to create agencies for direct popular participation in administrative and decision-making processes can seriously weaken the power bases from which monopoly could launch violence against the people.' Here the CP says the same thing about the state bureaucratic apparatus that they said about the military, namely, that it is separate and distinct from - in fact, bears nothing but an accidental relationship to - the bourgeois state. They imply that the state bureaucracy stands above classes: 'direct popular participation in administrative and decision-making processes' etc. What 'administrative and decision-making processes' are there in a bourgeois state other than those controlled by and for the bourgeoisie?? Marx says in The Civil War in France, 'The centralized state machinery, which, with its ubiquitous and complicated military, bureaucratic, clerical and judiciary organs, entombs (enmeshes) the living society like a boa constrictor.' (Peking ed., p162) Lenin, in The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, refers to the reasons given by Marx and Engels for why the bourgeois state must be smashed: 'In order to break down the resistance of the bourgeoisie, in order to inspire the reactionaries with fear, in order to maintain the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie, in order that the proletariat may forcibly hold down its adversaries.'

The CP says we should strive for 'direct popular participation in decision-making processes.' Lenin says, '

'The toiling masses are barred from participation in bourgeois parliaments (which never decide important questions under bourgeois democracy; they are decided by the stock exchange and the banks) by thousands of obstacles, and the workers know and feel, see and realize perfectly well that the bourgeois parliaments are institutions alien to them, instruments for the oppression of the proletarians by the bourgeoisie, institution of a hostile class, of the exploiting minority.' (State and Revolution, Peking ed., p26)

The revisionists belabor and belabor the question of the bourgeois 'political processes', and it is in the context of such belaboring that the following 'formula' must be analyzed. 'Whether it attains the reins of government or not (OUR EMPHASIS) - an anti-monopoly alliance - either destroys monopoly or monopoly destroys it.' Here the question of state power is raised point blank, and dropped like a hot potato. The revisionists are telling the workers the bare-faced lie that it is unimportant whether or not state-power is taken from the imperialists! But there is no way to 'destroy monopoly' other than to take state power and crush the enemy. Otherwise the enemy crushes us. The enemy crushing us is fascism, but nothing is said of this either.

Later on the CP says that at some juncture, sometime off in the future, at a time they 'cannot now predict', the fight for socialism will become 'the immediate object of political battle'. What the CP is proposing is that the strategic aim of the proletariat in America at this time is not the struggle for state power and the establishment,

is what Lenin had to say about Kautsky:

'But we shall break with the opportunists, and the entire class-conscious proletariat will be with us in the fight - not to 'shift the relation of forces' (SIC!) but to overthrow the bourgeoisie, to destroy bourgeois parliamentarism, for a democratic republic after the type of the Commune, or a Republic of Workers' and Soldiers' deputies, for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.' (State and Revolution, p142)

In addition, do the imperialists only ATTEMPT to drown the working class movement in blood? Do they not in fact do so daily? And is it not (at least partially) reported in the papers? What was the army doing at the Desire housing projects in New Orleans last month? What were the police doing at the Chicano Moratorium in East Los Angeles, when they fired on a peaceful demonstration of Chicano working people against the butchers' war in Vietnam? What can you call it but the rotten national chauvinism of the revisionists that prevents them from seeing these continual attacks on especially the Negro Nation and national minorities here as attacks on the working class, on 'the popular will'?:

The CP has yet another version of 'shifting the relation of forces'. They say, 'Ultimately, the best guarantee for averting violence is the creation of a majority so overwhelming, so firm of purpose and commanding such positions of power as to restrain and minimize monopoly's use of force.' Isn't this just like Kautsky's arguments in 1917? and refuted by Lenin that same year?

'Infatuated with the "purity" of democracy, blind to its bourgeois character, he consistently urges that the majority, since it is the majority, need not "break down the resistance" of the minority, nor "forcibly hold it down" - it is sufficient to suppress cases of infringement of democracy....Kautsky... takes formal equality for actual equality.' (Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, p33)

The CP talks about 'commanding positions of power'. There are no positions to be commanded other than positions of state power to suppress by force the bourgeoisie, but the CP is silent about this. Their line is the same as Kautsky's: Why do we need a dictatorship when we have a majority?

'To confine Marxism to the doctrine of class struggle means curtailing Marxism, destroying it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class-struggle to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the petty (as well as the big) bourgeois. (State and Revolution, p40)

The discrepancy between modern revisionism and Leninism is again obvious. Lenin says, 'No, democracy is not identical with the subordination of the minority. Democracy is a state which recognizes the subordination

ever been any more thorough-going traitors to the working class than the stinking revisionist corpses of the Communist Party USA; its mentor the CPSU, and so on?

CIVIL WAR OR PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM?

In State and Revolution (pp28-9), Lenin says that Marx's definition of the state was a slap in the face of the opportunists' prejudices concerning the 'peaceful development of democracy', and of the pretty pictures painted by the petty bourgeois democrats of the socialist transformation of society as a 'peaceful submission of the minority to the majority'. In light of this, let us examine what the modern revisionists of the CPUSA have to say: 'The question remains, however, whether the democratic will of the people can be brought to expression by relatively peaceful means, that is, without armed insurrection, without civil war.' Lenin says flatly, 'The supersession of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution.' Perhaps the CP would answer to this that Marx and Engels, at one time, proposed that it was possible to effect a peaceful transition to socialism in the US. (Marx did this indirectly in his letter to Kugelmann of April 12, 1871, quoted by Lenin on p44 of State and Revolution.) But what was the reason for this exclusion of the US (as well as of England)? They had no 'militarist clique' and a minimal state bureaucracy at that time. But Lenin continues:

'Today, in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this qualification made by Marx is no longer valid. Both England and America...have today completely sunk into the all-European filthy, bloody morass of bureaucratic-military institutions which subordinate everything to themselves and trample everything underfoot. Today, in England and in America, too, 'the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution' is the smashing, the destruction of the 'ready-made state machinery'.....' (p45)

What could be plainer??

The CP goes on to say, 'It is naive to think that monopoly capital would be restrained by Constitutional scruples from resorting to violence to thwart the most democratic mandate for a socialist transformation....No ruling class relinquishes power passively and voluntarily.' Can this be understatement?? The bourgeoisie has shown itself not only to be not passive, but has shown that its apparatus is the historical epitome of the most highly organized violence. Lenin says, '...in every profound revolution, a prolonged, stubborn and desperate resistance of the exploiters, who for a number of years retain important practical advantages over the exploited, is the rule.' He says, '...the overthrown exploiters...throw themselves with energy grown tenfold...into the battle for recovery of the "paradise" of which they've been deprived.' (State and Revolution, p35) And yet the CP can talk of the possibility of peace with the bourgeoisie. It is of course legitimate to say that the proletariat seeks the most peaceful means to achieve its ends. But in light of the development of fascism in the USA only traitors confine themselves to discussion of peaceful and nonviolent methods of struggle against the state. Only traitors fail to discuss the international pressures which will force the US bourgeoisie to tighten the screws on its own working class:

ments (today peaceful, tomorrow warlike, the nextday warlike again) for the question of the substance of the struggle and agreements between capitalist combines is to sink to the role of a sophist.' (Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Peking ed., p89) Further,

'The essence of the matter is that Kautsky detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics, speaks of annexations as being a policy "preferred" by finance and opposes to it another bourgeois policy which, he alleges, is possible on this very same basis of finance capital.' (Ibid., p110)

Another distortion of the CP on the question of the imperialist stage of capitalism revolves around the question whether militarism is one of its essential features. Lenin says, in The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky (again the CP is refurbishing Kautsky),

'...Premonopoly capitalism - which reached its zenith actually in the 1870s - by virtue of its fundamental economic traits, which found a most typical expression in England and America, distinguished by a, relatively speaking, maximum fondness for peace and freedom. Imperialism, on the other hand, ie, monopoly capitalism, which finally matured only in the twentieth century, is, by virtue of its fundamental economic traits, distinguished by a minimum fondness for peace and freedom, and by a maximum and universal development of militarism.' (p15, Peking ed.)

Under these conditions, which far from being modified, have become ever more acute, there can never exist the possibility spoken of here by the revisionists: 'Clearly, the dismantling of the military-industrial complex and reversal of the growth of militarism would have a decisive bearing on the circumstances attending revolutionary change. Lenin says of Kautsky's similar distortion, 'To "fail to notice" this (THE MAXIMUM TENDENCY TOWARD MILITARISM) in discussing the extent to which a peaceful or violent revolution is typical or probable is to stoop to the position of a most ordinary lackey of the bourgeoisie.' (Ibid., p15)

A further distortion of the modern revisionists on the question of imperialism concerns economic crisis. In the New Program they say, 'A crisis resulting from a protracted war, from an attempt at a reactionary coup, or from an economic depression...all these are certainly possible (EMPHASIS ADDED) in our monopoly capitalist society. However, strategy cannot be hinged on such contingencies. (EMPHASIS ADDED) The CP distorts the Marxist-Leninist theory of crisis in two ways. On the one hand, they constantly refer to crises as "contingent" in order to create the impression that the contradictions of imperialism have lessened so as to allow collaboration with the bourgeoisie and "peaceful transition" and all kinds of social-chauvinism; on the other hand, they imply that the crises and demise of capitalism are inevitable without a major upheaval (protracted war, major depression etc), thus trying to persuade the proletariat to sit back and not pay too much attention to these 'possibilities' and 'contingencies' (perhaps they will soon cease altogether?), and simply wait for imperialism to die of itself.

the CP. But 'conspiracy', identified solely with right-wing coups a la Latin America, is not permissible. This proves (if there was any doubt) that the CP is really the mouthpiece of US ruling circles. What is good for the bourgeoisie is alright with the Communist Party, and what the bourgeoisie says is illegal is taboo with the revisionists. They go to fantastic lengths to convince the proletariat not to overstep the bounds of bourgeois democracy, not to build an organization of revolutionaries, not to build a real communist party to lead the working class.

The statements of the CP on 'conspiracy' on pp91-2 of their Program go as follows: 'Reactionary coups can be brought off by conspiracies, but not social revolutions. Coups are manipulations at the top.... So profound a transformation cannot be made by a coup or conspiracy.' (The reader should compare these statements by the opportunist Menshevik statements of Lenin's opponents - Martov, Trotsky etc - at the Second Party Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, 1903. They are discussed in Lenin's One Step Forward, Two Steps Back.)

It could be said of the CP's remarks are directed against the activities of terrorists: bombings of public buildings, kidnaping of officials etc. This cannot be so for two reasons. First, it is the CP itself that in fact focuses in on individual members of the bourgeoisie instead of the class as a whole as the enemy, hence opening the door for terrorism. Second, and more important, it is the CP's line of 'tactics-as-process' (e.g., 'an encompassing struggle for progressively more radical measures' - p94, Program) that raises the sponteneity of which terrorism is a manifestation to the level of principle. As Lenin says in What is to be Done? in the section called 'What is there in common between Economism and Terrorism?',

'The Economists and present-day terrorists have one common root, namely, subservience to sponteneity....The Economists and the terrorists merely bow to different poles of sponteneity; the Economists bow to the sponteneity of 'the labor movement pure and simple'; while the terrorists pow to the sponteneity of the passionate indignation of intellectuals.'

Not to speak of a class party, a General Staff for the organization and leadership of the insurrection (in the context of a detailed discussion of revolution, no less), is to imply that the revolutionary party and preparation for civil war are unnecessary; is to imply utter subservience to sponteneity. And as Lenin has shown repeatedly, subservience to sponteneity is the key ingredient in the approach of terrorists to social revolution. Thus it is impossible for the revisionists to be attacking the present-day terrorists with their comments on conspiracies. Actually, they are attacking the Leninist concept of a Party of a new type, and they attack from the Right. Here is how they accomplish this.

To begin with, the statement of the CP on 'conspiracy' are as follows: 'Reactionary coups can be brought off by conspiracies, but not social revolution. Coups are manipulations at the top....So profound a transformation cannot be made by a coup or conspiracy.'

set out to accomplish in practice, namely counter-revolution. The CP, in order to capture the attention of the progressive and revolutionary elements of the proletariat, must mask its subversion with Marxism-Leninism. Inherent in these attempts to subvert the movement and turn revolutionaries into reformists is the need to obscure the class nature of the state and the fundamental economic and political features of imperialism. To obscure these things means, as we have seen, to open the door to a whole host of deviations and distortions. The task of real revolutionary communists, followers of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, is to expose these distortions of the modern revisionists to the masses of workers, proletarian intellectuals and theoreticians, and other oppressed people in the US.

The theoretical, political and finally organizational dismemberment and destruction of the Communist Party USA is a task of first importance for Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people in general. Its completion will signal a great victory for the American working class and the international proletariat.

C. J.

notice the growth in the consciousness of strength, of the unity of the Party. We addressed Stalin with malicious counter-revolutionary insinuations. We accused the Party leadership that it did not accept measures to activate the international working-class movement. We slanderously asserted that the Central Committee handicapped the development of this movement.'

Another member of the group, Bashkirov, declared: 'Nikolaiev's shot resulted from the fact that he received his education in counter-revolution in the Trotsky-Zinoviev organization.'

Once more the name of Trotsky cropped up in connection with an attack on the Bolshevik Revolution. Once more Zinoviev (and his old associate, Kamenev) appeared as collaborating with Trotsky. This time it was no mere work barrage. A great hero was destroyed. New Russia was robbed of a talented, courageous and universally beloved working-class builder of the Socialist system. The blow was aimed at the very heart of the revolution.

'The dregs of the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition.' ...This is how the Soviet masses termed the band of plotters. And once more a gigantic surge of hatred rose among the millions of friends of the Soviet Union the world over for this man, Trotsky.

Who is he? What is Trotskyism? What are its social roots? What is the international role of the Trotsky group?

The following is to be a brief answer to these questions:

I

Trotsky's Career

Trotsky calls himself 'the true Bolshevik-Leninist'. So did the Social-Democratic hangmen of the German revolution, Noske, Scheidemann, Severing, call themselves 'true Marxists'. Trotsky loves to pose as the last of the great revolutionary figures that carries forward the tradition of Lenin. There are people, especially among the younger generation, who think of him as an 'old Bolshevik'. For wasn't he leader of the Revolution in 1917? Wasn't he at the head of the Red Army between 1918 and 1921?

These are the facts:

Trotsky started his political career around the turn of the century. In 1903, when the great division between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks took definite form, Trotsky allied himself with the Mensheviks. In one way or another he fought Bolshevism until late in the summer of 1917. Time and again he agreed with this or that point of the Bolshevik program, but soon he would join the Mensheviks to fight the Bolsheviks - and Lenin. He renewed his open hostility to Bolshevism in 1923 and has been fighting it ever since.

How did he become a revolutionary figure? He never was in the thick of the workers' life as builder of their organizations. He never succeeded

In the middle of May, 1917, in preparing for a conference, Lenin writes a synopsis for a report, in which he points out the necessity of 'being hard as stone in pursuing the proletarian line against the petty-bourgeois vacillations', and adds the following significant line:

'The vacillations of the petty-bourgeois: Trotsky...' (Lenin, Collected Works, v30, Russian edition, p331)

Trotsky, on arriving from abroad after the February revolution, joined the Social-Democratic group in Petrograd known as 'interboroughites'. This group held a Centrist position and for many years fought the Bolshevik organization in Petrograd. Even after the February revolution they favored the unification of all the groupings of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, including the social-patriots. Gradually, however, they abandoned the idea of unity with the social-patriots, leaning more and more toward acceptance of the Bolshevik policies.

Late in the summer of 1917 the 'interborough' group joined the Bolshevik Party, on the eve of the Sixth Congress of the Party held in the beginning of August. They were represented in the Congress delegation, and the new Central Committee elected by the Congress included among its 22 members three former 'interboroughites', Trotsky, Uritsky and Yoffe.

Having declared his acceptance of the Bolshevik policies, Trotsky as given full opportunity by the Central Committee to work in the interests of the Party and the working class. An effective orator, and former chairman of the first Soviet in 1905, Trotsky, late in 1917, became chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. He held this position in the decisive days of October, working under the direct guidance of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party.

During the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in November, 1917, Trotsky played an important role as a member of the Military Revolutionary Committee. But it would be absurd to say that he was the leader of the uprising.

'I am far from denying the undoubtedly important role of Comrade Trotsky in the uprising (says Stalin in his October Revolution, p71). But I must state that Comrade Trotsky did not and could not have played any special role in the October uprising; that, being the president of the Petrograd Soviet, he only carried into effect the will of the respective Party authorities, which guided every step of Comrade Trotsky.' (Article publ. Nov 26, 1924)

Among the five members appointed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on October 16 to serve as a center in charge of organizing the uprising, Trotsky's name does not appear.

'Thus (says Stalin) something "terrible" took place at this meeting of the Central Committee, ie, "in some mysterious way" the "inspirer", the "principal figure", the "only leader" of the uprising, Comrade Trotsky, did not get on the practical center,

fighters on the various battle fronts - leaders with clear revolutionary vision and strategists of the first order.

Before the thunder of the last battles of the civil war had died down Trotsky developed an open, violent opposition to the policy of Lenin in respect to the tasks of the trade unions. He wanted the unions to be, not organizations representing the the workers in the factories and the shops, in the industries, but administrative units appended to the State and carrying out governmental functions. He organized, in opposition to Lenin, a small faction that threatened to disrupt the activities of the Communist Party at a time when unity was a question of life and death. Lenin branded this factionalism as a disruptive act. He said:

'Even if the 'new tasks and methods' had been pointed out by Trotsky as highly correctly as in reality they have been pointed out incorrectly throughout....by such an approach alone Trotsky would have caused injury both to himself, to the Party, to the union movement, to the education of millions of members of the labor unions, and to the Republic. (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XXVI, Russian Ed., p116.)

Trotsky was defeated. Had his 'plan' succeeded, that would have wrecked the entire Soviet system.

In 1923 he again resumes his opposition to the Bolshevik Party. This time it is no more a single question. It is the whole Communist Party, its structure, its activities, its entire line that irk him. At first he was alone among the outstanding leaders. In 1926 he was joined by Zinoviev and Kamenev who, in Novemeber, 1917, had distinguished themselves by being opposed to the uprising and to the seizure of power by the Bolshevik Party and were branded by Lenin as 'strikebreakers'. That had ideas differing from Trotsky's in many respects, but they accepted his leadership and the fundamentals of his opposition.

A legend is peddled around to the effect that Trotsky and his associates were 'not given a chance' to present their viewpoint to the rank-and-file Party membership. As a matter of fact, the debate between the opposition and the Party leadership was continued from 1924 till 1927. In numerous sessions of the central bodies, in numberless meetings of the lower bodies of the Party, the program of the opposition was threshed out. Scores of books, hundreds of pamphlets dealing with these questions were published and widely distributed. The opposition received a hearing even to the point of exhausting the patience of the Party members.

When the discussion was over these leaders with their group of associates were thoroughly discredited, despised by the masses of the Party and of the proletariat and exposed as plotters.

We are perfectly aware of the gravity of such an accusation. But how else can you term the activities of seemingly responsible Party members who, because the overwhelming majority of the membership disagrees with them and demands their submission, organize a little clique within the Party,

political organization bereft of its army? Of course he could not.

'The fact is that the old burden of Trotskyism, concealed in the cupboard in the days of the October movement, is now once more hauled into the light of day in the hope of finding a market for it.' (Joseph Stalin, The October Revolution, pp89-90)

When Trotsky concealed his 'unpleasant burden' in his cupboard he was a one-man organization. When he took it out again he believed he had a tremendous army back of him. He was mistaken. The rank-and-file membership of the Communist Party and every honest worker in the Soviet Union refused to follow the man with the unpleasant burden. Now he is trying to form such an army on a world scale. Quite unsuccessfully.

TO BE CONTINUED