

THE STRUGGLE

against

TROTSKYISM

(A SUPPLEMENT TO "OUST THE TROTSKYITES FROM LABOR'S
RANKS" BY MAX WEISS, POLITICAL AFFAIRS FEBRUARY 1946)

ISSUED BY:

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(A supplement to the article by Max Weiss in the February issue of Political Affairs)

Introduction

Since the end of the war the offensive of reaction has again been accompanied by an increase in Trotskyist disruptive activity in the ranks of labor and progressive movements. Working to divide, disorientate and defeat the efforts of the American people to bring to fruition the aims for which the war was fought, the Trotskyist fifth column of fascism is desperately trying to secure a foothold in the unions, among the Negro people, the youth and the veterans in order to be of better service to the forces of reaction:

Exposed and driven out of major sections of the labor movement during the war, the Trotskyites have donned an "anti-fascist" mask and adopted new slogans and tactics in an effort to blur the memory of the labor movement of their nefarious work in behalf of fascism.

The struggle against Trotskyist influence in the labor and progressive movement must again be placed as a central task before all Party members. Our Party is in the best position to expose their true aims and role and thus be of tremendous service to the labor movement and to peoples movements generally.

In order to do that most effectively it is necessary to eliminate from our ranks certain conceptions that may exist which have always proven to be an obstacle to the struggle against Trotskyism.

1. Because of the treason trials and the exposure of Trotskyism during the war, its rejection by the labor and progressive movement will be automatic and therefore presents no problem. This reasoning forgets that the Trotskyites are trained and adept at adopting new masks with every new situation, and that does not sail under own flag when operating in mass organizations.
2. The Trotskyites are insignificant organizationally and therefore cannot do much damage. This conception fails to take into account the material aid which the Trotskyites receive from the reactionary forces with whom they are in constant collusion, as well as the fact that it does not take large numbers to destroy and disrupt.

In addition to the above, we may find, (among new members especially and those who are not acquainted with the role and activities of the Trotskyites) a tendency to regard Trotskyism as a section of the revolutionary movement, with a fantastic and unrealistic program, but nevertheless still a section of the workingclass movement. This conception leads to treating the Trotskyites as a trend in the labor movement, with its attendant liberalism towards them, personal contact and discussions, and the danger, of unsuspecting members being influenced by, and "borrowing", their revolutionary sounding slogans, as well as enabling the Trotskyites to secure access to information about the Party, etc.

Finally, there is a failure on the part of many Party members to realize that the Trotskyites are constantly attempting to infiltrate into the Party to do their dirty work. This, coupled with an inability to recognize the Trotskyist "line" and lack of knowledge of Trotskyist methods of work, leads to relaxing of vigilance and endangers the security of the Party. Our past revisionist policies undoubtedly were a major factor in permitting "rotten liberalism" and lack of vigilance to develop.

Just as, in order to wage a successful struggle against fascism, it was necessary for the Communists and the working class movement to have a comprehensive understanding of its basis, its ideology and its methods, so must we understand the aims and methods of the agent of fascism and reaction, Trotzkyism, if our struggle to smash it is to be successful.

The following material is intended to help arm our members in this struggle and should be used as a supplement to the article by Max Weiss "Oust the Trotskyites from Labor's Ranks" in Political Affairs February, 1946.

Some suggested questions for discussion based both on this material and the Weiss article are also appended.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TROTSKYISM

I. WHAT IS TROTSKYISM?

Central to an understanding of the role of Trotskyism, and to an effective struggle against it is the point made by Stalin in 1936, following the trials of the Trotskyist wreckers, in a critical analysis of the mistakes made by some Party members in dealing with Trotskyism.

"In carrying on the struggle against the Trotskyist agents, our Party comrades did not notice, they overlooked the fact that present day Trotskyism is no longer what it was, let us say, seven or eight years ago; that Trotskyism and the Trotskyites have passed through a serious evolution in this period which has utterly changed the face of Trotskyism; that in view of this, the struggle against Trotskyism and the method of struggle against it must be utterly changed. Our Party comrades did not notice that Trotskyism has ceased to be a political trend in the working class, that it has changed from the political trend in the working class which it was seven or eight years ago into a frantic and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states.

"What is a political trend in the working class? A political trend in the working class is a group or a party which has its own definite political face, platform, and program, which does not and cannot hide its views from the working class, but on the contrary, openly and honestly carries on propaganda for its views in full view of the working class, does not fear to show its political face to the working class, does not fear to demonstrate its real aims and tasks to the working class, but, on the contrary, goes to the working class with open visor to convince it of the correctness of its views. In the the past, seven or eight years ago, Trotskyism was one of such political trends in the working class, an anti-Leninist trend, it is true, and therefore profoundly mistaken, but nevertheless a political trend.

"Can it be said that present day Trotskyism, the 1936 Trotskyism, let us say, is a political trend in the working class? No this cannot be said. Why? Because the present day Trotskyites are afraid to show their real face to the working class, are afraid to disclose their real aims and tasks to it, and carefully hide their political face from the working class, fearing that if the working class should learn of their real intentions, it will curse them as an alien people and drive them from it."

Stalin, Mastering Bolshovism, pp. 14-15

In order to understand this characterization fully, let us briefly review the actual development of Trotskyism from an anti-Leninist political trend into the agent of fascism which it has become.

II. TROTSKYISM VERSUS LENINISM

- A. In Russia, in the pre-revolutionary years, Trotskyism was an anti-Leninist trend in the working class movement which came into sharp conflict with the views of the Bolsheviks from 1903 on.

1) Denial of the revolutionary role of the peasantry

"First, Trotskyism is the theory of permanent (uninterrupted) revolution. And what is permanent revolution in its Trotskyist conception? It is revolution which fails to take the poor peasantry into account as a revolutionary force. In the words of Lenin, Comrade Trotsky's permanent revolution means 'skipping' the peasant movement, means 'playing at seizing power'. Wherein lies its danger? In that such a revolution, if an attempt were made to realize it, would inevitably end in failure, for it would sever its ally, i.e. the poor peasantry, from the Russian proletariat. This, too, explains the struggle which Leninism has been waging against Trotskyism ever since 1905. How does Comrade Trotsky evaluate Leninism from the point of view of this struggle? He regards it as a theory which contains 'anti-revolutionary features'. Upon what is this sullen opinion about Leninism based? It is based on the fact that Leninism used to defend and successfully upheld at the time (1905) the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry. However, Comrade Trotsky does not confine himself to this sullen opinion. He goes further and asserts that: 'The whole structure of Leninism is at present based on lies and falsification and harbours the poisonous germs of its own decomposition' "....

2) Opposition to the creation of real Bolshevik Party

"Second, Trotskyism means lack of confidence in the Bolshevik Party allegiance, in its monolithic nature, in its hostility toward opportunist elements. Trotskyism, in its sphere of organization, is the theory of the cohabitation of revolutionaries and opportunists, of their groups and grouplets, within the fold of a single party." (Stalin then discusses the cooperation of the Trotskyites with the 'Liquidators' who wanted to dissolve the actual work of the Party during the period of reaction in Russia after the 1905 Revolution. This cooperation took place under the name of the 'August bloc'. Speaking of this group Stalin says) "This motley 'party' pursued the aim of destroying the Bolshevik Party....."

3) Efforts to discredit the leaders of Leninism

"Third, Trotskyism means distrust in the leaders of Bolshevism, an attempt at discrediting them, at uncrowning them. I know of no tendency in the Party which could compare with Trotskyism in the matter of discrediting the leaders of Leninism and the central institutions of the Party. What shall we make of the 'amiable' opinion passed by Trotsky on Lenin, which is characterized by him as 'a professional exploiter of every backward feature in the Russian labour movement'.... Yet this is far from being the 'most amiable' opinion of all the existing 'amiable' opinions of Comrade Trotsky."

Stalin, "Trotskyism or Leninism" in
The October Revolution, pp. 88-89

- B. During all the years preceding the 1917 Revolution, Lenin constantly fought Trotsky and his opportunists, petty bourgeois, "left sounding" program. He at no time considered Trotsky a Bolshevik. Following are some of the opinions of Trotsky expressed by Lenin:

"Men like Trotsky, with his inflated phrases....., are now the affliction of our times. They want to make a career on the cheap preachment of 'conciliation' -with anybody, with everybody.... In reality, they are the preachers of capitulation before the Liquidators (those who wanted to liquidate the il-

legal work of the Party) who are building a Stolypin Labor Party. (Stolypin was the Tsar's Prime Minister)".

Lenin, Collected Works, Russian Edition
Volume XV - p. 167

"Trotsky distorts Bolshevism, for Trotsky never has been able to get any definite views on the role of the proletariat in the Russian bourgeois revolution. Much worse, however, is his distortion of the history of that revolution."

Ibid, p. 15

"It is impossible to argue with Trotsky about principles, for he has no views at all....one does not argue; one exposes him as a diplomat of the lowest order."

Ibid, pp. 303 - 304

"The more rudely they (Trotsky, etc.) mock the party and the proletariat in Russia, the more relentless becomes the resistance against them; the more firmly do the Bolsheviks come together uniting all men of principle and veering away from the unnatural and rotten political union of Plekanov, Martynov, and Trotsky."

Letters of Lenin, 1940

- C. In fighting Trotsky, Lenin pointed out the "double bookkeeping" in which Trotsky and his followers engaged, the practice of deception which was to become their constant method of work in the years ahead - the practice of concealing their real views from the workers.

"Trotsky and the Trotskyites and compromisers who resemble him are more harmful than any of the liquidators since the convinced Liquidators elucidate their views straightforwardly and it is easy for the workers to make out their mistakes. But the Messrs. Trotsky deceive the workers, conceal the evil, render its exposure and cure impossible. Whoever supports Trotsky's group supports the policy of falsehood and deception of the workers....."

Lenin, Collected Works, Russian Edition
Volume XV

"It is Trotsky's special task to veil the aims of the liquidators and to throw sand into the eyes of the workers....."

Lenin, Ibid

"The name of Trotsky signifies: Left phrases and bloc with right against the aims of the left.....What a swine that Trotsky is.....He ought to be exposed."

Lenin, Ibid

III. TROTSKYISM - THE VANGUARD OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY BOURGEOISIE

- A. During and after the Russian Revolution in 1917, Trotsky and his followers took the position that it was "impossible to build socialism in one country", as against Lenin's insistence that socialism could be achieved in Russia even without victorious socialist revolution elsewhere.

Said Trotsky, "Without direct state support from the European proletariat,

the working class of Russia cannot maintain itself in power and transform its temporary rule into a durable socialist dictatorship. This we cannot doubt for an instant."

Leon Trotsky, Our Revolution

Or- "Genuine advances in the construction of a socialist economy in Russia will become possible only after the victory of the proletariat in the most important countries in Europe."

Ibid

Lenin's position, however, was that "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence the victory of socialism is possible first in a few or even in one single capitalist country taken separately."

Lenin

B. This position, and the Trotskyites continuing struggle against Leninism, brought them into direct opposition to the actual building of socialism in the Soviet Union, and resulted in their becoming the center for a program of capitalist restoration in Russia.

- 1) Only on the eve of the Revolution did Trotsky join the Bolshevik Party, when it was clear that this Party was the acknowledged leader of the masses. But he and his followers did not give up their struggle against Leninism. Biding their time, they began from the very first to organize factions and groups. Following the death of Lenin, in 1924 they constituted themselves as an opposition bloc in the Central Committee of the Party, and strove by every means in their power to wreck the Party and the building of socialism to prove the truth of the Trotskyite thesis that the "Russian Revolution could not live".
- 2) This period is described in the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as follows:

"The transition from Civil War to peaceful Socialist construction was accompanied by great difficulties, especially in the early stages. The enemies of Bolshevism, the anti-Party elements in the ranks of the C. P. S. U. (B), waged a desperate struggle against the Leninist party all through this period. These anti-Party elements were headed by Trotsky. His henchmen in this struggle were Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Bukharin. After the death of Lenin, the oppositionists calculated on demoralizing the ranks of the Bolshevik Party, on splitting the Party, and infecting it with disbelief in the possibility of Socialism in the USSR. In point of fact, the Trotskyists were trying to form another party in the USSR, a political organization of the ^{new} bourgeoisie, a party of capitalist restoration."

History of the C. P. S. U. (B) p. 279

- 3) The Trotskyist group soon passed over to very direct steps against the position of the Party and against the will of the Soviet people, who were engaged in the building of socialism.
 - a) "In the summer of 1926, the Trotskyists and Zinovievites united to form an anti-Party bloc, made it a rallying point for the remnants of all the defeated oppositionist groups, and laid the foundation of their secret anti-Leninist Party". (Ibid, p. 283)
 - b) "That autumn, on the eve of the Fifteenth Party Conference, they

made a sortie at Party meetings in the factories of Moscow and Leningrad, and other cities.....The Party members gave the oppositionists a severe rebuff, and in some places simply ejected them from their meetings....." (Ibid)

- c) Despite warnings from the Central Committee to cease their subversive activities and despite promises by the oppositionists to be loyal, "they went on banding together their anti-Leninist Party, started an illegal press, collected membership dues from their supporters and circulated their platform." (Ibid, p. 283)
 - d) In 1927, following a pre-convention Party discussion of the Trotskyist platform which condemned the policies of the Central Committee, the Party overwhelmingly rejected their platform. Instead of submitting to the will of the Party membership, the Trotskyists decided to resort to more open forms of struggle against the Party and the Soviet government, going so far as to attempt the organization of counter-demonstrations in the streets in opposition to the annual November 7th demonstration of the Soviet people in celebration of their revolution. The few satellites they were able to bring out were overwhelmed and swept from the streets.
 - e) Following this open defiance of the Party and the Soviet people, the ringleaders, including Trotsky, were expelled from the Party on November 14, 1927. Trotsky, continuing his campaign against the Soviet government and people, was later expelled from the country.
- 4) A part of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite grouping, however, publicly renounced Trotskyism in 1928, and desiring to show clemency to them, the Party accepted their applications to rejoin the Party.

"However, time showed that with few exceptions, the recantations of the 'leading lights' of the bloc of Trotskyites and Zinovievites were false and hypocritical from beginning to end. It turned out that even before they handed in their applications, these gentry had ceased to represent a political trend ready to defend their views before the people, and had become an unprincipled gang of careerists who were prepared publicly to trample on the last remnants of their own views, publicly to praise the views of the Party, which were alien to them, and -like chameleons- to adopt any colouring, provided they could maintain themselves in the ranks of the Party and the working class and have the opportunity to do harm to the working class and to its Party.

History of the C. P. S. U. (b), pp. 290-291

- 5) Meanwhile, as the Trotskyites within the Soviet Union continued their struggle against the building of socialism, Trotsky and his followers outside the Soviet Union undertook the organization of counter-revolutionary forces also aimed at its overthrow.
- a) In a letter to Piatakov, leader of the Trotskyite counter-revolutionaries in the Soviet Union, Trotsky stated: "Just as ridiculous as it is for Stalin to try to build socialism in one country, so it is ridiculous to limit the struggle against Stalin to one country."
 - b) Trotsky, once expelled from the Soviet Union, immediately began a campaign of vilification and slander of the Soviet government. He sought and accepted aid from every counter-revolutionary force thru'

out the world. He attempted to organize Trotskyite factions in the various Communist Parties for the purpose of capturing leadership and turning them against the Soviet Union and the Communist International. He was able to attract only an insignificant number of discontented elements, careerists, and enemies of the Party that had penetrated into the Party with the aim of destroying it.

- c) The Trotskyites were quickly expelled from the Communist Parties throughout the world, and this cleansing helped strengthen and unite the world Communist movement. Trotsky and his followers then proceeded with the help of the enemies of Communism to organize "workers" parties and groups in all countries, masquerading under the banner of Communism, but aimed in fact at destroying it. They were brought together in the "Fourth International" to become the "labor spearhead" of world imperialism against the Soviet Union.

- C. In 1931, Stalin again characterized Trotskyism as the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, and called for a merciless struggle against it, warning that liberal attitudes toward Trotskyism were a crime against the working class.

"Trotskyism has long since ceased to be a faction of Communism. As a matter of fact, Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie which is fighting Communism, fighting the Soviet government, fighting the building of socialism in the U. S. S. R.

"Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie an ideological weapon against Bolshevism in the form of the thesis that it is impossible to build socialism in our country, in the form of the thesis that the degeneration of the Bolsheviks is inevitable, etc.? Trotskyism gave it that weapon,...."

"Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in the U. S. S. R., a tactical weapon in the form of attempts at open actions against the Soviet government? The Trotskyites, who tried to organize anti-Soviet demonstrations in Moscow and Leningrad on November 7, 1927, gave it that weapon. It is a fact that the anti-Soviet actions of the Trotskyites raised the spirits of the bourgeoisie and let loose the wrecking activities of the bourgeois experts."

"Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie an organizational weapon in the form of attempts at setting up underground anti-Soviet organization? The Trotskyites, who organized their own anti-Bolshevik illegal groups, gave it that weapon....."

"Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. That is why a liberal attitude toward Trotskyism, even though the latter is shattered and concealed, is stupidly bordering on crime, bordering on treason to the working class.

"That is why the attempts of certain 'writers' and 'historians' to smuggle disguised Trotskyite rubbish into our literature must be met with a determined rebuff on the part of the Bolsheviks."

"That is why we cannot permit a literary discussion with the Trotskyite smugglers."

Stalin, "Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism" Leninism, pp. 231 - 232 (1942 edition)

IV. TROTSKYISM - AGENT OF FASCISM

Continuing its role as the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, Trotskyism found its natural base as the agent of the most reactionary, most vicious, most anti-Soviet elements of modern monopoly capitalism- the fascist axis. During the whole period of the rise of fascism, and of the war against fascism, Trotskyism carried out this job to the best of its ability, checked only by the vigilance of the Soviet Union, and by the increased alertness of the people's movement to its fascist activities.

A. The fundamental pro-fascist program of the Trotskyites during this whole period was revealed in the Soviet Trials.

- 1) The Trotskyite program had as its aim to assist and pave the way for the organization of armed military intervention against the Soviet Union by the axis powers, in the hope that the Trotskyites as a result of this collaboration, and in return for huge territorial concessions to the Axis, would be "permitted" to "rule" in Russia, - where they would also introduce capitalism since "socialism in one country is impossible".
 - a) The agreement actually worked out along these lines between the Trotskyites and the Axis, was described by Piatakov, one of the Trotskyite leaders as follows:

"He (Trotsky) then told me that he had conducted rather lengthy negotiations with the Vice-Chairman of the Nationalist Socialist Party - Hess. What, properly speaking, does this agreement amount to if formulated briefly. First, the German fascists promise to adopt a favorable attitude towards the Trotskyite Zinovievite bloc and to support it if it comes to power, either in time of war, or before a war, should it succeed in doing so. But in return, the fascists are to receive the following compensations; a general favorable attitude towards the German interests and towards the German government on all questions of international policy; certain territorial concessions would have to be made (including Ukraine) and these territorial concessions have been defined.....The next point in the agreement dealt with the form in which German capital would be enabled to exploit in the Soviet Union the raw material resources it needs.....(finally) The diversive and wrecking activitymust be carried on under the instructions of Trotsky, which are to be agreed upon with the German General Staff.....Trotsky said that in essence....it was necessary to retreat towards capitalism.... it would be a very serious retreat."
(Verbatim Report, Official Court Proceedings in the case of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Center, Russian Edition, p. 64-65)

- 2) An important part of this program, of course, was the prevention of the formulation of the anti-axis coalition of the U. S. S. R., and the democratic capitalist countries, including the smashing of People's Front movements or governments, and in the event of such a coalition being formed, to aid the axis powers in their war against the democratic coalition.

A "Manifesto of the Fourth International" made this very clear, in addressing itself to the workers as follows:

"But isn't the working class obliged in the present conditions to aid the democracies in their struggle against German fascism? We reject this policy with indignation.....The victory of the imperialists of

Great Britain and France would not be less frightful for the ultimate fate of mankind than that of Hitler and Mussolini. Bourgeois democracy cannot be saved. By helping their bourgeoisie against foreign fascism, the workers would only accelerate the victory of fascism in their own country."

Manifesto of the Fourth International,
p. 44

"We do not for a moment forget that this is not our war." Ibid, p. 45

"We call for the fraternization of soldiers with soldiers on the opposite side of the battle front; we mobilize the women and the youth against the war...This is our program." Ibid, p.- 46

B. The actual work of the Trotskyites throughout the world was in complete conformity with this pro-fascist program.

- 1) In the democratic countries: the Trotskyites worked to prevent the organization of anti-fascist people's front movement or governments; to align the democratic governments with the axis powers for war against the Soviet Union by helping the anti-Soviet forces, the worst reactionaries to achieve power; to disorient and disrupt the labor movement and aid reaction in destroying the Communist parties. When the anti-axis coalition was formed, the Trotskyites worked for its defeat and for the disruption and obstruction of the whole war efforts, using their "leftist" and "revolutionary" phrases to try to mask their real objectives:
 - a. In Spain: In the Spanish Civil War, Cradle of World War II, the Trotskyites knifed the Spanish Republican armies in the back by the traitorous fifth column attacks upon the people's armed forces, and raised the slogan of "Down with the People's Front Government. Turn your guns against the government of Caballero." The Trotskyites organized an actual armed uprising in Barcelona, in the rear of the Republican armies, thus giving direct military aid to Franco and his axis allies.
 - b. In France: The Trotskyites tried to prevent the formation of the French People's Front, did everything possible to disrupt it and collaborated with the French fascists and Vichyites. Doriot, the 'little fuhrer of France' had as his secretary in his own office the notorious Trotskyite Ruth Fisher, who is now in America polluting the liberal press with her Trotskyite filth.
 - c. In Mexico: Under the personal direction of Trotsky, the Trotskyites undertook a campaign to split the labor movement and undermine the powerful role it has been playing in the country. The entire labor movement was shocked into action by their outrageous actions and unitedly called for the expulsion of Trotsky from Mexico. 4,000 delegates to the first Congress of the Mexican Federation of Labor in 1938, condemned Trotsky in a resolution which stated:
 1. Leon Trotsky and his followers falsify facts when they assert that Trotsky is the continuator of Leninist theory. Trotsky never was a genuine Marxist-Leninist.
 2. Trotsky acts, at least objectively, in complicity with international fascism.
 3. Trotsky is an enemy of the People's Fronts and particularly of the peoples of Spain and China who are fighting at this time against fascism.

4. Trotsky participates in the internal problems of Mexico as an enemy of the unity of the workingclass.
 5. Trotsky, by all his activity regarding the fundamental problems of the historic period, has revealed himself as an enemy of the working class of the world...." (Labor Condemns Trotskyism, Resolution of CTM., p. 21)
- d) In the United States: The Trotskyites, through the Workers Party, the Workers Socialist Party, through their influence upon the Thomas Socialists, liberal groups and individuals and certain trade union leaders, conducted continuous campaigns against every effort to unite the country against fascist aggression both before and during the war.
- 1) For years they campaigned against the democratic alliance centering around Roosevelt and in every election lent support to the candidates of reaction.
 - 2) Under the slogan of 'non-intervention' they opposed the campaign to stop Japanese aggression in Manchuria and China, and issued the slogan, in the event of Japan attacking the United States, of "Turning the Imperialist War into Civil War".
 - 3) With the formation of the United Nations Coalition and the launching of the Allied War against the axis they attempted to disrupt the war effort, provoke strikes during the war, turn the Negro people against support of the war, and confuse and demoralize the anti-fascist front. The government finally had to take note of their activities and brought their leaders to trial for sedition.
 - 4) Their activities within the ranks of labor before and during the war is a long record of disruption, of Red-baiting and collusion with ~~revolutionary elements in the labor movement, of strike breaking and~~ spying for the employers, of work against labor unity and realistic political action programs. Where they were successful in capturing leadership of unions, they used them as a base for Trotskyite activity, misusing funds, terrorizing the workers, and utilizing their official positions for splitting and wrecking havoc upon the labor movement.
- a) Their activities in the Auto Workers Union is reflected in the divisions and factions that have for years bedeviled the organization with bitter internal factional strife.
- b) As a result of their activity in the Teamsters Union in Minneapolis, the national journal of the Teamsters had this to say about them:
"Through the vigilance born of costly experience, organized labor will not permit the Trotskyites to succeed. Once in control of a union the Trotskyites have no semblance of democratic procedure.....if a member joins the Socialist Workers Party he gets a job, if he doesn't he is blacklisted. No company union was ever run with such flagrant partiality and no company blacklist was as ruthless as those of a Trotsky union. The Teamsters of Minneapolis discovered that in 1940 when the Trotsky faction, headed by the Dunne brothers took over local 544. They ushered in a period of gangsterism unparalleled in American labor. Union business ceased and the members were forced to carry weapons for their personal protection against the thugs the Trotskyites brought in to beat the membership into submission. But the Teamsters stopped them in their tracks..... Trotskyites were wrong in Russia. They are wrong in the United States. Trotsky is now dead. Unfortunately, too many of his followers are not." (International Teamsters, August, 1944)

- c) The Minnesota convention of the CIO, in September 1944, adopted a resolution "condemning the disruptive and seditious activities of this group (Trotskyists on trial for sedition) and condemning their vicious attacks against the CIO". The resolution calls on the entire labor movement to "effectively expose these enemies of the CIO and our nation" One of the leading members of the group on trial was James P. Cannon, head of the Socialist Workers Party.

Wherever their actions have exposed their true role the labor movement has seen the danger that Trotskyites represent and have dealt with them accordingly. But not everywhere has the labor movement learned to recognize them in time, to see through their disguises and cloaks, to appreciate the real dangers of their treacherous work. To bring to the labor movement this understanding, and to help the labor movement to eliminate Trotskyist agents from it, is the task of the Communists.

- 2) In the Fascist Countries: The Trotskyites worked to prevent the organization of underground anti-fascist movements and aided the fascists in destroying the Communist Party and the trade union leadership; they provided the fascists with 'leftist' arguments for preparation of the population for war and for winning the support of other states for their war program.

Their activities in this connection were described by Ernst Fischer, former editor of the central organ of the Socialist Party of Austria:

"In their search for new demagogic methods the fascist bourgeoisie have discovered Mr. Trotsky. He was a man after their own heart, who offered them dazzling opportunities for propaganda. Trotsky's enemies were the enemies of the bourgeoisie. Trotsky's aims were the aims of the bourgeoisie - the overthrow of the Soviet government, the destruction of the People's Front, the disintegration of the working class movement and the fight against democracy. But the original and novel feature for the bourgeoisie was that this fight could be carried on under the screen of "left" phrases, that Trotsky was demanding in the "revolution" what the fascists were demanding. Trotsky supplied the fascist bourgeoisie with "arguments" against the Soviet government, against the People's Front and against democracy. He relieved the fascists of the necessity of manufacturing their own arguments; so much so that the fascist Vaterlaendische Front in Austria has published a pamphlet entitled 'What Trotsky Says' consisting exclusively of quotations from Trotsky's books and articles. "The Gestapo and the Japanese police have started schools for spies and provocateurs in which aspiring hangman's assistants are taught the fundamentals of Marxism and Leninism so as to help them worm their way into illegal parties and to organize Communist factions. Trotsky has facilitated the work of the fascists; thanks to his support they have succeeded not only in enrolling new "Communists" in the Parties but also in utilizing the services of old "Communists", people who have been members of C. P. of the Soviet Union and other countries for years, and in linking them up with the employees of the Gestapo for the joint performance of their anti-Marxist work. The police have long been accustomed to smuggle spies and provocateurs into the working class movement. But the fascist police have turned this into a finished art; their spies and provocateurs represent a political program, so to speak, and command a political organization within the working class movement - they represent the program of Trotskyism and command the Trotskyite organization." (Ernst Fischer, Trotsky Unmasked, p. 45)

- 3) In the Soviet Union: The Trotskyites tried to undermine the defensive power of the country through sabotage, wrecking, espionage for the Axis powers, disruption of the Red Army and assassination of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. They helped to organize an "uprising" when the fascist powers are at the gates of the Soviet Union; seize power and open the gates.

At the trial of the Trotskyites, Piatakov outlined the instructions he gave his agents, on behalf of Trotsky, for carrying out this activity:

"I recommend to my people not to drive in many directions in their wrecking and espionage work, but concentrate their attention on the number of industrial enterprises with defense and of all-Union significance. On this point I acted on Trotsky's instruction: 'to deal blows in most sensitive places' " (Verbatim Report, Court Proceedings).

"No normal "constitutional" ways remain to remove the ruling clique. The bureaucracy (the Soviet power) can be compelled to yield power into the hands of the proletarian vanguard (the Trotskyites) only by force". (Trotsky: The Soviet Union and the Fourth International)

From Mexico, on January 25th, 1937, Trotsky sent a signed statement to the Hearst newspapers, printed in the N. Y. American of January 26th, in which he said:

"Inside the Party, Stalin has put himself above all criticism, and above the state. It is impossible to displace him except by assassination."

Before they were rounded up and disposed of by the Soviet Government, they committed acts of sabotage, wrecking, espionage, and murdered hundreds of workers and Red Army men. The assassinated M. Kirov, outstanding leader of the Communist Party and a member of the Political Bureau, as well as Maxim Gorky and other Soviet leaders.

V. THE ROLE OF THE TROTSKYITES TODAY

- A. Following the exposure of the true Trotskyite program in the Moscow trials, and with the end of the war and the military defeat of their fascist masters, the Trotskyites have emerged with another "new" disguise which must be torn from them.

- 1) In undertaking the struggle against Trotskyism today it is necessary constantly to bear in mind and to explain to the workers the fact that "double dealing", "double bookkeeping", the veiling of pro-fascist, pro-imperialist action with "left" phrases is the technique of the Trotskyites everywhere. Trotskyism can serve its fascist and capitalist masters only if it succeeds in cloaking itself as a "workers" movement, as a "legitimate" political party, etc.

Speaking of the true Trotskyite program, Stalin pointed out after the Soviet trials that "Naturally, the Trotskyites could not but hide such a platform from the people, from the working class....The present day Trotskyites are afraid to show their true face to the working class, are afraid to reveal to it their true aims and objects, carefully hide their political face from the working class, fearing that if the working class learns about their real intentions, it will curse them as a people alien to it and drive them away. This, in fact, explains why the principal methods of Trotskyite work are now not in the open and honest advocacy of

its views in the working class, but the disguising of its views, the obsequious, fawning eulogy of the views of its opponents, the pharisaical and hypocritical traapling of its own views in the mud."

Stalin, Mastering Bolshevism

- 2) This description fits to a "T" the present efforts of the Trotskyites to parade as "militant anti-fascists", as "fighters for the labor movement", as "champions of the Negro people", and their "appeals for unity" directed to the Communist Party members. Their phony mask must be ripped from them, in order to show their true nature and aims to the people, and to eliminate them from the labor and people's movement.

B. What are some of the present day "doubling dealing" activities of the Trotskyites which reveal their true role? (The article by Max Weiss in Political Affairs, February, 1946)

- 1) The Trotskyites are taking the lead in condemning harsh treatment for Germany and look to a revival of Nazism through the sabotage and elimination of measures aimed at its extermination. Their program calls for withdrawal of all allied troops from Europe, a slogan which demagogically takes advantage of the opposition of Americans to the imperialist foreign policy of the United States - while making no distinction between this policy and that of the Soviet Union, or between the liberated countries and the occupation of Germany.
- 2) Disappointed in their hopes for the destruction of the Soviet Union by the Axis, Trotskyism now pins its hopes on the formation of an anti-Soviet alliance and a new war against the Soviet Union led by American imperialism. They carry on the masthead of the "Militant", official organ of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party the maxim of Leon Trotsky - the true goal of the Trotskyites....."The world revolution carries with it the inescapable task of blotting out the Kremlin oligarchy." This, of course, coincides completely with the views of Hearst, McCormick, and the imperialist forces for whom they are spokesmen, who also have as their central aim the "blotting out" of the Soviet State and its leadership. The Trotskyites supply the "left" phrases for this attack.
- 3) The Trotskyites also take the lead in condemning the new democratic anti-fascist governments that have arisen in Europe as "Stalinist satellites" echoing the very words of the Hearst press, and doing all in their power to disrupt the broad people's movements in these nations. Their role is such a vicious one that the present government of France has refused to permit their paper to be printed, putting it in the same category with all the other banned fascist press.
- 4) With respect to the labor movement, they are "toning down" on their condemnation of independent political action through the P. A. C., which they previously condemned, and have suddenly emerged with cries for the immediate formation of an "Independent Labor Party", realizing that efforts toward premature formation of such a Party could wreck its possibilities of playing an effective role against the forces of reaction, fascism, and imperialism. The same technique is apparent in their insistence that such a party must include the aim of socialism in its program.
- 5) Their efforts to wreck the present strike movement consist of projection of unrealistic and "radical" demands, the instigation of strikes at the most unfavorable time for the workers, and an "adventurist" irresponsible

approach toward calling of strikes generally. Their anti-labor work can be seen in their role in the U. A. W. where they have done everything possible to encourage factionalism. So vicious has their role in the auto strike been, that the General Motors City Wide Strike Committee of the U. A. W. in Detroit, representing 40,000 G. M. workers has urged that the Trotskyite Militant be banned from all picket lines. In a resolution to all G. M. locals, the City Wide Strike Committee accused the Militant of creating disunity by attacking the U. A. W. international leadership in the midst of a strike. The same line is followed by the Trotskyites with reference to the steel strike, where they center their attack on Murray, thus aiding the employers through their efforts to divide and weaken the ranks of workers. In San Francisco, their influence upon certain leaders of the Machinists strike has been a major factor in isolating the machinists from the rest of the labor movement and weakening their strike to the point where the whole strike is very much endangered.

- 6) They are making a concerted effort to win support from the Negro people, by injecting themselves into the F.E.P.C. campaign and other anti-discrimination fights, with the aim of disrupting these activities. At the same time behind the back of the Negro people they carry on agitation to the effect that it is hopeless to expect any improvements under capitalism or any concessions from a capitalist government, and that the F.E.P.C. campaign is "reformist" and will distract from the revolutionary struggle. Thus under the mask of fighting for Negro rights, they attempt to disrupt and to undermine the actual campaigns conducted for this aim.

Furthermore, in the recent municipal election in New York, the Trotskyites ran a young Negro woman on the Trotskyite ticket in Harlem, led the campaign of slander against Ben Davis, and then proposed that the voters for the Trotskyist ticket cast their second choice ballot for Davis, "because he is a Negro", thus aiding the nationalists among the Negro people, and attempting to give the kiss of death to Davis by their support.

- 7) They also argue against such measures as the Full Employment bill using radical sounding phrases to the effect that such measures only create illusions in the minds of the workers, and propose instead that the workers "fight for socialism".
- 8) Their "program" of so-called "transitional demands" is calculated primarily to isolate labor from its allies and to set the labor movement in conflict with all other progressive forces, thus robbing labor of support in its economic struggles and setting the scene for a reactionary victory in the 1946 elections. This program is couched in terms calculated to attract progressive labor forces, making use of "leftist phrases" to advance reactionary objectives, such as "The Defense of the Soviet Union Against Imperialist attack....despite its degeneration under the Stalin regime."
- 9) They are making a special effort to conceal and evade their past record of aid to fascism in the Soviet Union, Spain, France, etc. by posing as "militant anti-fascists", and making use of actions against such forces as Gerald K. Smith and his gang to put over this idea, while at the same time actually disrupting the broad anti-fascist movement. The experience of the California labor and peoples movement with this kind of activity is outlined in the accompanying editorial from the Peoples World of November 20, 1945.

- 10) Finally, they are attempting to sneak back into "respectability" in the

develop personal relations with Communist Party members, hoping also to dull the vigilance of the Communists and blunt the struggle of the Communist movement to expose and eliminate them.

VI. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TROTSKYISM TODAY

A successful struggle against Trotskyism, aimed at eliminating the Trotskyites from the labor and peoples movement, is essential to the full mobilization of the people in the fight against fascism and imperialism today. This requires:

- 1) Constant vigilance to detect Trotskyism within the labor and peoples movement and also the agents that are sent into the Communist Party itself, with the aim of weakening and destroying it.
- 2) A concrete exposure of the true aims and activities of the Trotskyites must be carried on, such as is done in the accompanying Peoples World editorial. The nature of their "doubting dealing", and the reasons for their use of radical sounding phrases and slogans must be carefully explained, together with concrete explanation of the way these activities help the imperialist and fascist forces. In carrying on such exposure we should make full use of the entire record of the Trotskyites during the war, in the Soviet Union, etc. Both their past and their present activities must be brought into the light of day. Known Trotskyites should be exposed just as we would expose any other agent-provocatour or stool pigeon in the ranks of the workers, with the aim of driving such elements out of the labor movement.
- 3) Remember the main evidence of Trotskyism is their "political line" and activities. They do not necessarily admit to being Trotskyites even in the mass organizations---- and certainly do not if they are operating within the Communist Party.
- 4) Serious explanation of the danger Trotskyism represents to the labor movement, of its true role, etc. especially to new members of the Party is absolutely essential, especially remembering that during the revisionist period we fell into considerable laxness with regard to the struggle against Trotskyism.
- 5) Finally, absolute firmness and determination in fighting Trotskyism are required. We cannot tolerate a "rotten liberal" approach to this question, including such matters as personal association with Trotskyites, hesitation in unmasking their role etc. We must conduct a relentless struggle against Trotskyism aimed at eliminating the Trotskyites from every part of the labor and progressive movement.



APPENDIX

Editorial - People's World, November 20, 1945

'LEFTIST' WHO AID FASCISM

Recent developments in the struggle in Los Angeles against the notorious Fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith, provide illumination for those progressives who do not understand how political groups which appear to be extremely "left" can aid fascism far more effectively than the openly reactionary forces.

On a recent Wednesday evening, representatives of several hundred labor, civic, fraternal, Democratic Party, Negro, Jewish, veterans and other organizations met to plan a united program of action against Smith who had again been granted the use of a high school auditorium to preach his poison.

Up to the very hour that this meeting began a handful of so-called "radicals" who claimed to represent certain labor unions carried on a campaign to organize a separate "labor conference" against Smith on the same night at another hall.

They gave it up when they found that labor had no intention of playing sucker.

WHO ARE THESE PEOPLE?

Who were these people who tried to divide the unity of the democratic forces in the fight against fascism? What kind of "anti-Fascists" are those who would separate labor from its natural allies in this struggle? They were the Socialist-Workers Party - in other words, the Trotskyites.

After the lessons which Hitler taught the world, it should now be understood by all honest citizens that one of the first aims of fascism on the road to power is to isolate the trade unions from other progressive and middle-class groups. The Trotskyites - who opposed and obstructed the war to destroy Hitler - are obviously still playing Hitler's game.

This maneuver also throws a lot of light on several preliminary moves of the Trotskyites which fooled a few people.

First was their premature attempt to organize a picketline against Smith at a time when the community was neither prepared nor aroused for such militant action. At that time their little picketline merely succeeded in assuring the reactionaries that only a small handful of sectarians was opposed to Smith.

Then came their proposal, made at a hearing before the board of education, that the school auditorium should be picketed in the guise of a "victory" demonstration if the board rescinded the permit granted Smith to speak. This is like proposing to a union that it go on strike in order to celebrate after the employer has granted its demands.

BEHIND STUDENT PICKETS

Naturally this proposal informed the school authorities that the school would be picketed regardless of what they did and helped to persuade board members that therefore they might as well let Smith have the auditorium anyway.

Next came the proposal to have parents of students organize a children's strike against the school system. This was rejected by the anti-Smith conference, so the Trotskyites went at it single-handedly and helped to provide the Hearst papers with some sensational headlines which were used to discredit the broad anti-Smith movement with more conservative citizens who were nevertheless actual or potential allies in the fight against fascism.

The united front - in Los Angeles, the Mobilization for Democracy - is under attack from the openly reactionary, Fascist forces. But that isn't enough. Reactionaries know that the ranks of democracy and progress will inevitably prevail unless they are disrupted from the rear by apparently friendly, even super-militant forces, by the kind of fifth column which turned Madrid over to Franco.

Here, as in Spain and elsewhere in the world, this particular and special service is rendered to reaction by the Trotskyites who help pave the way for fascism.

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR CLUB DISCUSSION

BASED ON THE ARTICLE BY MAX WEISS IN FEBRUARY POLITICAL AFFAIRS
AND ON THE ACCOMPANYING OUTLINE)

1. What is the meaning of the statement by Stalin in 1936 that "Trotskyism has ceased to be a political trend in the working class, that it has changed from the political trend in the working class which it was seven or eight years ago into a frantic and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states."?
2. What was the relationship between Trotsky and the Elsheviks from 1903 up to the Russian Revolution? On what major questions did Trosky oppose the position of Lenin and the Bolsheviks? What was Lenin's estimate of Trotsky? (See pp. 1 - 3, this outline)
3. By the latter twenties, Stalin pointed out that the Trotskyites had become "the spearhead of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie." What is meant by this statement? What had been the role of the Trotskyites in relation to the building of socialism in the Soviet Union? (pp. 3 - 6, this outline)
4. How did the Trotskyites do their work as the agents of fascism during the period leading up to the Second World War? What was their role in Spain, in France, in the United States, in the Soviet Union? (pp. 7 - 11, this outline)
5. How did they help the fascists during the war? (see Weiss article)
6. How does the record of the Troskyites show that they use "double bookkeeping and "double dealing", that is "left" phrases to cover up their aid to the capitalist class and the fascists?
7. How do the Trotskyites aid American imperialism in its aggressive foreign policy? (see Weiss article and page 12 - 13 of this outline)
8. What is the role of the Trotskyites today with regard to the fight to smash fascism? How do they aid the fascists today? (see People's World Editorial also Weiss article)
9. What is the role of the Trotskyites today in the labor movement? How do they aid the big trusts? What experiences has the labor movement had recently with their employer-aiding activities? (see Weiss article and page 12-13 in this outline)
10. How do the Trotskyites sabotage the fight for Negro rights?
11. What must be done to successfully drive the Trotskyites from the ranks of the labor and progressive movement? (see introduction to outline and page 14 of the outline) What is meant by "rotten liberalism" toward Trotskyism and why must it be stamped out.
(We urge that the major discussion be centered around the present role of the Trotskyites, their record during the war, and the fight to drive them out of the labor movement)