

SPARTACIST



NUMBER 41-42

ENGLISH EDITION

WINTER 1987-88

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70th Anniversary of Russian Revolution

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

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**The Poland of Luxemburg vs. the Poland of Pilsudski
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English Edition

SPARTACIST



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International Class-Struggle Defense

Free Mordechai Vanunu!

On December 1, Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu steps into the dock to stand trial for his life. Charged with "espionage," passing secrets and "aiding the enemy" i.e., the rest of the world, Vanunu faces the death penalty for exposing the peril of Israel's nuclear arsenal of 100-200 bombs. In retaliation for his courageous act, Vanunu was lured from London (with the connivance of Thatcher's British Intelligence services) to Rome by the Israeli CIA, the Mossad, kidnapped and thrown into Israel's notorious Shin Beth dungeon at Ashkelon where he is now held in solitary confinement. Freedom for Mordechai Vanunu must become the rallying cry of all enemies of imperialist militarism around the globe!

That the Zionist terrorists, who routinely murder and torture Palestinians, now have their fingers on the nuclear trigger is hardly new news. Indeed it is the common lore of such novels as Gerald Seymour's *Glory Boys*. The real bombshell revealed by Vanunu in the London *Sunday Times* (5 October 1986) was the extent of the Zionist nuclear arsenal, a fact Vanunu had learned during his nine years as a nuclear technician in Israel's top secret Dimona weapons plant. *Two hundred A-bombs* are far more than sufficient to wipe out every Arab capital, suggesting that the Zionist madmen have their sights aimed at a much bigger target: *the Soviet workers state*. And now Israel has the delivery system as demonstrated by recent successful tests of the Jericho 2 ballistic missiles designed to carry nuclear warheads over a range of 500 miles. Another version with a 900-mile range is expected shortly.

These missiles put strategic Soviet targets, including Black Sea naval ports and Baku oil fields, within Israel's reach. The Soviets responded with three stern warnings to Israel including a July 27 Radio Moscow commentary in Hebrew stating that the continued development of the missile could cause the Zionist state "to encounter consequences that it could not possibly handle" (*New York Times*, 29 July 1987). But the Zionist international terrorists are perfectly capable of setting off World War III in their drive to destroy their Arab neighbors and the Soviet Union. Like Reagan, they harbor illusions that they can survive but they are ready to make a suicidal sacrifice if necessary. And while Israel is preparing its own holocaust, Gorbachev continues to pursue his pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence" with Israel's quartermasters in Washington.

The international Spartacist tendency and the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/U.S., have joined in the international outcry over the victimization of Vanunu and have sought to publicize his case internationally. In France our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France have worked closely with the "Committee for the Defense of Mordechai Vanunu" in producing press dossiers on the case and encouraging prominent public figures to speak out on Vanunu's behalf.

As a Moroccan-born Jew who converted to Anglican-



Landau/Jerusalem Post

Courageous Mordechai Vanunu gagged by police guards on way to court in Jerusalem, December 1986.

ism, Vanunu does not have a lot of defenders in Israel although some, including among the Sephardic Jews of this racist and deeply polarized country, have responded sympathetically. And his courageous stand has been recognized and felt internationally. In Australia protesters arrested for demonstrating against the CIA's spy station in Alice Springs gave their name in court as "Mordechai Vanunu." And Vanunu was recently named the recipient of the 1987 Right Livelihood Award, known as the "alternative Nobel Prize," and was nominated for the Nobel Prize by the British Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. Noted author Gore Vidal wrote to the international Spartacist tendency, "Yes, I think Vanunu is a hero and so ought *not* to have a prize tarnished by such recipients as Kissinger."

Mordechai Vanunu did a great service for all of humanity in his courageous exposure of Israel's doomsday machine. Now working people and all opponents of Zionist terror and imperialist war worldwide must champion the cause of freeing this heroic man from the hands of his arrogant and brutal Israeli jailers who threaten to plunge the world into nuclear Armageddon. We encourage our readers to raise this issue in their unions, civil rights and civil liberties organizations. Hail Mordechai Vanunu—Make his freedom your fight! Send contributions and messages of support to: Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 45005, Somerville, MA 02145, USA. ■

Contribute to the Partisan Defense Committee! Contributions of \$5.00 or more receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, newsletter of the PDC. To make a donation or get a single copy of the latest newsletter (\$7.75 each) mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, USA.

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!



L.Y. Leonidov

Moscow's Red Square, 7 November 1919: V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, on its second anniversary.

ADAPTED FROM *WORKERS VANGUARD*
NO. 440, 13 NOVEMBER 1987

Seven decades ago there occurred the epochal event of our times, the Russian October Revolution of 1917. As the cruiser *Aurora* trained its guns on the Winter Palace, a new dawn broke for mankind. For the first time, the program of proletarian revolution was given flesh and blood. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Leon Trotsky, political power passed into the hands of the working class. In its first act, the Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies

decreed land to the peasants, and offered a just and democratic peace to all belligerent nations, to put an end to the slaughter of the imperialist world war. As the delegates rose to sing the *Internationale*—"Arise ye prisoners of starvation! Arise ye wretched of the earth!"—it was a clarion call for world socialist revolution. Seventy years later, the Bolshevik Revolution remains the greatest victory for the working people of the world.

The Russian Revolution was the living confirmation of Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution"—namely, that in the backward countries like Russia, the tasks associated historically with bourgeois-democratic revolution cannot be accomplished by the weak bourgeoisie, but require the

70th Anniversary of Russian Revolution

- For a planned economy based on soviet democracy!

- Soviet archives belong to the Soviet peoples—
Open the history books!

- For unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialism
and internal counterrevolution!

proletariat to take state power at the head of the oppressed masses. This understanding enabled Trotsky to stand with Lenin, against Zinoviev and Kamenev (and initially Stalin) who flinched in the face of the opportunity to take power, refusing to go beyond the struggle for bourgeois democracy.

However, lacking the expected support of victorious revolutions in West Europe, the fledgling Soviet state was surrounded by a hostile capitalist world. Under these conditions—after several desperate years of engulfing civil war, loss of industry, decomposition of railways and starvation in the cities and countryside—there developed tendencies toward demoralization and depoliticization among the toiling masses and toward bureaucratic commandism and loss of programmatic ideals and of revolutionary confidence among cadres of the new workers state. These tendencies culminated in a *political counterrevolution* which found its supreme leader in Joseph Stalin and its program in the dogma of “socialism in one country.” The forces of revolutionary internationalism, personified by Trotsky after Lenin’s death, were defeated and later physically exterminated.

Yet fundamental conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution have remained to this day, principally the collectivized economy built by ripping the productive resources out of the hands of the capitalists and landlords. Ever since November 1917, the imperialists have sought to bring back capitalist exploitation to the USSR. Today, with a war-crazed maniac in the White House who dreams of “bombing [Russia] in five minutes,” defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution is more than ever a duty for every class-conscious worker.

Stalin’s Heirs and Stalin’s Crimes

To secure the rule of the bureaucratic caste, Stalin had to destroy the entire Bolshevik leadership. Fifty years ago, with the infamous Moscow Trials and the Great Purge, he instituted a reign of terror that wiped out the entire Central Committee which had made the Revolution—Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and the others—and decapitated the Red Army on the eve of Hitler’s invasion of the Soviet Union.

With Khrushchev’s revelations at the 20th Party Congress in 1956, the lid was partially lifted on these years of infamy, only to be clamped down again. Under Brezhnev the Kremlin sank into lethargy as the USSR was ruled by colorless gray old men, leading some to recall the Stalin

years with nostalgia—at least the lights burned late in the Kremlin.

After a tentative start by Andropov and a retreat by Chernenko, Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev has vowed to get the country moving again. Suddenly there’s great interest in the West in what’s going on in Gorbachev’s Russia. The words *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) have become so common in political discourse they’re not even translated from the Russian.

A lot of the interest in Gorbachev’s Russia reflects the visible difficulties of American imperialism. There is the phenomenon of “Gorby chic”: kids in London and New York wearing T-shirts with Lenin’s portrait, with “СССР” (USSR in the Cyrillic alphabet) as a big “screw you” to Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. Reagan is still going down in the aftermath of the Iran/Contra fiasco, at loggerheads with the Democrats over domestic policy, outmaneuvered on the Central American “peace” plan, and threatening the Iranians and the world by his irrational adventure in the Persian Gulf. And to top it off, there’s the stock market crash—a giant vote of capitalist no-confidence in the imperialist leadership. After “Black Monday,” the *Wall Street Journal* quoted a Wall Street quip: “None of this would have happened if Reagan were still President.” Hitler’s Thousand Year Reich was finished in 12 years; the Reagan Revolution was over in half that.

To mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, Gorbachev was slated to review the whole subsequent course of the Soviet Union. The editor of the weekly magazine *Ogonyok*, the flagship organ of *glasnost* in Moscow today, had said: “Gorbachev’s speech will give us back our past, both the good and the bad, so we may create our future.” In fact the speech, delivered on November 2, was a lot limper than most people expected. His denunciation of Stalin’s “repressive measures against a number of party leaders and statesmen” was abstract and bloodless. Not a single victim of the Moscow Trial frame-ups was named in this speech as having been executed. And egregiously, Gorbachev actually *praised* Stalin’s military leadership in World War II.

Gorbachev lauded Stalin and Bukharin for defeating Trotskyism—“it was essential to disprove Trotskyism before the whole people, and to lay bare its anti-socialist essence” (*Soviet Weekly*, 7 November). At the same time, he endorsed Stalin against the Bukharinite Right Opposition in the late 1920s. After all the speculation in the West-ern press that Gorbachev would officially “rehabilitate”



Red soldiers demonstrate for communism in Moscow, 1917.

Bukharin, Zinoviev and Kamenev (and, some said, even Trotsky), the speech denounced Zinoviev and Kamenev for allying themselves with Trotsky and stopped short of rehabilitating Bukharin, who was shot as an "enemy of the people" in 1938 after Stalin's show trial focusing on the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites."

But the re-examination of Soviet history which began under the slogan of *glasnost* has already turned into a political minefield which is ripping holes in the fabric binding together the bureaucracy. The discussions among the Kremlin tops were so intense, the *New York Times* (26 October) reported, that a heated Central Committee plenum was devoted to Gorbachev's speech before it was given. In the wake of this plenum—where Moscow party leader Boris Yeltsin, known as a strong Gorbachev supporter, lashed out at the slow pace of "reform"—there are reports in the Western press that Yeltsin's threat to resign his post may have been accepted.

Last February Gorbachev declared: "There should be no forgotten names or blanks either in history or in literature." For Gorbachev, overcoming the alienation of wide sections of the intelligentsia from the administrative hacks is a key to building enthusiasm for *perestroika*. Many intellectuals are repelled by the drabness of official cultural life, while the systematic falsification of Soviet history—the treatment of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and other Bolshevik leaders as non-persons—is an embarrassment to Soviet scholars and even propagandists who want to deal with their Western counterparts without the burden of lies that no one believes and cover-ups that expose only their perpetrators.

Gorbachev's "no blank pages" has in effect sanctioned an intense debate on Stalin's role and on the fate of the Old Bolsheviks. Last spring the organ of the Soviet Writers Union published the novel *Children of the Arbat* by Anatoly Rybakov. This devastating portrayal of capricious cruelty and terror in Stalin's Moscow during the 1930s touched a raw nerve, producing a flood of letters. One such letter by playwright Mikhail Shatrov (whose father was shot on one bloody day in March 1937 when 6,200 were slaughtered in four different camps) stated that Stalin "objectively did more for its defeat—the [Russian revolutionary] movement's—than our class enemies all together

— Spartacist Pamphlet —

What Is the Permanent Revolution?

"Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution"
by Leon Trotsky (August 1939)

The Russian Revolution was the living confirmation of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. This understanding enabled Trotsky to stand with Lenin against the Mensheviks and all those within the Bolshevik Party who flinched in the face of the necessity to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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did." About the same time, the June issue of *Nauka i Zhizn* (Science and Life) published posthumously a 1965 lecture by well-known writer Konstantin Simonov bitterly attacking Stalin's 1937 purge of Marshal Tukhachevsky and the Red Army officers. "If there had been no 1937, there would have been no summer of 1941," he said, referring to the Soviet army's collapse when Hitler's Operation Barbarossa began.

Revolution and Truth

In his own way Gorbachev recognizes that Trotskyism is *the left opposition* to Stalin's heirs: "Trotskyism was a political current whose ideologists took cover behind leftist pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric." If the discredited whole-cloth slanders of Trotsky as an "agent of imperialism" have been replaced in the mouth of the present Soviet leaders by new distortions to serve Gorbachev's new purposes, at least the way has been opened for elements in the USSR who consider themselves leftist Communists to look into the political record of Trotsky's struggles against the bureaucracy.

This is *despite* the intentions of Gorbachev, whose 70th anniversary speech was far more mealy-mouthed about the crimes of Stalin than the Khrushchev "revelations" of three decades ago (at least Gorbachev did manage to put in a good word for Khrushchev). Khrushchev's famous "secret speech" was delivered at a closed session of the 20th Party Congress in 1956. When Stalin died in 1953—after exterminating all his opponents and building an apparatus of one-man rule backed up by massive secret-police terror—a power fight was unleashed within the bureaucracy. The Kremlin tops—who had been accomplices in Stalin's crimes or at least had participated in covering them up—needed to dismantle some of the more onerous and bizarre aspects of Stalin's paranoid personal dictatorship. Thus, a few months after Stalin's death, his much-feared head of the secret police, Lavrenti Beria, was shot in the Kremlin and posthumously accused of having been a British spy since 1919!

Khrushchev's denunciation of the "cult of personality" was buttressed by the publication of Lenin's *Testament*, dictated by Lenin during the period of December 1922–January 1923 before the 12th Party Congress, but revealed

for the first time only verbally and secretly to the delegates at the May 1924 13th Party Congress and then suppressed by Stalin. In referring to Lenin's *Testament*, in his 2 November address Gorbachev carefully *omitted* Lenin's call that "the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post," namely, general secretary (*Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 596 [Moscow, 1966]). Gorbachev wanted to clearly signal the permissible limits of *glasnost*.

But it's not so easy. During the "Khrushchev thaw," an important layer of the Soviet political elite became aware of some salient aspects of Russian history. It is known that Lenin, in the last critical months of his active life, waged a fight against bureaucracy. But the bureaucracy won, and that fact is decisive in understanding the Soviet Union today.

Lenin formed a *political bloc* with Trotsky *against* the *troika* of Stalin and his then-allies Zinoviev and Kamenev. He sought Trotsky's active support in defense of the state monopoly of foreign trade and in curbing the abuses of the "Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" (*Rabkrin*) which was headed by Stalin until the middle of 1922 and still closely associated with him thereafter. Particularly, Lenin sought to gear up Trotsky to lead a sharp struggle against Stalin's highhanded abuse of the nationalities, particularly, the Georgians, who after enduring national oppression under the tsar wanted guarantees of the equality of nations in the union of Soviet republics. Lenin insisted that "exemplary punishment must be inflicted" on Grigory Orjonikidze, Stalin's chief lieutenant, for brutality and Great Russian chauvinism in the Georgian affair. And he added: "The political responsibility for all this truly Great-Russian nationalist campaign must, of course, be laid on Stalin and Dzerzhinsky" ("The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'" [December 1922], *ibid.*, p. 610).

But Trotsky pulled back from the sharp struggle which Lenin urged. He was unable to discern in advance where Stalin was going (Stalin probably didn't know either). And he was in some isolation: while now being the number two leader in the Soviet state, he had only joined the Bolsheviks after the February Revolution (despite having then personally led the October). He feared being thought personally self-seeking. Trotsky was constrained to be too modest for too long when the necessities of maintaining a



Nikita Khrushchev denounces crimes of Stalin at closed session of 20th Party Congress, 1956, partially lifting lid on years of repression.

revolutionary policy required that he urgently push the Leninist policy which he espoused, and therefore push himself.

Under the conditions of the exhaustion and atomization of the Soviet proletariat by the Civil War and the resultant devastation of the economy—and the demoralization engendered by the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution—the soviets ceased to function as governmental organs. But debate could still take place within the Bolshevik Party and in December 1923 the pages of *Pravda* were opened again one last time for the ventilation of party discussion.

Lenin was incapacitated by illness and died on 21 January 1924 at the age of 54. At the 13th Party Conference held in January 1924, Stalin and his allies in the “troika” (Zinoviev and Kamenev) gutted party democracy to seize the decisive ascendancy. In the fall of 1924 Stalin announced his new schema of “socialism in one country”: the negation of the Leninist understanding that the survival of the October Revolution depended upon its *extension* internationally, above all to the advanced capitalist countries.

In *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), Trotsky explained the social basis for the rise of the bureaucracy as rooted in scarcity: “When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy.” “Socialism in one country” reflected in “theoretical” terms the nascent bureaucracy’s acquisition of self-consciousness; henceforth, it would act deliberately to preserve its privileges.

To further consolidate his power, Stalin made and unmade a series of blocs with various party leaders, pursuing an impressionistic zigzag course. For example, once he had smashed the Left Oppositionists he was free to adopt sections of their program. Having opposed their proposals to check the disastrous consequences unleashed by the economic policies of the Right (led by Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky)—which turned its back on the necessity for a policy of socialist *industrialization*, while giving the rich peasants the upper hand in the countryside—Stalin then turned around and imposed *forced collectivization*. The wanton brutality and tremendous human cost of this policy is supposed to be a secret in the USSR today. In



V.I. Lenin in Gorki, 1922.

V.V. Loboda

the course of this “left” turn, Stalin broke with and politically destroyed the Bukharinite Right.

To secure the rule of the conservative bureaucratic caste, it was not sufficient for Stalin to smash and isolate his political opponents. He had even to destroy the Stalin faction itself, since many of its leading members were opposed to shooting Communist opponents of their faction.

At the 17th Congress of the already multiply-purged party in 1934, Stalin’s re-election as general secretary was conducted by secret ballot—and some 20 percent voted against him. The 1934 assassination of Kirov—a long-time member of the Stalin faction who was seen as Stalin’s potential rival—became the excuse for mass murder, including a bloody revenge on the 17th Congress

Wide World



Troika of Stalin, Leon Kamenev (second from right) and Gregory Zinoviev grabbed control of the party after Lenin’s death. (Second from left is Alexei Rykov.)

participants. Because of the secret ballot, Stalin was unable to distinguish the "enemies" who had voted against him from the "loyal" 80 percent—so he essentially killed them all. Khrushchev's 1956 speech revealed that 70 percent of the Central Committee elected by the 17th Congress had been executed, along with an almost equal proportion of the Congress delegates.

The degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution was mirrored in Moscow's direction of the world Communist movement. In the mid-1920s the Communist International promoted revolution by bureaucratic means, sometimes (particularly associated with Zinoviev) engaging in lightminded insurrectionary adventures. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 found Stalin and his then-partner Bukharin totally disoriented, first groveling before the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang, then staging an insurrectionary adventure: the Canton Commune. Whatever Stalin tried, nothing worked. During the so-called "Third Period" which began in the late 1920s, the Comintern was given over to ultraleft and sectarian posturing—which in Germany allowed Nazism to triumph without a struggle by the powerful German proletariat.

Fearful of resurgent, rearming German imperialism under Hitler, Stalin then desperately sought an alliance with the "democratic" imperialist powers, France and Britain, under the rubric of the "Popular Front" adopted in 1935. Stalin's strangulation of revolutions abroad for the sake of the "Popular Front" went hand in hand with the extermination of the Old Bolsheviks inside the USSR. The Moscow Trials coincided with Stalin's betrayal of the Spanish Revolution in order to gain the confidence of the capitalist rulers in Paris and London. Successful proletarian revolution in Spain could have inspired the workers of the world—and given the Soviet workers the revolutionary confidence to sweep out the Kremlin oligarchy. Stalin,

instead, sent in wave after wave of GPU agents and "commissars" to smash the advanced detachments of the insurgent workers' movement who wanted to fight for socialist revolution; his "practical" policy was that the workers should uphold the Republic to "win the war" against General Franco. The result was the triumph of Franco, who ruled Spain for the next four decades. This was "socialism in one country" in action and at large. On the basis of such crimes against the international proletariat, Trotsky branded Stalin the "gravedigger of revolutions."

From the time of his exile from Russia in 1929 until his death at the hands of a Stalinist assassin in 1940, Trotsky carried forward the banner of the Left Opposition, the continuator of the authentic tradition of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. As against the obscene spectacle of the false "confessions" paraded at the Moscow Trials—confessions secured not only by terror but by the bewildered victims' belief that in going along with Stalin's monstrous accusations they were "serving the Revolution"—Trotsky and his comrades in Russia refused to "confess" or to recant their revolutionary views.

Years later, Leopold Trepper, who was not a Trotskyist (he was in fact a Polish Jewish Communist who created and ran the Soviet "Red Orchestra" espionage network in Nazi Germany and Occupied Europe during World War II), paid tribute to their steadfastness. Excoriating "all those who did not rise up against the Stalinist machine," he asked "who did protest at that time?" and then gave the answer:

"The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor... they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did...."

"Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

A reply to the standard Stalinist slanders of Trotskyism and a Trotskyist view of Mao's China.

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Spartacist Youth League
amphlet



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Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile demonstrate on anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, 1928. The center banner, with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, proclaims: "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."

—Leopold Trepper, *The Great Game* (1977)

Contradictions of Gorbachev's Russia

The contrast between the feverish debate leading up to Gorbachev's 70th anniversary speech and its cautious content highlights the contradictions of Gorbachev's Russia. The Gorbachev line is a response by the Kremlin oligarchy to the changed realities in the Soviet Union. The new general secretary seeks to maintain bureaucratic administrative rule in the presence of a sizable cultured petty bourgeoisie and the felt needs of the Soviet masses for a better life. The intellectual layer that Stalin pretty much destroyed during his reign is now a significant stratum in Soviet society, and it interpenetrates the bureaucracy. Gorbachev—a representative of the new generation of Stalinist bureaucrats who did not participate personally in Stalin's crimes—is also the first Soviet leader since Lenin with a university education. It's been a long time since the direct and open application of terror; no longer are there millions of people in forced labor camps; police-state repression has become more indirect. Under these conditions and with these constraints, Gorbachev needs to shake up the society as a means to overcome the sluggishness of the Soviet economy.

The Kremlin bureaucracy confronts a new generation which does not measure social and economic progress against the devastated condition of Russia after it defeated Nazi Germany in World War II. Boris Kagarlitsky, a Soviet sociologist and a principal organizer of the newly-formed Federation of Socialist Clubs, notes:

"The country which Gorbachev has inherited is already not the same as the one that came into Khrushchev's

hands. It is an urbanized society with a large number of hereditary townspeople and skilled workers.... Young people have no memory of the poverty of the forties, but react acutely to any threat to lower their present standard of living."

—*New Left Review*, July/August 1987

What is involved here is not simply a hankering after Western gadgetry and consumerism. There is a sense in Russia, unlike in the West, that the country is supposed to *belong* to the working people. In fact, according to official ideology, the USSR is supposedly "building socialism" and moving toward a classless society—the disappearance of social inequality on the basis of material plenty. The people are bound to wonder why an economy that can put satellites into space "can't" make a decent pair of sneakers.

Gorbachev thus confronts a very different political consciousness than in the capitalist West. Traveling to Murmansk, high above the Arctic Circle, the Soviet leader spoke of "revolutionary tasks" and gave the marching orders: "Work—this is what should be done now." That will certainly pose radical changes in a country where during the Brezhnev period the standard joke was: "we pretend to work, they pretend to pay us."

In moving to accelerate economic growth Gorbachev has more than exhortation in mind. Under the rubric of *perestroika* the present Kremlin leadership aims to minimize centralized economic planning in favor of "market socialism" along the lines of Yugoslavia and Hungary. This program *if implemented*—and there is bound to be powerful resistance to *perestroika* not only among the working class but also from vested interests within the bureaucracy—will undermine collectivized property and strengthen the internal forces for capitalist restoration. In Yugoslavia four decades of "market socialism" in the name of "self-management" have produced the highest inflation rate in Europe, East or West, massive unemployment and

intensified national conflicts which can rip the country apart. Gorbachev's Russia is a long way from present-day Yugoslavia, but *perestroika* is a first step down that road.

At the same time, the policy of *glasnost* has unleashed enormous political and intellectual ferment. A broad spectrum of heterogeneous socialist-oriented informal groups, the *nyeformaly*, is beginning to surface. According to *Ogonyok*, there are 1,000 of these *nyeformaly* groups in Moscow alone, another 200 in Leningrad, ranging from "Green" ecological groups to rock clubs and radical-socialist circles. The Gorbachev regime has tolerated these groups (and some elements of the regime have evidently been promoting them), but this is juridically reversible—the unofficial groups can suddenly become *really* unofficial. Already the top hacks of the Komsomol (Communist Youth) are mapping out a strategy to combat this proliferation of political groups outside the bureaucracy's direct control:

"The document prepared by the Komsomol propaganda department says that many of the groups serve a valuable function, but it complained that others read the works of such politically unacceptable thinkers as Leon Trotsky, and that some seem to be setting themselves up in competition with state organizations."

—*New York Times*, 8 November

With the lid of repression lifted after 60 years, some vile creatures are also crawling out of the political underground. The most sinister development under *glasnost* has been the more public emergence of nativist Russian fascism represented by Pamyat (Memory), which demonstrated in front of the Kremlin last May. (See "Bolshevik Revolution Smashed the Anti-Semitic Black Hundreds: Pamyat—Russian Fascists Raise Their Heads," *Workers Vanguard* No. 434, 7 August.) Railing against heavy metal rock music, alcoholism, drugs and the "loose morals" of Soviet youth, this group harks back to the anti-Semitism of the tsarist Black Hundreds. It is trying to fuse the worst excrescences of Stalinism—which used anti-Semitism against the Trotskyist Left Opposition—with the backwardness embodied in the old Russian Orthodox Church. But Pamyat has a problem—they are nativist Russian fas-

cists who are, however, constrained to appeal to the patriotism of all the Soviet *peoples*—because half the population of the Soviet Union consists of non-Russian nationalities.

Pamyat is not some collection of churchgoing old people and right-wing nutcases on the fringe of Soviet society. Some of its leaders are drawn from elements of the bureaucracy and the organization reportedly has the protection of the Ministry of Aviation Industry as well as top-level elements of the Communist Party hierarchy. Trotsky observed in the Transitional Program that "all shades of political thought are to be found among the bureaucracy; from genuine Bolshevism (Ignace Reiss) to complete fascism (F. Butenko)," with the Stalinist center playing a bonapartist role. The tendency toward such polarization exists because the bureaucracy is not a ruling *class* but a *caste* which has no ideological justification for its rule, claiming to stand for the revolutionary ideals which it betrays.

Even the mystical blood-and-soil rhetoric which is a hallmark of fascism can find an echo among some Stalinist *apparatchiks*. For example, in the mid-1960s a functionary of the Moscow Komsomol distributed a leaflet demanding:

"Love for the motherland is a necessary and sufficient condition for citizenship. A cult of the ancestors must be set up...."

"At first, a long campaign must be conducted in favor of native, moral, and physiological values of virginal purity and honor, and to persuade young people of the criminal nature of premarital sexual intercourse. We must not stop even at promoting ancient peasant customs: painting gates with tar, public showing of the sheet after the wedding night, corporal punishment of women who give themselves to foreigners, branding and sterilization of them."

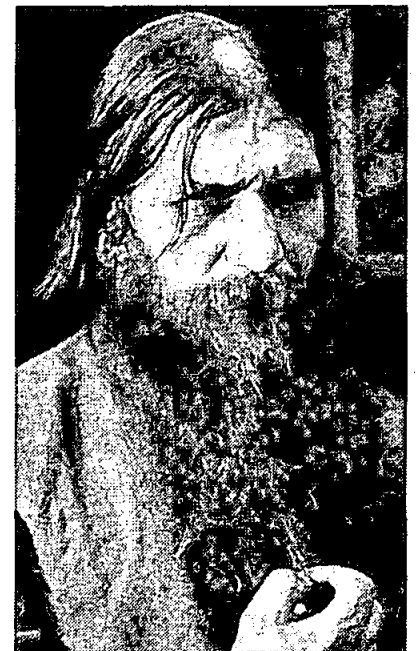
—reproduced in Alexander Yanov,
The Russian New Right (1978)

The strain of nativist Russian fascism represented by Pamyat has provoked widespread repulsion among the intelligentsia and political elite. A meeting last August in Moscow of 600 representatives from 50 unofficial groups was in large part a response to Pamyat. Out of this meeting



International Publishers Photos

Russian Orthodox priests march at head of Black Hundreds pogromists, 1907. Mad monk Rasputin (right) symbolized last days of tsarist autocracy.



came two associations. One was a Circle of Social Initiatives, with a loose membership and a broad social program along the lines of the West European Greens, whose declaration proclaimed the ideals of "socialism, democracy, humanism and progress." The second was the Federation of Socialist Clubs, including 16 groups who signed a manifesto. The Socialist Clubs, which seem to include a component of veterans of the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, are also *extremely heterogeneous* politically. They include the Perestroika Club, sponsored by some of Gorbachev's closest economic advisers. Others are named the Che Guevara Brigade and Young Internationalist Communards.

The Federation's manifesto contains an implicit denunciation of Pamyat, a demand to "democratise the electoral system" and a call "to show support and solidarity to revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements in the capitalist world and in developing countries" (*London Guardian*, 12 September). At the same time, it declares that the "life and death of socialism in the USSR hang on whether perestroika succeeds" and demands "to switch the economy to self-management."

While there are many contradictory tendencies within the Socialist Clubs and other *nyeformaly*, the political and intellectual climate in Gorbachev's Russia is vastly different from the Poland of Solidarność in the early 1980s. Solidarność was a company "union" for the CIA, the Vatican and the Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers. Its leaders and supporters hailed Ronald Reagan and were bankrolled by U.S. imperialism. They reviled Poland's greatest Marxist, Rosa Luxemburg, and idolized Marshal Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of inter-war Poland.

In Gorbachev's Russia some number of intellectuals and politically-minded workers are seeking the road back to Lenin. The conditions are ripe for the regeneration of Leninist-Trotskyist understanding. For as stated in the

Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International, written 50 years ago, the "indestructible force" of Trotskyism in the USSR "stems from the fact that it expresses not only revolutionary tradition but also today's actual opposition of the Russian working class." "A fresh upsurge of the revolution in the USSR," Trotsky wrote, "will undoubtedly begin under the banner of the struggle against *social inequality* and *political oppression*."

Today, a program for political revolution in the Soviet Union, to oust the privileged bureaucracy and defend the gains of October, can be elaborated beginning with the slogans: Stalin abused central planning—For central planning with soviet democracy! Soviet archives belong to the Soviet peoples—Open the history books! For unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! These can be the basis of a revolutionary program to return the Soviet Union to the road of Lenin and Trotsky.

For Central Planning with Soviet Democracy!

Under the slogan of *perestroika*, Gorbachev has called for "streamlin[ing] our bloated bureaucracy" of 18 million functionaries, roughly 15 percent of the working population. In his speech to the Central Committee last January, he argues that the lack of democracy has produced widespread alienation among the working class. A whole stratum, including young people, have become "cynical," only interested in "material well-being and gain by any means," work discipline is breaking down, and there is an increase in alcoholism and drugs. And all these are obstacles to economic development.

Fifty years ago, Trotsky wrote of the limits of Stalinist industrialization:

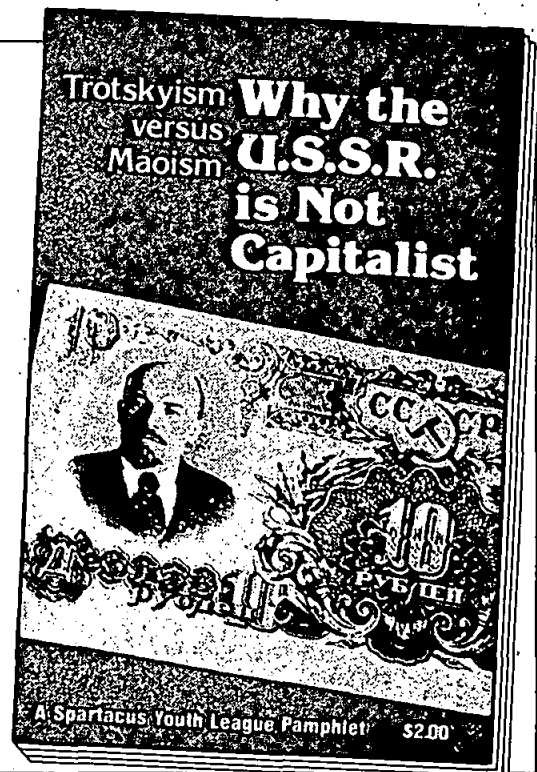
"It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But

Why the USSR Is Not Capitalist

Explains why the collectivized economy of the Soviet Union, despite Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration, is the basis for socialist construction. Exposes the various Maoist, New Left and "Third Campist" theories of the USSR as anti-Marxist, ideologically reflecting the hostility of world imperialism to the Soviet Union.

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Gorbachev and wife Raisa visit textile mill in Tallinn, Estonia. Bureaucratic parasitism and mismanagement cripple Soviet economy. For workers control at the point of production and central planning based on soviet democracy!



the farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of the bureaucracy like a shadow. The Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, *quality* demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery.”

—*The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

Trotsky's *Transitional Program* presents a program for a way out of this impasse, for “a revision of *planned economy* from top to bottom in the interests of producers and consumers,” for *workers control at the point of production* as the foundation of genuine workers democracy. But this program means the ouster of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which is a *parasitic caste* sitting atop the working class, analogous to the trade-union bureaucracy under Western capitalism.

As an alternative to workers democracy, the Gorbachev regime proposes market-oriented economic reforms. These were decreed at the June 1987 Central Committee meeting and enacted shortly after in the new Law on State Enterprises. According to Gorbachev's program for “Fundamentally Restructuring Management of the Economy,” by the end of 1990 individual enterprises will determine what they produce and in what quantities, except for the military sector. Most subsidies of prices will eventually be eliminated. Enterprise managers will be able to cut wages and bonuses, and to sack “redundant” workers. If their revenues still don't cover costs, they'll be shut down.

Stalin gave central planning a bad name. The economic ills of the Soviet Union today are not the result of central planning. By ripping the productive resources out of the hands of the capitalists and landlords and overcoming the anarchy of the market, the Soviet Union was able to make the leap from a backward peasant country into a great industrial/military power in a few decades of brutal efforts. Centralized planning was a vital factor in this historic and progressive achievement. The Soviet Union has built an economy where there is a job for everyone who wants to work, free universal education, free health care. There may

be infuriating shortages, but no hunger in contrast to the U.S. where there are 20 million chronically hungry. Housing is tight—many young couples live with their in-laws—but no one lives in the street, compared to hundreds of thousands of homeless in the U.S.

It is the Stalinists' *bureaucratic distortion* of the planned economy which has brought the Soviet Union to stagnation. And dismantling central planning while wooing imperialist giants to set up joint enterprises and generating a new class of petty capitalist entrepreneurs will necessarily produce unemployment and inflation, fueling the internal forces pushing toward the bloody restoration of capitalism.

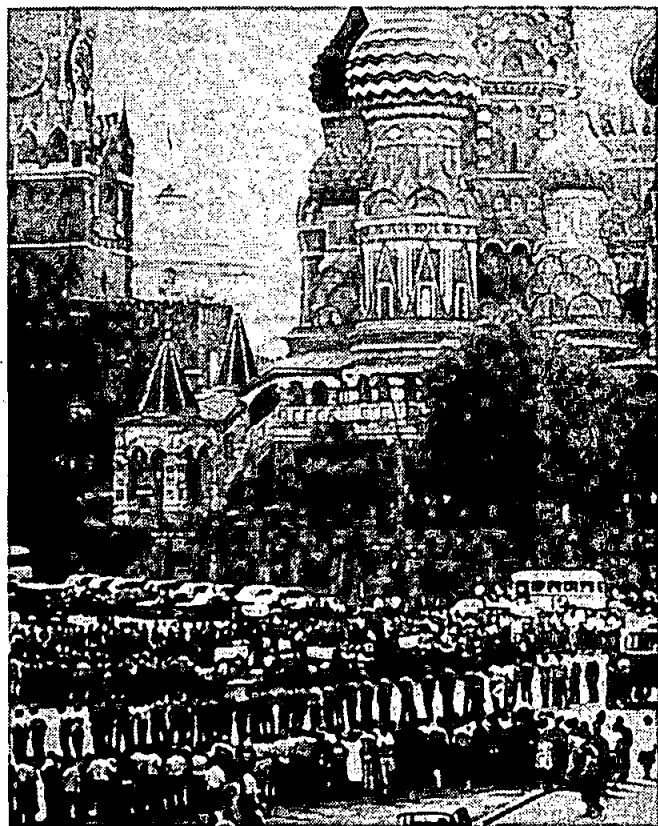
The National Question in the USSR

Centralized planning has also been key to welding together the more than 100 nations and national groups which make up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The centralized allocation of economic resources has contributed greatly to substantially *narrowing* the once vast gulf separating the Turkic-speaking peoples of Soviet Central Asia—nomadic herdsman only a few generations ago—from the peoples of European Russia. A factory worker in Bokhara and Tashkent receives a similar wage scale and social services as his fellow workers in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev. Contrast this with Yugoslavia where “market socialism” and enterprise self-management has *widened* national inequality and dangerously aggravated national antagonisms.

The imperialists lust to exploit national feeling within the Soviet Union as a battering ram for counterrevolution, notably through the Zionist-orchestrated campaign to “Free Soviet Jewry” as well as through the CIA-led “captive nations” rightists. When the Red Army intervened in Afghanistan, the imperialists were salivating that Islamic fanaticism would insinuate its way among the Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia. (In fact, many of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan come from those areas and know very well that the October Revolution liberated their homelands from terrible backwardness.) Earlier this year, Radio

Free Europe promoted a nationalist provocation in Estonia—which managed to attract all of a few hundred people.

But until political revolution restores Leninist internationalism to the Kremlin, the nationalities question will remain a time bomb. Thus last December, thousands of students staged a violent protest in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan after Gorbachev ousted Kazakh party leader Dinmukhamed Kunaev and replaced him with an ethnic Russian. In his speech to the Central Committee last January, Gorbachev addressed the concern that the Soviet Union could



UPI

Tatars protest near Kremlin, 25 July 1987. Tatars were brutally expelled from Crimea in 1944 after Stalin falsely charged they were all Nazi collaborators. 110,000 perished on forced march to Central Asia.

be destroyed by an escalation of conflicting national claims. In particular, his regime seems to be moving toward some sort of resolution of the Jewish question, mooted a two-pronged policy: to allow the emigration of those Jews (many of them Zionists) who wish to leave; and at the same time, to eliminate the "nationality" category on internal passports, thereby facilitating the full assimilation as Soviet citizens of the vast majority of Soviet Jews who have no desire to become Israelis (or, more commonly, New Yorkers).

The Bolshevik Revolution created the basis for the full emancipation of all the nations of the former tsarist "prison house of peoples." But Stalin, with his nationalistic perspective, adapted to and revived Great Russian chauvinism. On the eve of World War II, as he was murdering the cream of the Red Army officer corps, Stalin rehabilitated the Russian Orthodox Church—a nest of anti-Semitism before the Revolution—as an instrument for propagating patriotism. When the war broke out, Stalin's policies had

had such a catastrophic effect that large sections of the Ukrainian and some other non-Russian peoples actually welcomed the invading Nazis. By way of revenge, Stalin then deported *entire peoples* from their territories. To counter the growth of right-wing nationalism fueled by Stalin's policies, Trotsky in 1939 raised the recognition of the right of self-determination for a *Soviet Ukraine*. For Marxists, the democratic right of national self-determination, however justified, is subordinate to the class principle of defense of proletarian state power against capitalist restoration.

Contradictions of Perestroika

When collective farm workers at a farm in Kazakhstan recently took advantage of the new law for election of managers by voting out a petty tyrant, the ousted director began a hunger strike at the regional Communist Party headquarters. He charged "crude violations of... existing rules of Nomenklatura," referring to the system whereby managerial posts are filled from lists of party-approved officials (*Financial Times*, 21 October).

But opposition to *perestroika* is not limited to fearful *apparatchiks*; *working-class* resistance is also being felt. *Moscow News* (No. 38, 27 September) reported a bus drivers strike in Chekhov, about 40 miles outside of Moscow, because of a change in the system of wage payment. This was so unusual they didn't know what to call it, so the article was headlined "Incident." The bureaucracy's response was also noteworthy: within 90 minutes they got high-ranking regional leaders down to the bus barns to cool things out, and the manager was hauled before the city party committee and reprimanded. A month later there was a report of a three-day strike at the Likino bus plant. This time *Moscow News* (No. 42, 25 October) headlined "An Emergency" and admitted to a work stoppage. Facing speedup, piece rates, "Stakhanovite" wage differentials, and the prospect of inflation and layoffs, some sections of the Soviet workers are getting "involved" over *perestroika* in a way that Gorbachev & Co. did not intend.

Already at the time of the "trade-union controversy" in the winter of 1920-21, Lenin pointed out that Soviet Russia "is a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions" ("The Party Crisis," January 1921, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 48 [Moscow, 1965]). Therefore, he said, the Communists must "use these workers' organisations to protect the workers from their state, and to get them to protect our state" ("The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and Trotsky's Mistakes" [December 1920], *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 25 [Moscow, 1965]). After more than 60 years of Stalinist political domination of the Soviet Union, the fight for unions independent of bureaucratic control, for factory committees to institute *workers control of production* at the base, is a cornerstone of the fight for soviet democracy, and must be based on defense of socialized property.

To dampen working-class distrust of *perestroika*, the Gorbachev regime is making a big to-do about "democratization" at the enterprise level. *Soviet Life* (August 1987) highlighted the election of a plant manager by a minibus factory in Riga (Latvia) where the winning candidate was favored by the administrative/technical staff and promised more efficiency rather than higher wages or better housing.

But there is a built-in contradiction: what happens when

workers vote against speedup, layoffs, and greater wage differentiation? And if they can vote for plant managers, pretty soon they will be demanding to vote for their higher-ups as well. By offering Soviet workers the *semblance* of democracy at the point of production, the Gorbachev regime has opened the door to the demand for *actual* workers democracy—the reconstruction of real soviets (workers councils) and the re-enfranchisement of the working people whose power was usurped by the Stalinists.

Soviet Archives Belong to the Soviet Peoples!

At the January 1987 Central Committee meeting where Gorbachev first laid out his policies for *perestroika*, he linked them closely to *glasnost*. He noted that the causes of "the period of stagnation" go "far back into the past and are rooted in that specific historical situation in which, by virtue of well-known circumstances, vigorous debate and creative ideas disappeared." Behind this euphemistic reference to Stalin, a furious debate has been raging over questions of Soviet history. Unlike the 1956 "de-Stalinization" campaign, which soon set carefully prescribed limits, today Soviet historians, writers, journalists and others are aggressively challenging taboo subjects. Already last winter, *Moscow News* (25 January) printed long excerpts from Lenin's *Testament*, including the statement that Stalin should be removed as general secretary.

Then in April the prominent literary journal *Nový Mir* (New World) published "The Brest Peace" by playwright Mikhail Shatrov. In this work, which was scheduled to open at the Vakhtangov Theatre in Moscow on November 7, Trotsky, Bukharin and Zinoviev are presented more or less historically accurately in the debates in the Bolshevik Central Committee over signing the treaty of Brest-Litovsk that took Soviet Russia out of the imperialist world war in 1918. (To buttress the case against Trotsky as an "ultraleftist," however, Lenin is ludicrously misrepresented as the father of "peaceful coexistence.") The production of this play in Moscow explodes the fabrications of the Moscow Trials, as Lenin's comrades-in-arms, vilified and slaughtered by Stalin, have ceased to be "non-persons."

Among the Old Bolsheviks, Bukharin is, as the Paris social-democratic *Libération* pointed out, the "most easily reintegrated." Bukharin's call on peasants to "enrich yourselves," is the message some market-oriented reformers want to send today, to encourage the growth of a layer of petty capitalists. His name is associated with the New Economic Policy of the 1920s. Bukharin did not author the NEP, Lenin did—and Trotsky anticipated Lenin in proposing the "tax in kind," re-establishing an economic basis for the *smychka*, the alliance of the workers and peasants. But Bukharin turned this policy, necessary to recover from the ruin of the Civil War and the extremes of War Communism, into a program, opposing the necessary collectivization of agriculture and insisting that industrialization would have to proceed at a snail's pace. Trotsky pointed out that the Soviet Union did not have endless time; if the urgent tasks of economic construction were not addressed, the Soviet Union would not be able to withstand the economic and military pressures of world imperialism.

After being dumped as head of the Comintern and ousted from the Politburo in 1929, Bukharin submitted to



G.P. Goldshtein



State Fine Arts Publishers

Stalin school of falsification: In original photo (top) Trotsky stands on the steps; in later versions, Trotsky was disappeared. The late Isaac Deutscher said writing Trotsky's biography was like dragging Trotsky out "from under a mountain of dead dogs, a huge load of calumny and oblivion."

Stalin, was later named editor of *Izvestia* and even wrote the Stalin constitution two years before his execution. Thus at various points Bukharin served as the chief ideological apologist for the Stalin regime.

As far as Trotsky is concerned, however, the debate in Gorbachev's Russia is all over the map. In early July, *Moscow News* editor Yegor Yakovlev wrote a long article kicking off the series "Thus We Began" in *Izvestia* (12 July) on "The First Government" of the Soviet republic. Among those who were considered "heros and martyrs of the Revolution," he lists "Foreign Affairs—L.D. Bronstein (Trotsky)." On 20 September another article in the same series, by *Izvestia's* chief political commentator Aleksandr Bovin, quoted at length the powerful speech by Trotsky when he walked out of the Brest peace negotiations:

"We hope—said the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs—that shortly the exploited working masses of all countries will take power into their hands like the working people of Russia have. We are removing our armies and our people from the war....

"At the same time we declare that the conditions as submitted to us by the governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary are opposed in principle to the interests of all peoples."

Equally significant was the publication in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs daily bulletin *Vestnik* (Messenger) of a photocopy of instructions by Foreign Minister Trotsky to the Soviet envoy in Scandinavia. Along with exhortations to use armistice negotiations as an instrument of revolution, the letter insists on the Bolshevik opposition to secret diplomacy: "The openness [*glasnost*] of all negotiations is for us, of course, a question of principle" (*Christian Science Monitor*, 4 September).

All this was evidently too much for the "conservatives," and by the end of the month they counterattacked. On September 28, virulent anti-Trotskyist diatribes were published both in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, the newspaper of the Russian Republic, and the trade-union daily *Trud*.

Der Spiegel (27 July) reported on a meeting where pandemonium broke out when Yuri Afanasyev, rector of the Moscow State Historical Archives Institute, said he was in favor of the publication of Trotsky's works. An old-

timer reportedly yelled out: "You have read Trotsky and are sitting here in comfort. Do you know how many people were sent to Siberia for that?" While some information on Stalin's crimes has "trickled down" to the Soviet people, the study of the real history of the Stalin years is permitted only to a relative handful of *apparatchiks*, propagandists and academics with privileged access to the official archives. Let the Soviet people know the truth—open the archives! Soviet publications now devote pages to discussing and denouncing Trotsky and Trotskyism. Let the Soviet people judge for themselves—publish Trotsky's writings in Russia!

Defend the Soviet Union— For Revolutionary Internationalism!

The third leg of Gorbachev's policy, in addition to *glasnost* and *perestroika*, is pushing even more for "détente" with U.S. imperialism. A summit meeting has been announced for December 7 in Washington between the Soviet leader and President Reagan, at which a treaty is to be signed eliminating medium- and short-range nuclear missiles. The U.S. administration has repeatedly refused to place any limits on its scheme for space-based weapons to regain nuclear first-strike capability against the Soviets. After a couple of days of back-and-forth, the Kremlin announced its acceptance of a summit without any American commitments.

Pentagon officials, meanwhile, are selling the treaty on the basis that it is Reagan's original "zero option," made in 1981 when NATO was about to deploy the Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany, only eight minutes flying time from Moscow. This plan was so advantageous to the West, requiring that the Soviets give up many hundreds more missiles than the U.S. would, it was designed to be—and was—rejected by Moscow. Moreover, the U.S. plans to offset the removal of Pershings by adding bombers and other weapons. Once again, "arms control" in the mouth of the Americans is a hoax serving to foster the development of new weapons systems. *The Soviet Union should build and acquire whatever arms are necessary to defend itself!*



Mainstream Publishing

Stalin's purge of officer corps on eve of Nazi invasion led to initial Red Army collapse. But Soviet peoples rallied to defense of USSR and fought heroically to defeat Third Reich. Woman bomber pilot was member of one of Red Air Force's three all-female regiments.



Novosti

Soviet troops leaving Afghanistan after Kremlin announced troop reductions. New policy of "reconciliation" will encourage murderous mullah reactionaries.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is rightly frightened of the prospect of nuclear war, a fear shared by the mass of the Soviet peoples who saw their land devastated and millions killed during the Civil War and again during World War II. But many in the Soviet Union understand that appeasement of the nuclear nuts in the White House is not the road to peace.

Only a very foolish person would take exception in principle to the USSR having to deal with the imperialists so long as they exist and possess important sections of this planet. But it is willful blindness—flowing from the conservative program of the Russian bureaucracy—to fail to recognize that the American imperialists are vicious, irreconcilable opponents of every revolution that has overthrown capitalist exploitation. The U.S. military program is aimed at breaking the will of the USSR. In this context the present efforts by Gorbachev & Co. to conciliate imperialism are doubly dangerous. The only road to peace lies through successful working-class revolutions that will narrow the imperialists' power base until they are finally rendered impotent. As Lenin stated in his report of the CC at the 8th Party Congress in March 1919: in the long run "it is inconceivable for the Soviet Republic to exist alongside of the imperialist states for any length of time. One or the

other must triumph in the end" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 153 [Moscow, 1965]).

One thing the Democrats and the Reaganauts all agree on is that "Afghanistan is the test" of Moscow's good will. They want to force the withdrawal of Soviet forces from that strategically important country on the USSR's southern flank so that mullah-led reactionaries—who shoot down civilian airplanes with American Stinger missiles—can carry through their *jihād* against every form of social progress. Last January, Afghan leader Najibullah called for a government of "national reconciliation." Yet there never can or will be "reconciliation" with these CIA-financed feudalists who vow "death to Communism" and to all Communists.

The battle lines between social progress and medieval reaction have been drawn in blood in Afghanistan, notably over the status of women. A recent revealing article in the London *Independent* (10 October) noted that the attempt by the petty-bourgeois leftist regime in Kabul to stop the selling of girl brides, liberate women from the veil (an all-encompassing head-to-toe shroud) and introduce female literacy classes was "an important factor in fanning the rural rebellion." Now, "in keeping with the new policy of national reconciliation...aggressive campaigning for

Spartacist protest against 1981 opening of Polish Solidarność' New York headquarters. Russian signs from left: 600,000 Red Army Soldiers Fell to Liberate Poland from German Nazis; For Military Defense of the Soviet Bloc Against Imperialism!; Stalinism Undermines the Workers States—For Trotskyist Parties to Power!

Workers Vanguard



women's rights has been shelved." Yet the progress already made cannot be undone without bloodshed. Particularly in the towns, the number of women in schools and workplaces has dramatically increased; over half the students at Kabul University are women. If Gorbachev were to sacrifice Afghanistan to placate Washington, *the price would be a bloodbath of Afghan women* at the hands of the rabid Afghan fundamentalists.

Afghanistan became the centerpiece of Democrat Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign and the pretext for the American boycott of the Moscow Olympics. The international Spartacist tendency forthrightly proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!" This sentiment is shared by many in the Soviet Union, including notably veterans of the Afghan war who are becoming increasingly assertive. An American librarian wrote to the *New York Times* (30 August) about having seen a spirited demonstration in Leningrad by Afghanistan war veterans, who laid a wreath at a memorial to those who died to defend the October Revolution during the Civil War; and an unauthorized meeting of Afghan vets was reportedly held recently in Ashkabad in Soviet Central Asia.

In a recent article in *Pravda* reviewing readers' letters on Afghanistan, one reader, the father of Sergeant Yuri Shevchenko who died fighting in Afghanistan, voiced a common complaint, asking that there be a recognition of his son's sacrifice on his gravestone: "Why can't it say that he died carrying out his international duty in Afghanistan? What are we ashamed of?" (*Pravda* monthly English edition, October 1987). What the Kremlin tops are ashamed of is anything that smacks of "exporting revolution," which Stalin forswore. In his speech to the 27th CPSU Congress last year, Gorbachev also denounced the "Trotskyite" heresy of "revolutionary war," adding: "Today, too, we are

firmly convinced that pushing revolutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible" (*New York Times*, 10 March 1986).

Contrary to those who today paint him as a "peaceful coexistence"-nik, Lenin authored the plank of the March 1919 party program denouncing disarmament under capitalism as "the reactionary philistine illusion of petty-bourgeois democrats" and calling instead for "arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie" ("Preamble to the Military Section of the Programme," *Collected Works*; Vol. 29, p. 130 [Moscow, 1965]). The Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was formally committed to achieving victory over capitalism "both in civil wars at home and in international revolutionary wars." Today it can be no different, as from Central America to Indochina and Afghanistan the imperialists are *exporting counterrevolution* whose ultimate aim is to dismember the USSR and "roll back" the revolutionary gains of 1917.

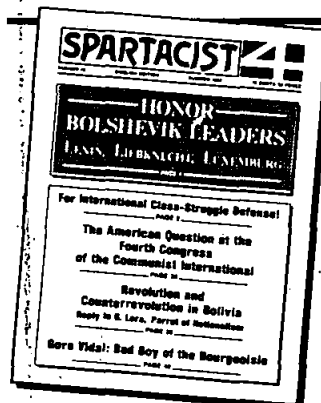
The futility of appeasing the relentless imperialist foes of the Soviet Union was shown by the disastrous results of Stalin's faith in his pact with Hitler. The split between Stalinism and Bolshevism is fundamental: the line was drawn in blood, not only the blood of the Old Bolsheviks shed by Stalin's terror inside the USSR, but also the blood of aborted and betrayed proletarian struggles from China to Spain to Nicaragua or South Africa today, where the felt need of the oppressed masses for the revolutionary transformation of society cries out for intransigent *revolutionary leadership*.

Trotsky's conclusion, written in 1940, is valid today as imperialism prepares a nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the homeland of the October Revolution: "Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy." *Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!* ■

SPARTACIST

An Organ of Revolutionary Marxism

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Специальный номер о Московском процессе

10-й год издания. — Октябрь 1936 г.

Пролетарии всех стран, соединитесь!

БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ ОППОЗИЦИИ

(БОЛЬШЕВИКОВ-ЛЕНИНЦЕВ)
Bulletin de l'Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists)

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Подлинное изображение

Above: Bulletin No. 52-53, October 1936
Headline: "The Moscow Trials—Trial of October"
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Below right: Bulletin No. 64, March 1938
Memorial Issue for Leon Sedov

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Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?



TASS from Sovfoto

Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev exhorts Soviet oil workers to work harder. Only workers' overthrow of bureaucratic caste can revitalize Soviet economy.

The Russian Question and Gorbachev

We are publishing below two sections, "The Russian Question and Gorbachev" and "Deng's China and Political Revolution," from the document "Toward Revolutionary Conjunction" written for the Eighth National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. A draft of the first section, approved by the SL/U.S. Political Bureau on June 16, appeared in Workers Vanguard No. 432, 10 July 1987. The document appears here as amended and adopted by the SL National Conference on 19 September.

The paralysis of the Reagan regime parallels and to some degree interacts with the emergence of a new, more competent and reform-minded leadership in the Soviet Union. In the media and American bourgeois political circles the contrast is made between the lazy, ineffectual and dull-witted Reagan and the energetic, able and highly intelligent Gorbachev. More substantively, significant sections of the American bourgeoisie and its allies believe Reagan incompetent to negotiate advantageously with Gorbachev, who appears decidedly more willing than his predecessors in the

Kremlin to make major concessions to imperialism for the sake of "peaceful coexistence."

Under the watchwords *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring), the two-year-old Gorbachev regime has effected dramatic changes in the Soviet Union. From the White House basement to cafeterias in Moscow factories, people are asking: what does it all mean, where is Russia going?

Schematically, the current developments in the Soviet Union can be broken down into three major components, which Gorbachev and his supporters regard as integrally linked. *One*, there is a genuine *liberalization* of political and intellectual life marked by an outpouring of criticism and dissent within both the bureaucracy and intelligentsia; the relaxation of censorship and publication of long-suppressed works; the freeing of some political prisoners (there weren't many); renewed attacks on the historic crimes of Stalin; and a purge of the bureaucracy, including at the highest levels, for corruption and other violations of legality. *Two*, there is a strenuous effort to accelerate economic growth by increasing the rate of investment and by

strengthening labor discipline through anti-alcoholism/anti-absenteeism campaigns as well as widening wage and income differentials. *Three*, Gorbachev has expressed a strong desire to improve relations with Western (and Japanese) imperialism, indicating a willingness to make greater concessions than his predecessors in the Kremlin, especially to secure arms control.

The Gorbachev regime is not an aberrant development in the Soviet Union. Rather it is a response to the mounting *objective* pressures upon the Soviet bureaucracy since the mid-1970s, centrally matching the massive military buildup of U.S. imperialism, during a period of *decelerating* economic growth. Additionally, the Gorbachev regime reflects the recrudescence of a Soviet intelligentsia both overlapping but also to some degree alienated from the bureaucracy.

Gorbachev, like Andropov before him, has sharply condemned the stultifying complacency and fatuous self-congratulation as well as the rampant corruption and nepotism of the last Brezhnev years. These attitudes in part reflected the genuine accomplishments of the first decade of the Brezhnev era. Between 1965 and 1975 the Soviet Union simultaneously achieved a rough strategic nuclear parity with the U.S., which was bogged down by the Vietnam War, and increased the living standards of its citizens by around 50 percent. Additionally, the Kremlin was able to massively subsidize East Europe, Cuba and various Third World client states.

Behind the Economic Slowdown

Beginning in the mid-1970s things began to go badly for the Soviet bureaucracy. U.S. imperialism partly recovered from the effects of the Vietnam War and began a major military buildup aimed at restoring nuclear first-strike capability. At the same time, the Soviet Union was experiencing a sharp decline in economic growth. The period 1977-1982 marked the worst economic performance in the post-World War II history of the USSR.

Historically, the growth of Soviet industrial development has been what Western bourgeois economists call *extensive* growth, constructing new factories and increasing the labor force to match. During the 1970s, 80 percent of Soviet industrial investment went into new construction compared to only 50 percent in the U.S. By the early 1970s the Soviet Union (except for the Central Asian republics) began to experience a serious labor shortage. Drawing workers from the countryside into the industrial workforce only further weakened agriculture, the weak link of the economy.

For the past decade and a half, switching to *intensive* economic growth, through retooling and modernizing the existing industrial plant, has been a standard theme in official Soviet economic pronouncements. However, this confronts a fundamental obstacle in the *microeconomic effects of bureaucratic parasitism*. Managers routinely hoard labor and waste raw materials, sacrifice quality to meet the quantitative plan targets, understate actual capacity and resist innovation and risk-taking. No less a debilitating effect of bureaucratic rule is the workers' slack attitude toward labor discipline, captured in the joke common throughout the Soviet bloc: we pretend to work and they pretend to pay us.

At a time when resources were needed to modernize the aging Soviet industrial plant, the Kremlin leadership sharply cut back the rate of investment to match the rapid U.S. military buildup under Carter and Reagan. The planned growth of investment fell from 7 percent a year in the early '70s to 2 percent a year in the first half of the 1980s. However, the Soviet Union clearly could not continue to maintain its military strength at the cost of economic stagnation.

From the standpoint of the Soviet bureaucracy, there are only three alternatives. One is to sharply cut back living standards to create an additional surplus for both investment and military spending. No element of the bureaucracy has to date advocated or apparently contemplated such a policy. Two is to reduce military spending. There appears to be a consensus within the Soviet leadership that a major reduction depends upon "arms control" agreements with the West. Hence, the Kremlin, especially under Gorbachev, makes this its primary aim in dealing with Washington and the other NATO capitals. The third alternative is to increase labor productivity by one means or another.

Andropov, during his short period of leadership, attempted this not through structural changes in the economy but through purging especially corrupt and incompetent managers and officials and by counteracting slack work discipline through anti-alcoholism/anti-absenteeism campaigns. Such policies have been credited for the moderate improvement in Soviet economic growth

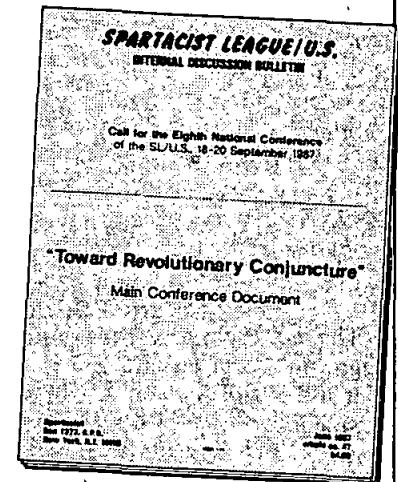
"Toward Revolutionary Conjunction"

Main document draft for the
Eighth National Conference of the
Spartacist League/U.S., June 1987

A synthetic
assessment of the
current situation
in the U.S. and
internationally
including the
current tasks and
perspectives of
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over the last few years, but the economic effects of such campaigns are inherently limited and short-term.

The anti-alcoholism campaign expresses more than simply economic calculation on the part of the Kremlin leadership. There is a genuine concern about the moral debilitation of Soviet society. Within the Communist Party, including its higher ranks, there are ascetic Communists (Andropov and Mikhail Suslov were notable) who willfully do not drink or collect fancy foreign cars like Brezhnev did. Such attitudes are shared and appreciated by a wide spectrum of the intelligentsia.

Resurgence of the Intelligentsia

Gorbachev's new course is more than a conjunctural response by the Soviet leadership to increasing pressure from imperialist militarism amid mounting economic difficulties. It also reflects the changing *social environment* in which the bureaucracy itself exists. After the Bolshevik Revolution, Stalin's purges and the Hitlerite invasion, there has re-emerged in Russia a substantial intelligentsia with considerable social weight. The technical intelligentsia wants to modernize the country even if this entails driving the workers harder and making the concessions necessary to secure economic cooperation with Western capitalism. The intelligentsia resents the philistinism of the typical party boss and is repelled by the drabness of official culture. They are embarrassed and also perhaps envious that leading artistic figures (e.g., Brodsky, Baryshnikov, Rostropovich) emigrated to the West. Gorbachev has set out to overcome the alienation by the apparatchiks of the intelligentsia, including among elements of the "dissidents" and émigrés.

While there is presently no known tendency within the Soviet intelligentsia which aspires to revolutionary Marxism, the present intellectual ferment and openness could lead elements of the intelligentsia back to authentic Bolshevism. In this respect the most positive aspect of *glasnost* for us is the *critical re-examination* of Soviet history,

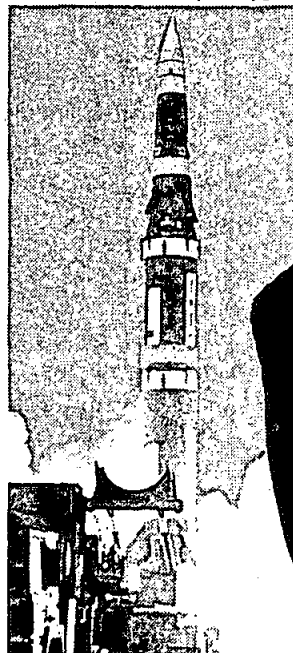
"There should be no forgotten names or blanks either in history or in literature," Gorbachev stated last February. There has been a spate of new and previously suppressed books and films about the crimes and failures of Stalin. Even more significant is the renewed attention to the old Bolshevik leaders killed by Stalin. A play about the treaty of Brest-Litovsk scheduled to open in Moscow, presenting Trotsky and Bukharin as historical figures—i.e., as leaders of the Communist Party—constitutes clear repudiation of the Moscow Trials' shameful fabrications. Lenin's *Testament* has been publicized for the first time (although it has long been available in the *Collected Works*). The new edition of the Soviet encyclopedia *The Great October Socialist Revolution* to be published next fall will include for the first time such figures as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Radek.

Gorbachev and his supporters have denounced Trotskyism not as a disguised form of counterrevolution but as ultraleftism. Thus intellectuals who consider themselves to the left of Gorbachev, especially on international questions, may well be drawn to Trotskyism as they are given to understand it.

Potential for Worker Resistance

While Gorbachev's course has been generally and warmly welcomed by the Soviet intelligentsia, the working class has been far from enthusiastic if not outright distrustful. And for good reason. Before Gorbachev took power in the Kremlin in 1984, there was much speculation in the West that he would introduce sweeping market-oriented reforms along the line of Kadar's Hungary and Deng's China. Gorbachev himself has spoken of the need for "radical" and even "revolutionary" changes in the economy. However, to date the economic changes have been quite modest, far less significant than those introduced by Brezhnev/Kosygin after they ousted Khrushchev in the mid-'60s. The main economic changes thus far have been making legal and therefore taxable individual and

Taylor/Sygma



U.S. imperialists' first-strike missiles target Soviet workers state while Gorbachev and Reagan shake hands in Reykjavik. Gorbachev's pipe dream: peace with imperialism.

Turnley/Newsweek



Yevgeni Khaldei



**Soviet soldiers
hoist red flag from
Reichstag, Berlin,
May Day 1945.
Red Army
liberated Europe
from nightmare of
Nazi occupation.**

family entrepreneurship (e.g., handymen, taxi drivers); granting the 20 industrial ministries and over 70 industrial associations and large enterprises the right to conduct foreign trade; and most recently widening income differentials between workers and technical intellectuals, and reintroducing piece rates, only now based upon quality.

While modest in scope, the *direction* of these economic changes is toward greater dependence upon market competition. Within the framework of Stalinism there is an inherent tendency toward economic decentralization as an *alternative to workers democracy*. Since managers and workers are not subject to the discipline of soviet democracy, a section of the bureaucracy sees subjecting the economic actors to the discipline of the market as the only answer to the Soviet Union's serious economic problems.

A leading Soviet manpower expert, Vladimir Kostakov, maintains that layoffs of redundant workers are necessary to improve labor productivity. The Gorbachev regime itself identifies more rapid economic growth with increasing inequality. A recent television program presented an imagined debate between a young Gorbachev reformer and an older, conservative apparatchik. The latter argued that things aren't that bad and then said, in any event, "People would prefer to live equally in poverty, rather than unequally in wealth." Many workers are bound to ask, why can't we have *both* wealth and equality as is promised us by our country's official socialist doctrine?

Gorbachev's *perestroika* not only goes against the immediate material interests of most workers but also affronts their deep reservoir of collective feeling. At the same time, the regime's call for *glasnost* permits a degree of organized dissent against official policies. Thus last December workers at the Kamaz truck plant east of Moscow protested against cuts in production bonuses, arguing that they were being penalized for the faults of manage-

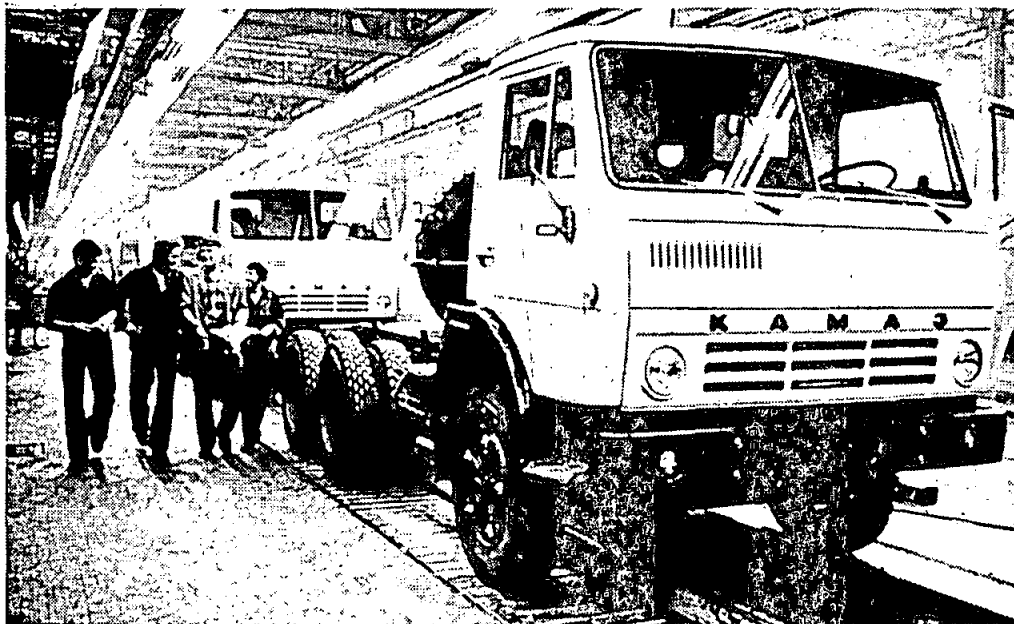
ment. The present situation in the Soviet Union is probably more favorable for the emergence of an *independent* workers movement than at any time since the 1920s.

Prague Spring 1968, Moscow Spring 1987

In its internal dynamics the present situation in the Soviet Union bears a resemblance to the 1968 Prague Spring. (Perhaps it is more than a biographical accident that Gorbachev's roommate at Moscow University in the early 1950s was a young Czech Communist, Zdenek Mlynar, who later became one of the leading architects of the Prague Spring.) After a period of economic stagnation, there was a linkage between a section of the Czechoslovak intelligentsia and a modernizing section of the bureaucracy against the old-time Stalinist apparatchiks, secret policemen and trade-union functionaries. There were proposals to close uneconomic plants and to make labor more plastic.

Initially, the Czech workers, through their bureaucratized trade unions, *opposed* the Dubcekite reformers since they did not want labor to be plasticized. They were satisfied drawing down a not very good wage while doing nothing. But then the issue of soviet democracy came into play, and sections of the workers began to realize that the parasites who were sitting on top of their "trade unions" could be dumped, that maybe they could get something fundamentally better than the status quo. There was a historical moment—not very long—in which the censorship, secret police and the rest of the Stalinist ruling apparatus was embarrassed and paralyzed. It was fear of an incipient proletarian political revolution which caused the Soviet-bloc armies to invade Czechoslovakia and put a stop to the Prague Spring.

Compared to Czechoslovakia in 1968 the divisions within the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy today are far less



TASS from Sovfoto

Kamaz truck factory near Moscow: In December 1986 workers protested bonus cuts caused by bureaucratic mismanagement of production. Recent workers' strikes in Likino and Chekhov have challenged perestroika.

sharp and the popular response far more passive. Thus the present liberalization could well gradually give way to a conservative restoration, as happened with Khrushchev's "thaw" in the mid-1950s. But there is also in the dynamic of the situation the potential for a Soviet version of the Prague Spring. The Soviet army has in the past been effective in suppressing working-class unrest (Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968). However, in the face of an incipient proletarian political revolution within Russia, the army will very likely split with some units (both ranks and officers) going over to the soviets, other units supporting elements of the existing Kremlin regime. It would look perhaps more like a civil war, with the armed forces already in place, than a revolution. (A variant of this was sketched in

Craig Thomas' novel *The Snow Falcon*.)

The Red Army, despite the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union, still sees itself as the defender of the social gains of the October Revolution. Even on the foreign terrain of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, once the Soviet troops realized they were not facing fascist counterrevolution, there were significant instances of fraternization with the local populace. Bill Lomax in *Hungary 1956* describes how:

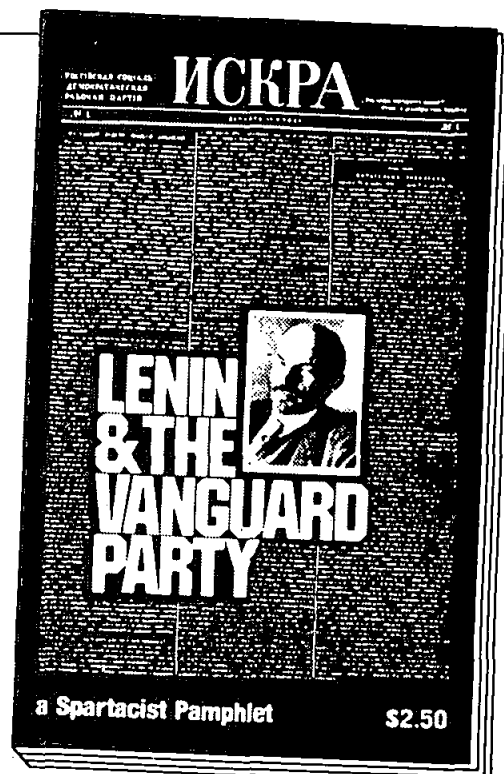
"Despite the bitter fighting there were also numerous scenes where Russian tanks were to be found surrounded by unarmed crowds, with young students passionately arguing with the soldiers in Russian. More than one Russian was to declare to such a crowd that he had been told that counterrevolutionaries and fascist bandits were on the

Lenin and the Vanguard Party

Lenin and the Vanguard Party polemicizes against fake-leftists who, in rejecting Leninism, adopt the program of classical social democracy. Analyzes Lenin's political battles from the founding of *Iskra* in 1900 to the period following his August 1914 break with the social-chauvinist Second International, when Lenin laid the basis for the Communist International.

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Viktor Bulla



Putilov factory workers elect delegates to Petrograd Soviet, 1920. Working class took power in 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

rampage in Budapest, but that he could now see this was false, and he would not shoot upon the Hungarian people." (p. 120)

Similar instances occurred in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The eagerness of the Gorbachev regime to make major concessions to the Russia-hating, war-crazed Reagan regime in pursuit of illusory hopes for détente cannot help but generate deep misgivings among wide layers of Soviet officers. The more historical-minded among them will recall Stalin's sabotage of the defense of the Soviet Union on the eve of World War II including his bloody purge of Tukhachevsky and the cream of the Red Army officer corps. At the base, Soviet veterans returning from Afghanistan largely see themselves as internationalists who did their proletarian duty—and are evidently deeply disgruntled with the policies of the bureaucracy.

As Trotsky noted in "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (1 October 1933):

"A real civil war could develop not between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the resurgent proletariat but between the proletariat and the active forces of the counterrevolution. In the event of an open clash between the two mass camps, there cannot even be talk of the bureaucracy playing an independent role. Its polar flanks would be flung to the different sides of the barricade."

The 1956 Hungarian Revolution was a powerful confirmation of Trotsky's analysis and a deep refutation of new-class/state-capitalist theories of Stalinism. The bureaucratic apparatus in Hungary shattered, with the vast majority going over to the side of the insurgent workers.

In the Soviet Union today the *glasnost* liberalization of political and intellectual life has already given rise to intensified centrifugal tendencies in and around the bureaucracy, most notably the sinister fascist organization *Pamyat*, and in response the recent Moscow conference leading to the founding of the Federation of Socialist Clubs. Largely,

albeit unconsciously, Menshevik in political outlook, the Federation encompasses a spectrum ranging from ecologists to the Che Guevara Club.

Key to the situation is the large and cultured Soviet proletariat. As noted, the effect of *perestroika* is bound to produce resistance, not only from advanced workers but also from the more backward. The prevailing conditions of *glasnost* make resistance all the more likely. Working-class unrest (e.g., strikes, protests) can disrupt and polarize the bureaucracy, creating the potential for organs of dual power. This essentially is what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968 before developments were cut short by Soviet-bloc military intervention.

Similarly, there can develop in Russia an incipient proletarian political revolution *before* the mass of workers *consciously* challenge the ideology of "socialism in one country." However, the perceived remoteness of socialist revolution in West Europe and especially the U.S. remains a major barrier to such a development. Soviet workers today rightly despise and reject the pro-imperialist dissidents of the Solzhenitsyn/Shcharansky stripe. The current situation demands the advanced workers follow the necessary course of judiciously opposing the excesses of the bureaucracy while explaining to the Soviet masses the principled means by which the original goals of October can be recreated.

For Soviet Victory in Afghanistan!

The fundamental difference between what is now happening in Russia and the Prague Spring is that the Soviet Union is not Czechoslovakia. Gorbachev's policies are very much directed at improving relations with Western imperialism. For the Kremlin tops are genuinely frightened of nuclear war and in this they reflect the mass sentiment of



AP

Hungary 1956:
Workers topple
Stalin's statue
(left).
In political
revolution,
bureaucratic
caste split:
Colonel Pal
Maleter (right)
became hero
of uprising.



Der Spiegel

the Soviet people: a deep-seated, desperate desire for peace. However, the nationalistic and parasitic bureaucracy translates the justified fear of war into a détentist outlook that is groveling, absurd and self-defeating.

Gorbachev has indicated he is prepared to go further to secure "peaceful coexistence" than his predecessors in the Kremlin. Addressing the international celebrities who assembled for the Moscow "no nuke" conference last February, he declared:

"Before my people, before you and before the whole world, I state with full responsibility that our international policy is more than ever determined by domestic policy, by our interest in concentrating on constructive endeavors to improve our country."

Georgi Shakhnazarov, a senior official in the CPSU's Socialist Countries Department, has stated that "political ends do not exist which would justify the use of means liable to lead to nuclear war." The implication of this position is that the Soviet Union should not seriously confront or challenge U.S. imperialism anywhere on any issue.

While Shakhnazarov's is an extreme expression of the Gorbachev line, the perception among the imperialist bourgeoisie, including sections of its far right wing, is that the current Kremlin regime is softer, more capitulatory on international questions than its predecessors. Thus Arthur Hartman, who recently completed a five-year stint as Reagan's ambassador to Moscow, believes:

"The Soviet leadership is preoccupied with their domestic situation. Our relationship is colored highly by the Soviet reactions to what they really have to do internally. And I think basically what they would like to have now is a period of calm. And therefore, there could well be opportunities for serious negotiations in a variety of fields."

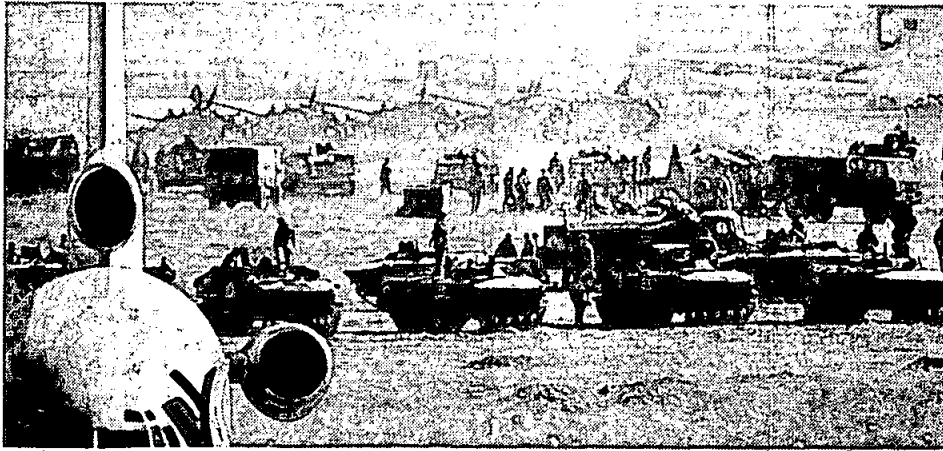
—New York Times, 29 March 1987

Above all, Washington aims to pressure the Kremlin to capitulate in those armed conflicts it considers *proxy wars* with Russia: Afghanistan, Vietnam/Cambodia, Angola and Nicaragua. For U.S. imperialism, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, on the southern border of the USSR, is a *key test* of Gorbachev's "sincerity."



Time

What have Stalin's heirs wrought? Russian fascists of Pamyat ("Memory") demonstrate on Moscow's Karl Marx Prospekt in May 1987. Neo-Black Hundreds are mortal threat to multinational Soviet working class and gains of October.



Lochon/Gamma

Soviet forces land at Kabul airport, December 1979. U.S. imperialists launched new anti-Soviet war drive. Spartacists hailed Red Army intervention against feudal counterrevolution.



For his part, Gorbachev has called Afghanistan "a bleeding wound" and stated: "We should like, in the nearest future, to withdraw the Soviet troops..." In this same speech, given at the 27th Congress of the CPSU in February 1986, he denounced "revolutionary war" as "Trotskyite" and "Left Communist" heresy. These remarks were presumably directed at those elements in the Soviet bureaucracy less ready to abandon Afghanistan and perhaps also more supportive of the Vietnamese in Cambodia and the Cuban forces in Angola.

The main obstacle to the Gorbachev regime extricating itself from Afghanistan is finding an acceptable, face-saving compromise. The nature of Afghan society and the savage civil war it generated precludes establishing a stable, "nonaligned" regime in Kabul which would honor agreements with Moscow. It is impossible to envision the Finlandization or Austrianization of Afghanistan.

From the standpoint of the protection of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan must be won. It is an organic compo-

nent of the already assimilated Soviet Central Asia. This is why the bureaucracy has found itself, against its will, so deeply involved and so unable to extricate. We must demand, in consonance with all Soviet peoples, that this nettle be firmly grasped. To promise war here for a generation is to conclude that war in a few years. To temporize is to protract it and leave endless opportunities for imperialist provocation. It is also important, as Soviet victory is seen to become inevitable, that effective means be used to facilitate the return and integration of the millions of Afghans who were directed by their mullah leaders into the pathetic, murderous, backward emigration to Pakistan. Victory in Afghanistan!

Defend the USSR Through Proletarian Revolutions Internationally

More generally, Gorbachev's apparently greater willingness to make concessions to imperialism has *not yet been tested*, for the imperialist bourgeoisie has yet to offer-

Planeta Publishers Photos



Woman computer technician in Soviet Central Asia (right); enslaved Afghan woman under the veil (far right). Extend social gains of October to Afghan peoples!



anything of value to the Kremlin in return. However, we must warn of the possibility of new deals, even if their concrete nature cannot now be predicted, between Washington and Moscow at the expense of revolutionary and national liberation struggles around the world.

From our standpoint, the Gorbachev regime in the Soviet Union represents a highly *contradictory* development. Internally, the combination of *glasnost* and *perestroika* produces a more favorable condition for the emergence of left-wing currents among the intelligentsia and of an independent workers movement. Externally, there seems a greater likelihood for abandoning support to revolutionary and national liberation struggles in the Third World and reducing economic aid to Vietnam, Cuba and Nicaragua, thereby strengthening and emboldening imperialism and weakening the defense of the USSR. One should however keep in mind that the Kremlin tops could pursue an aggressive *détente* line, as Brezhnev did in the early 1970s, *without an internal liberalization* which can open the road to proletarian political revolution.

The future of the Gorbachev regime is organically linked to developments in the imperialist West, centrally the United States. The Reagan administrations, as well as that of Carter, were and are a response of the American bourgeoisie to its loss of imperialist hegemony growing out of the defeat in Vietnam. Central to this response has been a massive arms buildup designed above all to give U.S. imperialism capacity for an effective thermonuclear first strike against the USSR. This has been accompanied by a virulent anti-Soviet propaganda campaign, as well as an aggressive policy of military provocation aimed at the Soviet Union:

During this period the SL/U.S. has indeed faced the Russian question "pointblank." Our principled unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, from Afghanistan to Central America to opposition to the capitalist-restorationist Polish Solidarność, has given us a very high profile indeed in this period of disgraceful capitulation by the fake-left to the bourgeoisie's rampant anti-Sovietism. After Reagan & Co. sent over 200 helpless airline passengers to their deaths aboard the Korean Air Lines 007 U.S. spy provocation, the SL/U.S. and international Spartacist tendency waged a virtual campaign of propaganda documenting the U.S. government's



Workers Vanguard

Spartacist League/U.S. protested rabidly anti-Soviet television soap opera Amerika, 15 February 1987 in New York.

lies and incidentally underlining the flinch of the CPUSA. Our forthright Soviet-defensist propaganda on Afghanistan, Poland, Vietnam, KAL 007, "détente," etc. has brought our small French section to the attention of a layer of advanced workers as "the Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union."

American imperialism's military program aims to break the will of the USSR, extracting counterrevolutionary concessions from the Soviet bureaucracy. However, this program has now brought the U.S. and indeed imperialism internationally to the brink of a major crisis. The present conciliatory tack of Gorbachev & Co. is thus doubly stupid and dangerous—both the best evidence that Gorbachev represents simply another variation of Stalinism, historically anti-revolutionary and committed above all to "socialism in one country," and also an imperative argument for a Soviet section of a reformed Fourth International to lead a proletarian political revolution to defend the gains of October and pursue a course of revolutionary proletarian internationalism.

LE BOLCHEVIK

Expedition coloniale antisoviétique

Mitterrand hors du Liban!

LE BOLCHEVIK

Manœuvres "Molneau hardi" en RFA

A bas l'axe antisoviétique Paris-Bonn

Le Bolchévik Novembre 1978

Chtcharansky est bel et bien coupable !

LE BOLCHEVIK

La défense de Cuba et de l'URSS commence au Salvador

Reagan menace l'Amérique centrale

In Hot Spots of Cold War: French Trotskyists Defend the Soviet Union.

Press of Ligue Trotskyiste de France, section of ISt. Clockwise from upper left: Anti-Soviet colonial expedition—Mitterrand Out of Lebanon!; Shcharansky Is Guilty as Hell!; Reagan Threatens Central America; Down with the Anti-Soviet Paris-Bonn Axis.

From the Transitional Program

“The USSR and Problems of the Transitional Epoch”

Spartacist reprints below a section—“The USSR and Problems of the Transitional Epoch”—from the founding program of the Fourth International, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*, more popularly known as the *Transitional Program*. We have used the 1946 American Pioneer Publishers edition, with the exception of the two sentences in brackets which have been translated by *Spartacist* from the Russian draft text and which have never, to our knowledge, appeared in any English-language edition.

The fact that minor differences exist among the various French, Russian and English editions of the *Transitional Program* is not surprising given the conditions under which it was multiply translated, circulated, discussed, adopted and published. The September 1938 Founding Conference of the Fourth International was held in Europe in the midst of the “Munich crisis” and under the shadow of the approaching world war. In the year before the Conference the assassins of the Stalinist GPU escalated their murderous assault on the Trotskyist movement. Erwin Wolf, Trotsky’s former secretary and a member of the International Secretariat (IS), was murdered in Spain in August 1937. Leon Sedov, Trotsky’s son and a leading figure in the IS, was killed in Paris in February of 1938. Rudolf Klement, Secretary of the Bureau of the Fourth International and responsible for Conference preparations, was murdered in July 1938.

The codification of program for a revolutionary Marxist party at any given time is no easy task. It involves combining the mastery of Marxist theory and the history of the workers movement on the one hand, with significant living practice in seeking to lead the proletarian class struggle on the other. The *Transitional Program* was an attempt, at a particular conjuncture of capitalist economic crisis and impending war, to link the felt but partial struggles of the masses against exploitation and oppression to the struggle for communism internationally. Thus the *Transitional Program*, though expressing a peak of Marxist knowledge and determination, was more narrowly intended than the *Communist Manifesto* or the 1891 Erfurt program of the German Social Democratic Party, and stands as a codification under later circumstances of a component of the truly great material of the first four Congresses of the Third, Communist International.

The Fourth International in Trotsky’s time never went beyond a modest propaganda existence whereas the Communist International was the product of the great October Revolution and of the world revolutionary wave which followed it. And even the work of the first four Comintern Congresses requires at points critical review (e.g., certain confusions over the colonial question at the Second Congress and much schematic treatment afforded the workers

and peasants government question at the Fourth Congress by Zinoviev, among others).

Real Marxists seek to grasp the past neither to reject nor to mindlessly accept it, but to use it as a point of departure for the future. Most currents which falsely claim the mantle of Trotskyism today, including especially those led by Ernest Mandel and Pierre Lambert, occasionally pay lip service to “Leon Trotsky’s Transitional Program of 1938” the better to mask their abandonment of a revolutionary perspective. For the international Spartacist tendency the *Transitional Program* lives. When the Fourth International was founded it stood as a beacon to proletarian revolutionists around the world. The international Spartacist tendency fights today to reforge that Fourth International.

The Soviet Union emerged from the October Revolution as a workers’ state. State ownership of the means of production, a necessary prerequisite to socialist development, opened up the possibility of rapid growth of the productive forces. But the apparatus of the workers’ state underwent a complete degeneration at the same time: it was transformed from a weapon of the working class into a weapon of bureaucratic violence against the working class and more and more a weapon for the sabotage of the country’s economy. The bureaucratization of a backward and isolated workers’ state and the transformation of the bureaucracy into an all-powerful privileged caste constitute the most convincing refutation—not only theoretically but this time practically—of the theory of socialism in one country.

The USSR thus embodies terrific contradictions. But it still remains a *degenerated workers’ state*. Such is the social diagnosis. The political prognosis has an alternative character: either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers’ state, will overthrow the new forms of property and plunge the country back to capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism.

To the sections of the Fourth International, the Moscow Trials came not as a surprise and not as a result of the personal madness of the Kremlin dictator, but as the legitimate offspring of the Thermidor. They grew out of the unbearable conflicts within the Soviet bureaucracy itself, which in turn mirror the contradictions between the bureaucracy and the people, as well as the deepening antagonisms among the “people” themselves. The bloody “fantastic” nature of the trials gives the measure of the intensity of the contradictions and by the same token predicts the approach of the denouement.

The public utterances of former foreign representatives

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из «Переходной программы»

Положение СССР и задачи переходной эпохи

«Spartacist» («Спартаконец») приводит ниже текст одной из частей основополагающей программы Четвертого Интернационала — «Агония капитализма и задачи Четвертого Интернационала», более широко известной под названием «Переходной программы». Мы переиздаем часть этой программы, озаглавленной «Положение СССР и задачи переходной эпохи». Этот предварительный русский текст взят нами из «Бюллетеня Оппозиции» (№ 66-67, май-июнь 1938 года). В текст этой части программы включены два предложения, которые, по нашим сведениям, не входят в текст ни одного из изданий на английском языке.

Тот факт, что существуют малозначительные расхождения в различных французских, русских и английских изданиях «Переходной программы», не удивителен, если принять во внимание условия, при которых текст программы неоднократно переводился, распространялся, обсуждался, принимался и опубликовывался. Сентябрьская конференция 1938 года, положившая начало Четвертому Интернационалу, проходила в Европе, в разгар «мюнхенского кризиса» и в предверии мировой войны. За год до конференции убийцы из сталинского ГПУ развернули кровавую кампанию нападений на Троцкистское движение. Бывший секретарь Троцкого и член Международного Секретариата (МС) Эрвин Вульф был убит в Испании, в августе 1937 года. Лев Седов, сын Троцкого и один из руководителей МС, погиб в Париже, в феврале 1938 года. Рудольф Клемент, Секретарь Бюро Четвертого Интернационала, являвшийся ответственным лицом за подготовку конференции, был убит в июле 1938 года.

Кодификация программы революционной марксистской партии в любое данное время является нелегкой задачей. С одной стороны, необходимо владение марксистской теории и истории рабочего движения, с другой, значительная жизненная практика попытки ведения классовой борьбы пролетариата. При таких стечениях обстоятельств, как экономический кризис капитализма и надвигавшаяся война, «Переходная программа» являлась попыткой объединить осязаемые, но частные движения масс против эксплуатации и угнетения с борьбой за коммунизм во всем мире. Таким образом, несмотря на то, что «Переходная программа» выражала собой одну из высших точек марксистского знания и решительности, она все же была более узко направлена нежели «Коммунистический Манифест» или Эрфуртская программа германской социал-демократической партии 1891 года. «Переходная программа» представляет собой кодификацию, при новейших условиях, составной части поистине великого материала первых четырех конгрессов Третьего Коммунистического Интернационала.

Четвертый Интернационал при жизни Троцкого никогда не выходил за рамки скромного пропагандистского существования, в то время как Коммунистический Интернационал являлся продуктом великой Октябрьской Революции и мировой

революционной волны, последовавшей за ней. Даже работа первых четырех конгрессов Коминтерна требует в отдельных местах критического пересмотра (т. н. некоторые дезориентации по поводу «колониального вопроса», рассматривавшегося на Втором Конгрессе, а также преувеличенно схематичное толкование вопроса правительства рабочих и крестьян на Четвертом Конгрессе, по замечаниям, среди прочих, Зиновьева).

Настоящие марксисты пытаются осознать прошлое не для того, чтобы отречься от него или бездумно его принять, а для того, чтобы использовать прошлое как отправной пункт для будущего. Большинство течений, фальшиво рядящихся сегодня в одежды троцкизма, особенно те течения, которые следуют за Эрнестом Манделем и Пьером Ламбертом, время от времени «клянутся» в преданности «Переходной программе Льва Троцкого 1938 года», чтобы как можно искуснее замаскировать свой уход от революционной перспективы. Для интернациональной тенденции Спартаковцев «Переходная программа» реально живет. Когда был основан Четвертый Интернационал, он служил путеводной звездой для революционного пролетариата во всем мире. Интернациональная тенденция Спартаковцев борется сегодня за возрождение этого Четвертого Интернационала.

Советский Союз вышел из Октябрьской революции, как рабочее государство. Огосударствление средств производства, необходимое условие социалистического развития, открыло возможность быстрого роста производительных сил. Аппарат рабочего государства подвергся тем временем полному перерождению, превратившись из орудия рабочего класса в орудие бюрократических насилий над рабочим классом и, чем дальше, тем больше, в орудие саботажа хозяйства. Бюрократизация отсталого и изолированного рабочего государства и превращение бюрократии во всемогущую привилегированную касту являются самым убедительным — не теоретическим только, а практическим — опровержением теории социализма в отдельной стране.

Режим СССР заключает в себе, таким образом, ужасающие противоречия. Но он продолжает оставаться режимом переродившегося рабочего государства. Таков социальный диагноз. Политический прогноз имеет альтернативный характер: либо бюрократия, все более становящаяся органом мировой буржуазии в рабочем государстве, опрокинет новые формы собственности и отбросит страну к капитализму; либо рабочий класс разгромит бюрократию и откроет выход к социализму.

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of the Kremlin, who refused to return to Moscow, irrefutably confirm in their own way that all shades of political thought are to be found among the bureaucracy: from genuine Bolshevism (Ignace Reiss) to complete fascism (F. Butenko). The revolutionary elements within the bureaucracy, only a small minority, reflect, passively it is true, the socialist interests of the proletariat. The fascist, counter-revolutionary elements, growing uninterruptedly, express with ever greater consistency the interests of world imperialism. These candidates for the role of compradors consider, not without reason, that the new ruling layer can insure their positions of privilege only through rejection of nationalization, collectivization and monopoly of foreign trade in the name of the assimilation of "Western civilization," i.e., capitalism. Between these two poles, there are intermediate, diffused Menshevik-S.R.-liberal tendencies which gravitate toward bourgeois democracy.

Within the very ranks of that so-called "classless" society, there unquestionably exist groupings exactly similar to those in the bureaucracy, only less sharply expressed and in inverse proportions: conscious capitalist tendencies distinguish mainly the prosperous part of the collective farms (*kolkhozi*) and are characteristic of only a small minority of the population. But this layer provides itself with a wide base for petty-bourgeois tendencies of accumulating personal wealth at the expense of general poverty, and are consciously encouraged by the bureaucracy.

Atop this system of mounting antagonisms, trespassing ever more on the social equilibrium, the Thermidorian oligarchy, today reduced mainly to Stalin's Bonapartist clique, hangs on by terroristic methods. The latest judicial frame-ups were aimed as a blow *against the left*. This is true also of the mopping up of the leaders of the Right Opposition, because the Right group of the old Bolshevik Party, seen from the viewpoint of the bureaucracy's interests and tendencies, represented a *left* danger. The fact that the Bonapartist clique, likewise in fear of its own right allies of the type of Butenko, is forced in the interests of self-preservation to execute the generation of Old Bolsheviks almost to a man, offers indisputable testimony of the vitality of revolutionary traditions among the masses as well as of their growing discontent.

Petty-bourgeois democrats of the West, having but yesterday assayed the Moscow Trials as unalloyed gold, today repeat insistently that there is "neither Trotskyism nor Trotskyists within the USSR." They fail to explain, however, why all the purges are conducted under the banner of a struggle with precisely this danger. If we are to examine "Trotskyism" as a finished program, and, even more to the point, as an organization, then unquestionably "Trotskyism" is extremely weak in the USSR. However, its indestructible force stems from the fact that it expresses not only revolutionary tradition but also today's actual opposition of the Russian working class. The social hatred stored up by the workers against the bureaucracy—this is precisely what from the viewpoint of the Kremlin clique constitutes "Trotskyism." It fears with a deathly and thoroughly well-grounded fear the bond between the deep but inarticulate indignation of the workers and the organization of the Fourth International.

The extermination of the generation of Old Bolsheviks

and of the revolutionary representatives of the middle and young generations has acted to disrupt the political equilibrium still more in favor of the right, bourgeois wing, of the bureaucracy, and of its allies throughout the land. From them, i.e., from the right, we can expect ever more determined attempts in the next period to revise the socialist character of the USSR and bring it closer in pattern to "Western civilization" in its fascist form.

From this perspective, impelling concreteness is imparted to the question of the "defense of the USSR." If tomorrow the bourgeois-fascist grouping, the "faction of Butenko," so to speak, should attempt the conquest of power, the "faction of Reiss" inevitably would align itself on the opposite side of the barricades. Although it would find itself temporarily the ally of Stalin, it would nevertheless defend not the Bonapartist clique but the social base of the USSR, i.e., the property wrenched away from the capitalists and transformed into state property. Should the "faction of Butenko" prove to be in alliance with Hitler, then the "faction of Reiss" would defend the USSR from military intervention, inside the country as well as on the world arena. Any other course would be a betrayal.

Although it is thus impermissible to deny in advance the possibility, in strictly defined instances, of a "united front" with the Thermidorian section of the bureaucracy against open attack by capitalist counter-revolution, the chief political task in the USSR still remains the *overthrow of this same Thermidorian bureaucracy*. Each day added to its domination helps rot the foundations of the socialist elements of economy and increases the chances for capitalist restoration. It is in precisely this direction that the Comintern moves as the agent and accomplice of the Stalinist clique in strangling the Spanish Revolution and demoralizing the international proletariat.

As in fascist countries, the chief strength of the bureaucracy lies not in itself but in the disillusionment of the masses, in their lack of a new perspective. As in fascist countries, from which Stalin's *political* apparatus does not differ save in more unbridled savagery, only preparatory propagandistic work is possible today in the USSR. As in fascist countries, the impetus to the Soviet workers' revolutionary upsurge will probably be given by events outside the country. The struggle against the Comintern on the world arena is the most important part today of the struggle against the Stalinist dictatorship. There are many signs that the Comintern's downfall, because it does not have a *direct* base in the GPU, will precede the downfall of the Bonapartist clique and the Thermidorian bureaucracy as a whole.

* * *

A fresh upsurge of the revolution in the USSR will undoubtedly begin under the banner of the struggle against *social inequality* and *political oppression*. Down with the privileges of the bureaucracy! Down with Stakhanovism! Down with the Soviet aristocracy and its ranks and orders! Greater equality of wages for all forms of labor!

The struggle for the freedom of the trade unions and the factory committees, for the right of assembly and freedom of the press, will unfold in the struggle for the regeneration and development of *Soviet democracy*.

The bureaucracy replaced the soviets as class organs with the fiction of universal electoral rights—in the style of

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Для секций Четвертого Интернационала московские процессы явились не неожиданностью, не результатом личного помешательства кремлевского диктатора, а закономерным детищем Термидора. Они выросли из нестерпимых трений внутри советской бюрократии, которые, в свою очередь, отражают противоречия между бюрократией и народом, как и углубляющиеся антагонизмы в самом «народе». Кровавая «фантастичность» процессов является показателем силы напряжения противоречий и предвещает тем самым приближение развязки.

Публичные выступления бывших заграничных агентов Кремля, отказавшихся вернуться в Москву, неопровержимо подтвердили, с своей стороны, что в составе бюрократии имеются все оттенки политической мысли: от подлинного большевизма (И. Райсс) до законченного фашизма (Ф. Бутенко). Революционные элементы бюрократии, составляющие небольшое меньшинство, отражают, пассивно, правда, социалистические интересы пролетариата. Фашистские, вообще контр-революционные элементы, непрерывно растущие, выражают все более последовательно интересы мирового империализма. Эти кандидаты на роль компрадоров не без основания считают, что новый правящий слой может застраховать свои привилегированные позиции лишь путем отказа от национализации, коллективизации и монополии внешней торговли, во имя усвоения «западной цивилизации», т.е. капитализма. Между этими двумя полюсами располагаются промежуточные, расплывчатые меньшевистски - эс-эровски - либеральные тенденции, которые тяготеют к буржуазной демократии.

В самом, так называемом, «бесклассовом» обществе имеются несомненно те же группировки, что и в бюрократии, только менее ярко выраженные и в обратной пропорции: сознательные капиталистические тенденции, свойственные, главным образом, преуспевающей части колхозников, характерны лишь для небольшого меньшинства населения. Но они находят себе широкую базу в мелко-буржуазных тенденциях личного накопления, которые вырастают из общей нужды и сознательно поощряются бюрократией.

На этой системе растущих антагонизмом, все более нарушающих социальное равновесие, держится, методами террора, термидорианская олигархия, сведшаяся ныне, главным образом, к бонапартистской клике Сталина.

Последние судебные процессы представляли собою удар налево. Это относится также и к расправе над вождами правой оппозиции, ибо, с точки зрения интересов и тенденций бюрократии, правая группировка старой большевистской партии представляет собою левую опасность. Тот факт, что бонапартист-

ская клика, которая боится также и своих правых союзников, типа Бутенко, оказалась вынуждена, в интересах самосохранения, произвести почти поголовное истребление старого поколения большевиков, является неоспоримым свидетельством живучести революционных традиций в массах, как и растущего недовольства этих последних.

Мелко-буржуазные демократы Запада, вчера еще принимавшие московские процессы за чистую монету, сегодня настойчиво повторяют, что «в СССР нет ни троцкизма, ни троцкистов». Они не объясняют, однако, почему вся чистка проходит под знаком борьбы именно с этой опасностью. Если брать «троцкизм», как законченную программу, тем более как организацию, то «троцкизм» в СССР несомненно крайне слаб. Несокрушимая сила его состоит, однако, в том, что он выражает не только революционную традицию, но и сегодняшнюю оппозицию самого рабочего класса. Социальная ненависть рабочих к бюрократии — это и есть в глазах кремлевской клики «троцкизм». Она смертельна и вполне основательно боится смычки между глухим возмущением рабочих и организацией Четвертого Интернационала.

Истребление старого поколения большевиков и революционных представителей среднего и младшего поколения еще больше нарушило политическое равновесие в пользу правого буржуазного крыла, бюрократии и его союзников в стране. Отсюда, т.е. справа, можно ждать в ближайший период все более решительных попыток перестроить социальный режим СССР, приблизив его к «западной цивилизации», преимущественно в ее фашистской форме.

Эта перспектива придает большую конкретность вопросу о «защите СССР». Если завтра буржуазно-фашистская группировка, так сказать, «фракция Бутенко», выступит на завоевание власти, то «фракция Райсса» неизбежно займет свое место по другую сторону баррикады. Оказавшись временно союзницей Сталина, она будет защищать, разумеется, не его бонапартистскую клику, а социальную базу СССР, т.е. вырванную у капиталистов и огосударственную собственность. Если «фракция Бутенко» окажется в военном союзе с Гитлером, то «фракция Райсса» будет защищать СССР от военной интервенции, внутри СССР, как и на мировой арене. Всякое другое поведение было бы изменой.

Если, таким образом, недопустимо отрицать заранее возможность, в строго определенных случаях, «единого фронта» с термидорианской частью бюрократии против открытого наступления капиталистической контр-революции, то главной политической задачей в СССР остается, все же, низвержение **самой термидорианской бюрократии**. Каждый лишний день ее господства расшатывает социалистические элементы хозяйства и увеличивает шансы капитали-

Продолжение на стр. 34

(continued from page 32)

Hitler-Goebbels. It is necessary to return to the soviets not only their free democratic form but also their class content. As once the bourgeoisie and kulaks were not permitted to enter the soviets, so now *it is necessary to drive the bureaucracy and the new aristocracy out of the soviets*. In the soviets there is room only for representatives of the workers, rank-and-file collective farmers, peasants and Red Army men.

Democratization of the soviets is impossible without *legalization of soviet parties*. The workers and peasants themselves by their own free vote will indicate what parties they recognize as soviet parties.

A revision of *planned economy* from top to bottom in the interests of producers and consumers! Factory committees should be returned the right to control production. A democratically organized consumers' cooperative should control the quality and price of products.

Reorganization of the collective farms in accordance with the will and in the interests of the workers there engaged!

The reactionary *international policy* of the bureaucracy should be replaced by the policy of proletarian internationalism. The complete diplomatic correspondence of the Kremlin to be published. *Down with secret diplomacy!*

All political trials, staged by the Thermidorian bureaucracy, to be reviewed in the light of complete publicity and controversial openness and integrity. [The organizers of the forgeries must bear the punishment they deserve.

It is impossible to put this program into practice without overthrowing the bureaucracy, which maintains itself through violence and forgery.] Only the victorious revolutionary uprising of the oppressed masses can revive the Soviet regime and guarantee its further development toward socialism. There is but one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection—the party of the Fourth International!

Down with the bureaucratic gang of Cain-Stalin!

Long live Soviet democracy!

Long live the international socialist revolution! ■

(Начало на стр. 33)

стической реставрации. В том же направлении действует и Коминтерн, агент и сообщник сталинской клики по удушению испанской революции и деморализации международного пролетариата.

Как и в странах фашизма, главная сила бюрократии не в ней самой, а в разочаровании масс, в отсутствии у них новой перспективы. Как и в странах фашизма, от которого **политический** аппарат Сталина ничем не отличается, кроме большей разнужданности, в СССР возможна сейчас только подготовительная пропагандистская работа. Как и в странах фашизма, толчок революционному движению советских рабочих дадут, вероятно, внешние события. Борьба против Коминтерна на мировой арене есть сейчас важнейшая часть борьбы против сталинской диктатуры. Много говорит за то, что распад Коминтерна, не имеющего **прямой** опоры в ГПУ, будет предшествовать падению бонапартист-

ской клики и всей вообще термидорианской бюрократии.

Новый подъем революции в СССР начнется, несомненно, под знаменем борьбы против **социального неравенства и политического гнета**. Долой привилегии бюрократии! Долой стахановщину, долой советскую аристократию, с ее чинами и орденами! Больше равенства в оплате всех видов труда!

Борьба за свободу профессиональных союзов и заводских комитетов, за свободу собраний и печати развернется в борьбу за возрождение и развитие **советской демократии**.

Бюрократия заменила советы, как классовые органы, фикцией всеобщего избирательного права, в стиле Гитлера-Гebbельса. Советам нужно вернуть не только их свободную демократическую форму, но и их классовое содержание. Как раньше в советы не допускались буржуазия и кулачество, так теперь **из советов должны быть изгнаны бюрократия и новая аристократия**. В советах место только представителям рабочих, рядовых колхозников, крестьян, красноармейцев.

Демократизация советов немислима без **легализации советских партий**. Сами рабочие и крестьяне, своим свободным голосованием, покажут, какие партии являются советскими.

Пересмотр **планового хозяйства** сверху до низу в интересах производителей и потребителей! Заводские комитеты должны вернуть себе права контроля над производством. Демократически организованная потребительская кооперация должна контролировать качество продукции и цены.

Реорганизация **колхозов** в соответствии с волей колхозников и в интересах колхозников!

Консервативная **международная политика** бюрократии должна быть заменена политикой пролетарского интернационализма. Вся дипломатическая переписка Кремля должна быть опубликована. **Долой тайную дипломатию!**

Все политические процессы, поставленные термидорианской бюрократией, должны быть пересмотрены, в обстановке полной гласности и состязательного начала. Организаторы подлогов должны понести заслуженную кару.

Осуществить эту программу нельзя без низвержения бюрократии, которая держится насилием и подлогом. Только победоносное революционное восстание угнетенных масс может возродить советский режим и обеспечить его дальнейшее движение к социализму. Повести советские массы на восстание способна только партия Четвертого Интернационала.

Долой бонапартистскую шайку Каина-Сталина!

Да здравствует советская демократия!

Да здравствует международная социалистическая революция! ■

Soviet Play Explodes Stalin's Moscow Trials

Spectre of Trotsky Haunts Gorbachev's Russia

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They were accused of being saboteurs and terrorists, agents of Nazi Germany and imperial Japan. "I demand that dogs gone mad should be shot, every one of them!" screeched prosecutor Andrei Vyshinsky at the Moscow Trials of the mid-1930s. And every last one of them was shot.

They were the Bolshevik Central Committee of 1917, Lenin's closest comrades-in-arms, the men and women who guided the fledgling Soviet state through the Civil War and imperialist military intervention, the commanders of the Red Army and founders of the Communist International. In the monstrous frame-ups known as the Moscow Trials, Stalin exterminated the founding generation of the modern Communist movement. And in 1940 a Stalinist assassin drove a mountaineer's ax into the skull of the man who above all symbolized the revolutionary spirit of Bolshevism: Leon Trotsky.

But now a play, Mikhail Shatrov's "The Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk" (originally written in 1962), is reportedly scheduled to open in Moscow on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The text of the play was recently published in the literary monthly *Novy Mir*. According to the *New York Times* (30 April), this work "portrays Trotsky and Bukharin as devoted associates of Lenin, though misguided by excessive revolutionary zeal." It may be difficult for a Western audience to appreciate the shock effect for Russians of a Soviet play which presents Trotsky and Bukharin as authentic leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The Bolshevik Old Guard murdered by Stalin have been treated as *non-persons* in the present-day Soviet Union, and earlier were branded as "traitors to the socialist motherland." Well within living memory, anyone who defended the victims of the Moscow Trials was sent to a Siberian labor camp. Only yesterday to write favorably of Bukharin or especially Trotsky was enough to get one



AP
After machine-gun attack on his home in Mexico in 1940, Trotsky accuses Stalin of seeking his death. A few months later he was assassinated by a Stalinist agent.

expelled from the Communist Party, fired from one's job and victimized in all kinds of ways. Why this taboo that has lasted half a century? Because the Kremlin bureaucracy, under both Stalin and his heirs, had at all costs to suppress the authentic Leninist program, represented by the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

Now the Moscow Trials are being exploded in this Moscow play. So long as the figures are more or less historically accurate, it means the rehabilitation of every shot



G.P. Goldshtein

Lenin addressing troops on way to war with Poland, 5 May 1920. When counteroffensive against Pilsudski brought Red Army to the border of Poland, Lenin argued for revolutionary war, hoping to spark a workers uprising.

Old Bolshevik. Once the Kremlin tops do this, they can no longer be silent about the role of and what happened to any of the leaders of the October Revolution. Whatever the intentions of Shatrov or the Gorbachev regime, the play indicts the Stalinist gravediggers of the revolution. There remains in the Soviet Union an abiding identification of Trotsky with the ideals of the Bolshevik Revolution, which are alive in the consciousness of the people. If the Bolshevik Old Guard are restored to their rightful places, Trotsky's fight for Leninist internationalism against Stalin's conservative nationalism can no longer be buried.

It Is the Kremlin Bureaucracy Which Stands Accused

For some time, various fake-Trotskyist outfits have appealed to Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin to rehabilitate Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and the other Old Bolsheviks. Gorbachev's *glasnost* (openness) has revived these grotesque appeals. There is now a campaign in Britain, also involving a number of left Labour MPs, to "Clear the Names of the Accused in the Moscow Trials." It calls "on the Soviet government to re-examine the cases against all these victims of the perversion of Soviet justice" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, June 1987).

Trotsky and the other Old Bolsheviks don't need to be rehabilitated! The Dewey Commission of 1937 exposed the Moscow Trials as a monstrous frame-up. History has just

been a little slow to catch up with this verdict. For many years workers and intellectuals entrapped in the Stalinist movement actually believed that Trotsky was a Nazi agent. Seeking to counter this incredible slander, in 1946 his widow, Natalia Sedova, even made a pathetic and misguided request that the Nuremberg tribunal on Nazi war crimes take up the case of Trotsky in order to show he had nothing to do with the Gestapo. But especially after Khrushchev's 1956 "secret speech" denouncing the crimes of Stalin, no one in the world believed the charges of the Moscow Trials any longer.

Trotsky in particular is regarded as a noble and heroic figure even by people far from sympathetic to the Trotskyist cause of international proletarian revolution. The eminent British left-liberal historian A.J.P. Taylor concluded an essay on Trotsky: "Colonel Robins, the American Red Cross representative at Petrograd, pronounced history's verdict: 'A four-kind son-of-a-bitch, but the greatest Jew since Jesus Christ.'" French New Wave director Alain Resnais used the figure of Trotsky in exile in his film *Stavisky* as personifying opposition to the decadent, corruption-ridden Third Republic of the 1930s. The French bourgeoisie thought so, too. In 1939 the French ambassador to Germany, Robert Coulondre, warned Hitler, if war breaks out "there would be only one real victor—Mr. Trotsky." Such examples can be multiplied a hundredfold. In the political consciousness of the

Lenin's Testament

Lenin's Testament was written in December 1922-January 1923. It was read to the delegations at the 13th Congress of the Communist Party in May 1924 and thereafter suppressed for decades. Published for the first time in the Soviet Union in 1956 following Khrushchev's revelations to the 20th Party Congress, the Testament was recently widely publicized in the English, French and Russian-language Moscow News. It has naturally become a hot item of discussion and debate in Soviet political and intellectual circles.

"...Comrade Stalin, having become Secretary-General, has unlimited authority concentrated in his hands; and I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient caution. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand, as his struggle against the C.C. on the question of the People's Commissariat for Communications has already proved, is distinguished not only by outstanding ability. He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present C.C., but he has displayed excessive self-assurance and

shown excessive preoccupation with the purely administrative side of the work....

Bukharin is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the Party; he is also rightly considered the favourite of the whole Party, but his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist only with great reserve, for there is something scholastic about him (he has never made a study of dialectics, and, I think, never fully understood it)....

December 25, 1922

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc...."

January 4, 1923

Lenin

contemporary world Trotsky stands as a paragon of revolutionary integrity and militancy.

Thus the old Stalinist slanders against Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders and their treatment as non-persons in present-day Russia *discredit the Soviet bureaucracy*—crimes justified by lies and followed by cover-up. So now the Kremlin tops are trying to rehabilitate *themselves*. The Gorbachev regime, which takes pride in its suave handling of public opinion, has shifted the official Soviet treatment of Trotsky. He is now presented as a revolutionary romantic, an ultraleftist whose political line would embroil the Soviet state in disastrous wars with the Western imperialist powers.

This distortion is not a new invention; it is also taken right from the ideological arsenal of Stalinism. Before Stalin accused Trotsky of being a Nazi agent he accused him of advocating military adventurism against the West. For example, S. Rabinovich's Stalinist-revisionist *History of the Civil War* (1935) condemns Trotsky for allegedly

wanting to "bring the revolution to Europe on the bayonets of the Red Army." The extermination of the Bolshevik Old Guard and the special vilification of the Left Opposition in the Moscow Trials of the mid-1930s was designed to further Stalin's program of "socialism in one country," in particular through the "popular front" with the "democratic" imperialist powers (Britain and France) against Nazi Germany. Simultaneously, Stalin strangled the Spanish Revolution.

Shatrov's play about Brest-Litovsk serves the Stalinist program of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism although it was not written by one of Gorbachev's glib propagandists. Written in 1962, it is a product of the ferment which gripped the Soviet intelligentsia following Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin. In the late 1950s, the Stalinist victims of the Moscow Trials and military men like Marshal Tukhachevsky were officially rehabilitated. But as the late Isaac Deutscher wrote at the time, it was grotesque and indecent that little-known Stalinist *apparatchiks*



Penguin Books

Trotsky testifying before 1937 commission of inquiry, headed by American educator John Dewey, which exposed Stalin's Moscow Trials as a monstrous frame-up.

Lenin's General Staff of 1917

STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALONE REMAINS



The Central Committee of The Bolshevik Party in 1917

Socialist Appeal

American Trotskyists' Socialist Appeal (1938) documented Stalin's extermination of the Bolshevik leadership of the October Revolution.

like Eikhe and Postyshev were rehabilitated with much fanfare while nothing was said of Trotsky, Bukharin or Zinoviev.

Surviving veterans of the revolution and Civil War, families of the Moscow Trials victims and young Communist intellectuals like Roy Medvedev demanded historical justice for the Bolshevik Old Guard. In 1962 Khrushchev promised Bukharin's widow and son to consider restoring the man Lenin once called "the favorite of the whole Party" to party honor. But by then the Khrushchevite "thaw" was already freezing over, and after Khrushchev was ousted in 1964 a lid was clamped on those intellectuals concerned with the fate of the Bolshevik Old Guard. Roy Medvedev, for example, was expelled from the Communist Party in 1968 after writing a letter to *Pravda* criticizing an article which had defended Stalin.

But the ghosts of the Bolshevik Old Guard refused to lie buried. Now, since Gorbachev has stated "there must be no forgotten names, no blank spaces, either in history or in literature," there has been a spate of new and long-suppressed works dealing with the crimes of Stalin and the "hidden history" of Soviet Russia. They're again attacking Stalin's sabotage of the Soviet Union's defense against the Nazi German invasion of 1941. And a new edition of the Soviet

encyclopedia *The Great October Socialist Revolution* to be published this fall will include for the first time such figures as Trotsky, Kamenev and Radek.

The Gorbachev Line and Brest-Litovsk

Why has Shatrov's play on the 1918 Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany, written a quarter century ago, now been revived and on such an auspicious occasion as the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution? Because Gorbachev has utilized and distorted the dispute within the Bolshevik leadership over signing this treaty *to justify conciliation of imperialism in general and opposition to revolutionary war in principle*. Addressing the 27th Congress of the CPSU early last year, he stated:

"...socialism has never, of its own free will, related its future to any military solution of international problems. This was borne out at the very first big discussion [over the Brest-Litovsk treaty] that took place in our Party after the victory of the Great October Revolution. During that discussion, as we may recall, the views of the 'Left Communists' and the Trotskyites, who championed the theory of 'revolutionary war' which, they claimed, would carry socialism to other countries, were firmly rejected.... Today, too, we are firmly convinced that pushing revo-

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ОСОБЫЕ ИЗВЕСТИЯ
Неделя
20-26 April 1987

— Михаил Фомичев, славное впечатление производит на читателей наша пьеса «Брестский мир», опубликованная в апрельском номере журнала «Новый мир». Текст ее завершается датой: 1962—1987. Вы работали над пьесой четыре года?
— Нет, «Брестский мир» — моя первая пьеса в Ленинском театре, с последними, но не с сегодняшним состоянием об- щества. Я думаю, что в Бресте, в моменте исторического выбора, когда...

Писатель, глубокий страстный, один из драматургических имен, он пишет три десятилетия работы в пьесе, в пьесе Владимира Ильича, членскими званиями государственной культуры и писателя пьесы «Шестое июля», «Большинство», «Семь имен на красном трапе», «Так победили!».

«Штрам и Ленин и его по- промиз революции» Секретари писате Гусев СССР и ШАТРОВ

Михаил Шатров

Play on Brest-Litovsk treaty by Mikhail Shatrov (shown left in *Izvestia Weekly*) portrays Trotsky and Bukharin as authentic Bolshevik leaders. *New Times* printed excerpts from the play, which recently previewed in Moscow.

TOWARDS THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

THE BREST PEACE

Excerpts from the new play by Mikhail Shatrov

From the Editors: ...praised the courage of the party that had stormed the citadel of capitalism and fascism under the banner of peace. The ... blood

Seven years, is this a long or a short time? The

NEW TIMES
30 March 1987

lutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible."
— *New Times* [Moscow], 10 March 1986

What Gorbachev is concerned with here is not simply, or mainly, general principles and historical analysis. Since late 1979 the Soviet army has been fighting and winning a war in Afghanistan against CIA-armed Islamic fanatics who want to re-enslave Afghan women to the veil. In a bureaucratically deformed way Russia is *now engaged* in a revolutionary war on its southern border. U.S. imperialism has demanded Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan as a *key test* of Gorbachev's "sincerity" in seeking better relations.

For its part, the Gorbachev regime has indicated a willingness to abandon Afghanistan if a face-saving deal can be made. But "national reconciliation" with the *feudalist* Islamic reactionaries is utterly unreal, and would mean abandoning Afghanistan to imperialist-backed counter-revolution. And in denouncing revolutionary war, Gorbachev may also be going after the Vietnamese, whose liberation of Kampuchea from the genocidal Pol Pot regime has upset U.S. imperialism and its local ASEAN puppets.

Shatrov's play on the Brest-Litovsk treaty *falsifies* Lenin's position in a way that serves the Gorbachev line. While only the concluding scene has to date been translated into English (*New Times*, 30 March), the political thrust of the work is clear. The play ends with Lenin giving this supposed speech:

"We have to build, and hence for us the desire for peace is not a tactical manoeuvre in a moment of weakness, it is the sum and substance of the whole of our policy, our whole lives. An hour of peace is worth a thousand times more to socialism than a day of war, even a victorious war."

Lenin never said anything remotely like this during the Brest-Litovsk dispute or any other time. In fact, he said *exactly the opposite* in the very article in which he argued for immediately accepting the German terms:

"Unquestionably, even at this juncture we must *prepare* for a revolutionary war. We are carrying out this promise, as we have, in general, carried out all our promises that could be carried out at once: we annulled the secret treaties, offered all peoples a fair peace, and several times did our best to drag out peace negotiations so as to give

other peoples a chance to join us.
"But the question whether it is possible to carry on a revolutionary war *now, immediately*, must be decided exclusively from the point of view of whether material conditions permit it, and of the interests of the socialist revolution which has already begun." [emphasis in original]
—"On the History of the Question of the Unfortunate Peace" (January 1918)

What, then, was the dispute over the Brest-Litovsk treaty really about? Three and a half years of imperialist war with Germany broke the old Russian army; soldiers were deserting en masse. As Lenin put it, the peasants in uniform were voting with their feet for peace. When the new Bolshevik government entered peace negotiations with the central powers at Brest-Litovsk, the German high command demanded a peace of surrender, annexing Poland, the Baltic lands, Byelorussia and much of the Ukraine. Voicing the indignation of many Communist militants, Bukharin called for "a holy war against militarism and imperialism." Lenin did not oppose such a war in principle. But he insisted that the fledgling Soviet state did not *at that moment* have the forces to wage it. Even Shatrov's play has Lenin arguing against Bukharin: "A revolutionary war requires an army—we have no army." The Soviet state soon built the Red Army, led by Trotsky, which drove the forces of 14 imperialist powers out of Russia.

Under the slogan "neither war nor peace," Trotsky sought a middle way between Bukharin's call for a revolutionary war and Lenin's willingness to sign a peace of surrender. His formula: "We interrupt the war and do not sign the peace—we demobilize the army." Basically, this was a maneuver to buy time for the German and Austrian working classes to topple Hindenburg/Ludendorff. Again, Lenin did not oppose Trotsky's maneuvering in principle; he simply didn't believe it would work. Without a peace treaty he feared the German high command would immediately resume the offensive, and the German workers would not rise up in time to save the Soviet republic. Lenin's judgment proved realistic. When Trotsky broke off negotiations in mid-February, the Germans did resume the offensive, threatening Petrograd, and dictated even worse peace terms. And the German Revolution did not break

out until nine months after the Brest-Litovsk treaty was finally signed.

The Gorbachev line that Lenin opposed revolutionary war in principle is totally fraudulent. This was clearly shown in the 1920 Russo-Polish war when Lenin and Trotsky, as it were, switched roles. In the spring of 1920 Polish strong man Joseph Pilsudski (lately the hero of Solidarność) invaded the Soviet Ukraine with the aim of annexing it. A successful counteroffensive brought the Red Army to the borders of national Poland. The question was then posed pointblank: conclude peace with Pilsudski or go over to the offensive in a revolutionary war against Poland.

Of the top Bolshevik leaders Trotsky most strongly advocated an immediate peace. In his 1930 autobiography, *My Life*, he explained his position:

"Even more perhaps than any one else. I did not want this war, because I realized only too clearly how difficult it would be to prosecute it after three years of continuous civil war....

"A point of view that the war which began as one of defense should be turned into an offensive and revolutionary war began to grow and acquire strength. In principle, of course, I could not possibly have any objection to such a course. The question was simply one of the correlation of forces."

So much for the Gorbachev line that Trotsky was a compulsive military adventurer!

The hardliner on the Bolshevik Central Committee for a revolutionary war against Pilsudski's Poland was none other than Lenin. In particular, he argued that the road linking Soviet power with Germany, then still in the throes of revolution, lay through Warsaw. Speaking to a congress of leather industry workers in October 1920, shortly after the Red Army was turned back from Warsaw, Lenin stated:

"The Versailles Peace has turned Poland into a buffer state which is to guard against German contact with Soviet communism and is regarded by the Entente as a weapon against the Bolsheviks....

"Had Poland turned Soviet, had the Warsaw workers received from Soviet Russia help they awaited and welcomed, the Peace of Versailles would have been smashed, and the entire international system set up as a result of the victory over Germany would have collapsed. France would not then have had a buffer protecting Germany against Soviet Russia."

So much for the Gorbachev line that Lenin opposed using the Red Army to promote revolution in capitalist Europe!

And it's worth noting that a major cause of the Russian defeat in Poland was that Stalin, then senior commissar on the southern front, repeatedly defied orders from the Soviet Supreme Command to reinforce Tukhachevsky's main army outside Warsaw. This failure allowed Pilsudski, aided by French military advisers, to successfully attack Tukhachevsky's flank. (For a discussion of the 1920 Russo-Polish war and the disputes generated by it within the Bolshevik leadership, see "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution'," *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 29, Summer 1980.)

Return to the Path of Lenin and Trotsky!

Gorbachev and his intellectual supporters doubtless think they're being very clever in handling the explosive Trotsky question. They are rehabilitating him in a backhanded way without actually condemning Stalin for murdering the co-leader of the October Revolution. They have

The Last Words of Adolf Joffe

Adolf Joffe was one of Trotsky's oldest and closest political collaborators, joining the Bolshevik Central Committee with him in July 1917. His health failing and persecuted by the Stalinist regime, he committed suicide in 1927. Near his deathbed was found a letter to Trotsky.

"I have never doubted the correctness of the way you have pointed out, and you know that for more than twenty years, ever since the 'Permanent Revolution,' I have been with you. But I have always thought that you lacked the inflexibility, the intransigence of Lenin, his resolution to remain at the task alone, if need be, in the road that he had marked out, sure of a future majority, of a future recognition by all of the rightness of that road. You have always been right politically, beginning with 1905, and I have often told you that with my own ears I have heard Lenin admit that in 1905 it was not he, but you, who were right. In the face of death one does not lie, and I repeat this to you now.

But you have often renounced your right position in favour of an agreement, a compromise, whose value you overestimated. That was wrong, I repeat: politically you have always been in the right, and *now more than ever you are in the right*. Some day the party will understand this, and history be forced to recognize it.

Moreover, don't be afraid today if certain ones desert you."

—from *The Last Words of Adolf Joffe*:

A Letter to Leon Trotsky (16 November 1927)

conceded that Trotsky was subjectively a revolutionary while portraying him as an ultraleftist and military adventurer. But Gorbachev will be no more successful in bending the history of Soviet Russia to his line of "peaceful coexistence" than Stalin was in falsifying the history of the revolution with the executioner's bullet.

Politically thoughtful Soviet workers as well as intellectuals will want to see for themselves what Trotsky had to say. If Gorbachev's talk of *glasnost* and removing the "blank spaces" in Soviet history are to mean anything, the state publishing houses should bring out the writings of Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the October Revolution. There the Soviet reader will find courageous denunciations of Stalin's crimes and betrayals at the time, not half a century late. They will learn of the existence of tens of thousands of Left Oppositionists in the USSR who went to their deaths rather than betray the heritage of October.

They will also find a program to overcome the corruption, social pathology (e.g., widespread alcoholism) and political and economic malaise of Gorbachev's Russia. And they will find a program to end once and for all the terrible threat of nuclear holocaust which hangs over mankind. That program is to return to the road of Lenin, to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, to restore soviet democracy by ousting the Kremlin bureaucracy, and extend the October Revolution to the entire planet. ■

Stalinist Reformers Look to the Right Opposition

The Campaign to "Rehabilitate" Bukharin

Mikhail Gorbachev singled out Nikolai Bukharin, of all Stalin's victims, for special mention in his speech commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. While Gorbachev stopped short of rehabilitating Bukharin, or any other Old Bolshevik, his praise of Bukharin's contributions to the "struggle against Trotskyism" clearly signaled that Bukharin's political legacy lies somewhere within the "permissible" limits of *glasnost*—and Leon Trotsky's outside of them.

In the late 1970s, a campaign to demand the rehabilitation of Nikolai Bukharin was initiated by Bukharin's widow and son and vigorously pursued by the "Eurocommunists," a current tending toward social democracy within the West European Stalinist parties. By taking up Bukharin's cause, the Eurocommunists were able to adopt a leftist veneer while at the same time distancing themselves from the Kremlin. U.S. imperialism's Cold War II under Jimmy Carter's hypocritical "human rights crusade" had just begun. The Eurocommunists defended Bukharin and the likes of admitted imperialist spy Anatoly Shcharansky, to prove their "democratic" credentials to their own bourgeoisies and U.S. imperialism.

Trailing in the wake of the Eurocommunists were the fake-Trotskyists of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). Mandel heads the list of centrist and reformist charlatans who have dragged the name "Fourth International" into the muck of anti-Sovietism. All wings of Mandel's very disunited international organization signed up as foot soldiers in western imperialism's drive against the land of the October Revolution. Today they call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and give fulsome support to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, the only "union" loved by the Vatican and the world bourgeoisie.

But Ernest Mandel and his followers are nothing if not consummate opportunists who always go with what is popular in petty-bourgeois circles. With "Gorby chic" now the going thing, will the USec be able to resist tailing Gorbachev or some wing of the Soviet bureaucracy? Mandel has peddled the illusion of bureaucratic self-reform before. After the East German workers uprising in 1953, he and his mentor Michel Pablo published a manifesto which made *no* mention of the critical vehicle for political revolution which the uprising lacked—a party imbued with the revolutionary goals of Lenin and Trotsky. Instead, they called for "Real democratization of the Communist Parties." As if any of the Communist Parties today could represent the continuity of Lenin's revolutionary Communist Interna-



Nikolai Bukharin. Of all the Moscow Trial victims not in Stalin's own faction, Bukharin can most easily be claimed by the bureaucracy as one of its own.

tional! Pablo/Mandel destroyed Trotsky's Fourth International with their revisionism in the period 1951-53, when they abandoned the struggle to build proletarian vanguard parties, instead liquidating the small Trotskyist nuclei into the reformist Stalinist parties.

We reprint here an excerpt from "The Campaign to 'Rehabilitate' Bukharin," (*Workers Vanguard* No. 220, 1 December 1978) which analyzes why the economic

and social proposals of Bukharin during the period of Stalinization in the mid to late 1920s might be palatable to the liberal Stalinist reformers of today. Trotskyists call for an independent party on a program of workers power to sweep out the bureaucratic usurpers!

While refusing to call on the Stalinist murderers to pass judgment on their victims, while proclaiming their innocence and calling on the Soviet *working class* to restore them to their true role in history, we do not therefore glorify all those slain by the GPU as intrepid revolutionaries. In fact, those who were made to "confess" to the most absurd crimes at the Moscow Trials, then to be ignominiously shot after they had served their purpose, were one and all former right oppositionists, members of the Stalin faction or capitulationists. Many of them had already done years of dirty work for the Kremlin against the persecuted Left Opposition.

The current appeal is no doubt partially due to his family's latest efforts. But it is far from accidental that it is Bukharin—rather than, say, Zinoviev or Kamenev, not to mention Trotsky—who is the focus of the "rehabilitation" campaign. "Bukharinism" has been a popular current among sections of the East European Stalinist bureaucracy and among certain "socialist dissident" circles, as well as among Western liberals. Bukharin's biographer Stephen Cohen is representative of this viewpoint, as the concluding words of his book make clear:

"If... reformers succeed in creating a more liberal communism, a 'socialism with a human face,' Bukharin's outlook and the NEP-style order he defended may turn out to have been after all, the true prefiguration of the Communist future—the alternative to Stalinism after Stalin."
—*Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution* (1971)

Those social and economic policies associated with Bukharin have exerted a widespread, if generally underground, influence among reformers in the East European bureaucratic/petty-bourgeois elite, from economists to top CP politicians. Alexander Erlich's *The Soviet*



Stalin's press smeared oppositionists. Left: Bukharin and Trotsky as Gestapo's running dogs, 1938. Right: Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev depicted in league with Nazis in 1936.

Industrialization Debate (1960) points out that: "It is astonishing to discover how many ideas of Bukharin's anti-Stalinist program of 1928-29 were adopted by current reformers as their own...." A later work by Moshe Lewin, *Political Undercurrents in Soviet Economic Debates* (1974), is devoted to the thesis that Bukharinism is

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Bukharin's talents as a facile theorist and his popularity invaluable, and the lovable "favorite of the whole party" soon became one of the rabid polemicists against the left. Isaac Deutscher, in *The Prophet Unarmed* (1959), describes his "strange, almost macabre performance" at the 15th CPSU Congress in October 1926, where his cynical sneers, vicious character assassination and sophisticated-sounding pyrotechnics caused even Stalin to laugh, "He does not argue with them, he slaughters them."

"You have done well to make up your mind—this is the last minute—the iron curtain of history is just coming down," Bukharin reportedly told Zinoviev and Kamenev after the breakup of the Joint Opposition and their capitulation in December 1927. Bukharin was to remain behind that "iron curtain" of Stalinism even after Stalin had dumped him and the Right had become the Right Opposition. All Bukharin's differences with Stalin over industrialization and collectivization were consciously contained within the upper levels of the Soviet bureaucracy, bounded by his acceptance of the fundamental tenet of Stalinism: that an apparatus ruling over the proletariat, not soviet democracy, was necessary.

And Bukharin soon capitulated, in a manner no less despicable than Zinoviev's and Kamenev's. Writing some time later, Trotsky insisted on the intra-bureaucratic nature of the Right Opposition's differences with Stalin:

"There is an altogether different, but in its kind no less symptomatic, significance in the 100 percent capitulation of Rykov, Tomsky, and Bukharin. The political cohorts of these leaders spread far into the camp of class enemies. We predicted more than once that the sharpening of the crisis of the revolution must inevitably throw the tiny Bolshevik head of the Right Opposition against its hefty counter-revolutionary tail. The moment for this has arrived. Alarmed by the mood of their own followers, leaders of the Right Opposition crawled on their knees to the official leadership. They were able to go through with this all the more easily because no matter how acute the fight has become from moment to moment, it nevertheless remained a fight between left and right shadings in the camp of bureaucratic centrism."

—"Alarm Signal!" (March 1933)

Right down to his execution in 1938 Bukharin never again played an independent political role, functioning simply as an errand boy for Stalin, who allowed him to edit *Izvestia* for a while. He was also permitted to draft the notorious "Stalin Constitution" of 1936, then hailed as "the world's most democratic constitution." Bukharin was apparently proud of his role in producing this piece of sophistry, and the Russell Foundation devotes an entire chapter in Ken Coates' little book on the campaign to "Bukharin's Constitution." This is his "legacy" to the Soviet people, it seems, for:

"The cry of a whole new generation of critics of the Soviet Establishment since 1956 has been, not 'overthrow the Constitution,' but 'enforce the Constitution.'"


This amounts to a stunning criticism of the current generation of "Soviet dissidents." It would not have occurred to the Left Oppositionists jailed in the labor camps of Vorkuta and Siberia to appeal to Stalin on the basis of the "Bukharin Constitution." Nor, obviously, was it of much use to its author. But, then, neither were the rest of his voluminous writings on Stalin's behalf against the Left Opposition. There is never much point to ingratiating oneself with traitors.

As the miserable history of the Right Opposition demonstrates, "Bukharinism" was incapable of being any "alternative" to Stalinism as a "road to socialism." Bukharin's identification with the parasitic, bonapartist bureaucracy, and his recoil from the capitalist appetites of his base, completely paralyzed any independent struggle the Bukharinites could have mounted. Attempts by Stalinist reformers in East Europe to implement Bukharinist reforms have led only to increased class tensions and instability. The logic of "consistent Bukharinism"—i.e., "socialism in one country" built through reliance on market forces, particularly private peasant agriculture—leads ultimately to unleashing the forces of capitalist restoration.

The only revolutionary alternative to Stalinist domination of the degenerated/deformed workers states is the program of Trotskyism: for the re-establishment of workers democracy through political revolution; for centralized economic planning and collectivization of agriculture, controlled not by technocratic/bureaucratic elites but by genuine soviets; for economic integration of the workers states and extension of the revolution. And this requires the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard workers party irreconcilably hostile to all wings of the ruling bureaucracies. ■

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Women and Revolution



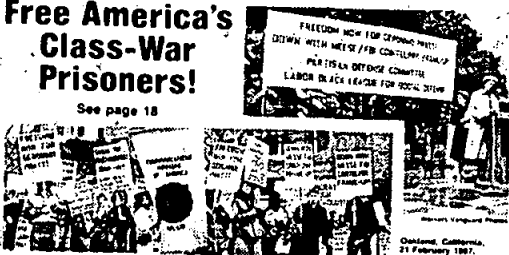
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In Defense of Marshal Tukhachevsky

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Letter:

24 November 1981

Department of English
Montclair State College
Upper Montclair, New Jersey 07043

The Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Dear Sir:

In your interesting article exposing *Solidarność* ("Pilsudski and Counterrevolution in Poland", *WV* 20 Nov. 1981, p. 7), you state that the failure of the Red Army's drive in July-August 1920 against Warsaw was due in part to "Stalin's insubordination."

This is not the opinion of the most recent scholar of the subject, Professor Norman Davies. In an article in the anti-communist journal *Soviet Studies* (Vol. 23, No. 4, April, 1972), Prof. Davies concluded that Stalin was not guilty of insubordination (p. 584). Davies also reveals that the "Stalin's insubordination" story is pushed today by current Soviet defenders of Marshal Tukhachevsky, who had been in overall command of the operation against Warsaw for the Red Army.

Soviet historians do not speak of it today, but Tukhachevsky was a well-known anti-Semite and right-wing Socialist, not at all unlike the Pilsudski portrayed in your article. Tukhachevsky's views were outlined by a friend and ex-comrade in German captivity, the former French officer Rémy Roure ("Pierre Fervacque"), in his book, *Le chef de l'armée rouge* ("Head of the Red Army"), 1928 (see pp. 24-5 for Tukhachevsky's attacks on Jews and Bolsheviks). Far from repudiating this account, Tukhachevsky kept up his friendship with Roure until shortly before his execution in the "military purges" of June, 1937 (see Fervacque's article in *Le Temps*, July 24, 1937, p. 3).

I think you should beware of repeating judgments that echo those of contemporary Soviet historians, even when, as in this case, the latter's views appear to correspond with those of Trotsky.

Respectfully yours,
Grover C. Furr III

Reply:

WV replies: We thank Professor Furr for his letter drawing our attention to the continuing circulation of certain timeworn falsehoods regarding Marshal of the Soviet Union Tukhachevsky. Tukhachevsky a "well-known anti-Semite and right-wing Socialist"? It is not surprising to find



Sovfoto

Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Red Army hero, murdered in Stalin's purge.

such defamation is still current—after all, lots of people still "know" that Lenin was the Kaiser's agent and Trotsky Hitler's. Underlying the questions of historic fact raised by Professor Furr is a crucial political issue: whether Stalin was justified in liquidating the senior cadres of the Red Army officer corps on the eve of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Red Army commander and Bolshevik since World War I, was executed by Stalin in 1937 as a German spy; his wife and brother died in prison. He was "rehabilitated" in the Soviet Union in the course of the 1956 Khrushchev revelations which exposed a fraction of Stalin's monstrous crimes against the October Revolution. Obviously only the Kremlin archives could lay bare the full depth and breadth of Stalin's murder and defamation of Marshal Tukhachevsky. We have drawn on the limited materials at our disposal to sort out historical fact from Stalinist falsehoods; it seems sufficient for the point at hand. If other readers believe they have significant new information to offer on this question, we would be glad to discuss it further.

Leon Trotsky, in *Stalin* (1941), wrote of the young Tukhachevsky:

"Until the conquest of power by the Bolsheviks, he had been a lieutenant in the Tsarist Army. The October Revolution won him over heart and soul. He not only offered his services to the Red Army but became a Communist. He

distinguished himself almost immediately at the front, and within a year had become a general of the Red Army. His brilliance as a strategist was acknowledged by admiring foes who were the victims of that very brilliance."

Trotsky, as Tukhachevsky's immediate commander during the 1920 Polish campaign, was certainly in a position to know what occurred then. Writing in October 1939, shortly after the Hitler-Stalin pact and the entry of Soviet troops into eastern Poland, Trotsky gives the following account of Stalin's earlier betrayal:

"But Stalin also has his personal motive for the invasion of Poland, as almost always, a motive of vengeance. In 1920 Tukhachevsky, the future marshal, led the Red troops against Warsaw. The future Marshal Yegorov advanced toward Lemberg [Lwów]. With Yegorov was Stalin. When it became clear that Tukhachevsky was menaced on the Vistula by a counterattack, the Moscow command ordered Yegorov to turn north in the direction of Lublin, in order to help Tukhachevsky. But Stalin feared that Tukhachevsky, after having taken Warsaw, would 'seize' Lemberg, thus depriving him of this achievement. Hidden behind the authority of Stalin, Yegorov did not fulfill the order of the general staff. Only four days later, when the critical situation of Tukhachevsky became acute, did the armies of Yegorov turn north toward Lublin. But it was already too late. The catastrophe was at hand. In the high councils of the party and of the army, all knew that the person responsible for the crushing of Tukhachevsky was Stalin. The present invasion of Poland and the seizure of Lemberg is thus for Stalin a revenge for the grandiose failure of 1920."

—Trotsky, *Portraits, Political and Personal*
(reprint of an article dated 2 October 1939)

This is confirmed in Wollenberg's *The Red Army*, where both Tukhachevsky and Pilsudski are quoted in detail; their statements fully confirm Trotsky's account. We have previously written on the 1920 Polish campaign, in particular in our article "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution'," in *Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980.

Professor Furr's letter cites as his "authority" the article in *Soviet Studies* by Norman Davies, an open admirer of Pilsudski's "iron will." But far from acquitting Stalin of insubordination, this article in fact *confirms* Stalin's deliberate defiance of the directives of Lenin and the Politburo. Davies acknowledges "the absence of coordination between the Soviet Western Command [under Tukhachevsky] and the three armies of the South-Western Command [led by Stalin and Yegorov]. Despite an order of 13 August to assist the Western Front, the South-Western Command played no significant part in the battle whatsoever...." He goes on to describe Stalin's opposition to a planned division of the South-Western Command which would have placed a major section under Tukhachevsky's command: "...there is definite proof that he accepted the Politburo's plan with bad grace. On 4 August, when Lenin informed him of the proposed division of the South-West Front, he cabled back: 'The Politburo ought not to bother with such trifles.'" After vacillating under pressure from Stalin, Kamenev finally ordered the Twelfth Army and the First Cavalry Army (the "Konarmia") transferred on August 13—an order which Stalin, as political commissar, refused to sign. According to Davies, Stalin did not directly countermand this order, but instead "ordered the Konarmia on 12 August to besiege Lwów, knowing that it was due to be transferred to the West.... Was it to spite Tukhachevsky, as Trotsky and other more recent Soviet commentators have maintained? Was it to win glory? Was it to enmesh the 'Konarmia' in an engagement from which

no order of Kamenev's could extract it?... All one can say for certain is that Stalin was profoundly suspicious of the regrouping,... that he did nothing to help it but that he was not guilty of *open* insubordination" (our emphasis). No, not open insubordination—underhanded, treacherous sabotage and subterfuge! Davies concludes by blaming Tukhachevsky for having "angered Egorov and Stalin" and attributes the Red Army's defeat at Warsaw to this "cumulative friction"! (Perhaps Trotsky too was guilty of having "angered" Stalin, his exile and assassination on Stalin's orders also the result of "cumulative friction"?)

One of the principal architects of the mechanization and scientific modernization of the Red Army, Tukhachevsky's outstanding military career is well documented. Likewise are the myriad Stalinist lies invented to justify the murder of a brilliant Red Army officer whose only crime was to present a potential threat to Stalin's power. Tukhachevsky's early military victories included the rout of the anti-Bolshevik Kronstadt Uprising in 1921—hardly the act of a "right-wing Socialist." An improbable characterization as well of his political deviations: in fact, he bent the stick too far in the other direction, seeing an International Red Army as the instrument of world revolution.

To leave unchallenged the charge of anti-Semitism would be to suggest that Stalin shot Tukhachevsky legitimately as a secret anti-Semite and Nazi sympathizer. Professor Furr cites the testimony of a French officer interned with Tukhachevsky in a German prisoner-of-war camp at Ingolstadt during WW I. At that time a pan-Slavist nationalist and bonapartist, Tukhachevsky may well have said, as Roure asserts, "I detest socialists, Jews and Christians." But like many other young tsarist officers, under the impact of war and revolution he was won to the Bolshevik cause.

After the 1928 publication of Roure's book, Tukhachevsky himself repudiated his earlier views when a group



Tukhachevsky was won to Bolshevism during the October Revolution. At age 26, the brilliant general led the main Soviet forces in the Polish campaign.

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International Trotskyist movement upheld unconditional military defense of USSR during WWII.

of French officers offered a toast in memory of their common imprisonment: "I became a Marxist. I never think of my views at Ingolstadt without regretting them, since they could cause doubts about my devotion to the Soviet motherland" (Alexandrov, *The Tukhachevsky Affair*). Among the officers in attendance was Rémy Roure himself.

A most persuasive argument against the imputation of anti-Semitism to Tukhachevsky was his long-standing friendship with the Soviet composer Dmitri Shostakovich, who drew heavily on Jewish musical traditions in his work and sought to make his music a statement against the persecution of the Jews in Europe. According to Solomon Volkov's *Testimony* (1979), an account of Shostakovich's life based on conversations with him, the composer said, "I broke with even good friends if I saw they had any anti-Semitic tendencies." Yet Shostakovich reportedly described his symphonies as tombstones for his murdered friends, among them Mikhail Tukhachevsky.

No, anti-Semitism was Stalin's weapon, used against Trotsky and the communists of the Left Opposition, the Old Bolsheviks, anyone who stood in his way as he consolidated his bureaucratic stranglehold over the first proletarian state. While never a Trotskyist, Tukhachevsky resisted enormous pressure and refused to publish a single condemnation, or even criticism, of his former commander. As late as 1928 he was still quoting Trotsky as a military authority in his contribution to *Armed Insurrection*, the classic "Third Period" textbook on military tactics by A. Neuberg—actually a pseudonym for a group of Comintern military experts which included Tukhachevsky, Ho Chi Minh, the German Communist (and later Trotskyist) Erich Wollenberg, CI org sec Piatnitsky and Unslicht (the latter two both Old Bolsheviks executed by Stalin). In his 1970 introduction to the book, Wollenberg points to the origin of the "anti-Semite" slanders:

"The most absurd legends were put about to explain the background to Tukhachevsky's liquidation, and indeed are still believed to this day. 'Diabolical intrigue by SS General Heidrich who smuggled forged documents into the hands of Beneš in order to weaken the Soviet army by having it decapitated of its commanders'; 'Conspiracy between General Fritsch and Tukhachevsky to overthrow Hitler and Stalin'; 'The "anti-semite" from the Russian élite sympathized with Hitler'; etc., etc. Marshal of the Soviet Union 'Tukha' was liquidated by Stalin as a mem-

ber of an oppositional group whose best-known members included the Old Bolsheviks Bukharin and Rykov, and in the army the 'Jew' Gamarnik, political commissar, and the 'Jew' and army general Yakir! 'Tukha' was denounced by Radek, who in his own trial hoped to save his skin by mentioning the name of the Marshal of the Soviet Union in connection with the soviet democratic opposition."

In fact, there was a Gestapo plot to frame Tukha by providing falsified documents naming him as a German spy—the convenient pretext Stalin needed to eliminate a potentially dangerous adversary. In his 1939 work *In Stalin's Secret Service*, W.G. Krivitsky, chief of Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe at the time of Tukhachevsky's murder, described the GPU/Gestapo frame-up. After piecing together the plot Krivitsky wrote bitterly, "... from my vantage point in the Intelligence Service, I saw Stalin extend the hand of secret friendship to Hitler. I saw him, while thus paying court to the Nazi leader, execute the great generals of the Red Army, Tukhachevsky, and the other chiefs with whom and under whom I had worked for years in the defense of the Soviet Union and of socialism." In *The Great Game* Soviet master spy Leopold Trepper, a Polish Jew and Communist, wrote:

"The Red Army was the last bastion to be removed; it alone still eluded his control. For the Stalin regime, liquidating the leaders of the army became an urgent objective. Since the leaders in question were old Bolsheviks who had distinguished themselves during the October Revolution, and since an accusation like 'Trotskyite' or 'Zinovievist' against a Tukhachevski would not stick, it was necessary to strike hard and with great strength. Stalin used the complicity of Hitler to murder the army of the Russian people."

Trepper goes on to tell the account, related to him in 1943 by Giering of the Gestapo, of how at Stalin's initiative Nazi Intelligence provided faked documents to prove Tukhachevsky was conspiring with the Wehrmacht. However, these documents were never introduced until after Tukhachevsky had already been shot. His summary execution was ordered on the basis of his activities collaborating with the German military, *carrying out what was from 1922 until 1935 official Soviet policy*.

In fact Tukha and his fellow "co-conspirator," the Jewish Red Army commissar Yan B. Gamarnik, were among the hardest opponents of German Nazism. When Hitler came to power, they had demanded immediate

suspension of military relations with the Reichswehr, in opposition to Stalin. Isaac Deutscher, in *Stalin* (1949), describes Tukhachevsky's report to the Central Executive Committee in January 1936: "His speech was remarkable for its shrewd anticipation of Hitler's methods of warfare and for its extraordinary emphasis on the danger from the Third Reich. Tukhachevsky's emphatic warning sharply contrasted with Stalin's ambiguity." Liquidation of the anti-Nazi generals became essential for the consummation of Stalin's policy, the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact. Trepper describes the purge that followed Tukhachevsky's execution:

"The blood of Red Army soldiers flowed: 13 out of 19 commanders of army troops, 110 out of 135 commanders of divisions and brigades, half the commanders of regiments, and most of the political commissars were executed. The Red Army, bled white, was hardly an army at all now, and it would not be again for years. "The Germans exploited this situation to the full...."

In 1941 Hitler's troops invaded the Soviet Union; to defeat them cost the lives of 20 million Russians.

Trepper captured the bitterness and bewilderment of those who watched Stalin's terror against the heroes of the Revolution and the Civil War. But he also recognized who did not capitulate:

"All those who did not rise up against the Stalinist machine are responsible, collectively responsible. I am no exception

to this verdict.

"But who did protest at the time? Who rose up to voice his outrage?"

"The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor. Following the example of their leader, who was rewarded for his obstinacy with the end of an ice-axe, they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did. By the time of the great purges, they could only shout their rebellion in the freezing wastelands where they had been dragged in order to be exterminated. In the camps, their conduct was admirable. But their voices were lost in the tundra.

"Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."

We trust that we have adequately demonstrated that Professor Furr has been misled by his "authorities." If there are those in the Soviet Union today who would honor Marshal Tukhachevsky, and seek to clear away the filthy Stalinist slanders against his memory, this is to be welcomed. We look forward to the day when the Russian working class recovers the banner of the Red Army's founder, Leon Trotsky, and returns it to its rightful place, waving high over Red Square. ■

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Heroic Soviet Spy Leopold Trepper: On Stalin's Sabotage of Soviet Defense

Leopold Trepper was the head of the Soviet espionage network which operated in Nazi-occupied Western Europe, the "Red Orchestra," as it was dubbed by German army counterintelligence. Trepper and Richard Sorge (who operated out of Tokyo) were typical of those Trotsky referred to as the "Reiss Faction" of the Soviet state apparatus. They, like Ignace Reiss (a GPU official who was assassinated in 1937, six weeks after he denounced Stalin and declared for Trotsky's Fourth International) and many others of lesser fame, anguished over the horrors of Stalinism but remained politically paralyzed, burying themselves in the Soviet military/intelligence apparatus. They accomplished brilliant work, heroically risking their lives to defend the USSR. Yet Stalin, blinded by his pact with Hitler (which Gorbachev now declares a smart maneuver), ignored their information about the Nazi invasion plans.

The Stalinist terror apparatus treated Trepper and Sorge no differently from countless others. Immediately upon Trepper's return to Moscow in January 1945, he was arrested and thrown into the Lubyanka where he stayed for almost ten years. There he learned from a captured Japanese general that the Soviet government had *refused* to exchange Sorge after his capture in 1941, and allowed the Japanese government to execute him in November 1944. Trepper himself was freed from prison only after Stalin's death.

Working with the Red Orchestra in Berlin after 1939 was the anti-fascist resistance group led by Arvid Harnack and Harro Schulze-Boysen, an intelligence officer in Göring's air force ministry. The Schulze-Boysen group was broken up by the Nazis in the summer of 1942 when more than 50 were executed; including the two leaders.

We reprint below an excerpt from the memoirs of Leopold Trepper, *The Great Game* (New York, 1977).

On December 18, 1940, Hitler signed Directive Number 21, better known as Operation Barbarossa. The first sentence of this plan was explicit: "The German armed forces must be ready before the end of the war against Great Britain to defeat the Soviet Union by means of a *Blitzkrieg*."

Richard Sorge warned the Center immediately; he forwarded them a copy of the directive. Week after week, the heads of Red Army Intelligence received updates on the Wehrmacht's preparations. At the beginning of 1941, Schulze-Boysen sent the Center precise information on the operation being planned: massive bombardments of Leningrad, Kiev, and Vyborg; the number of divisions involved—In February, I sent a detailed dispatch giving the

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Leopold Trepper. His Soviet espionage network gave Stalin the Nazi invasion plans. Stalin criminally ignored information.

exact number of divisions withdrawn from France and Belgium, and sent to the east. In May, through the Soviet military attaché in Vichy, General Susloparov, I sent the proposed plan of attack, and indicated the original date, May 15, then the revised date, and the final date. On May 12, Sorge warned Moscow that 150 German divisions were massed along the frontier. On the 15th, he cited June 21st for the beginning of the operations, a date that was confirmed by Schulze-Boysen in Berlin....

He who closes his eyes sees nothing, even in the full light of day. This was the case with Stalin and his entourage. The generalissimo preferred to trust his political instinct rather than the secret reports piled up on his desk. Convinced that he had signed an eternal pact of friendship with Germany, he sucked on the pipe of peace. He had buried his tomahawk and he was not ready to dig it up yet.

Thirty years after the war was over, Marshal Golikov, writing in a Soviet historical review, officially confirmed the value of the information received.

"The Soviet Intelligence Services had learned in good time the dates of the attack against the USSR and had given the alarm before it was too late.... The intelligence services provided accurate information regarding the military potential of Hitler's Germany, the exact number of armed forces, the quantities of arms, and the strategic plans

of the commanders of the Wehrmacht...."

Marshal Golikov was in a good position to make such a statement. From June, 1940, to July, 1941, he was the Director of Red Army Intelligence. If the Russian chiefs of staff were so well informed, what was the reason for the debacle after the German attack? The answer is no doubt contained in a note Golikov himself addressed to his services on March 20, 1941:

"All the documents claiming that war is imminent must be regarded as forgeries emanating from British or even German sources."

On the most important dispatches sent to him by Sorge, Schulze-Boysen, and me, Golikov noted in the margin "Double agent" or "British source."...

On June 21, 1941, we had confirmation from Vasily Maximovich and Schulze-Boysen that the invasion was set for the next day. There was still time to put the Red Army in a state of alert. I rushed to Vichy with Leo Grossvogel.... I insisted that Susloparov send the dispatch. Late that evening I went back to my hotel. At four in the morning the manager woke me up, shouting in my ear,

"It's happened, Monsieur Gilbert! Germany is at war with the Soviet Union!"

On the 23rd, Wolosiuk, the attaché for the army air force under Susloparov, arrived in Vichy, having left Moscow a few hours before the outbreak of the war. He told me that before his departure, he had been called in to see the Director, who had given him a message for me:

"You can tell Otto"—my code name—"that I have

passed on the information on the imminence of the German attack to the big boss. The big boss is amazed that a man like Otto, an old militant and an intelligence man, has allowed himself to be intoxicated by English propaganda. You can tell him again that the big boss is completely convinced that the war with Germany will not start before 1944—"

The "complete conviction" of the big boss, Stalin, was to be expensive. Having decapitated the Red Army in 1937—which was responsible for the first defeats—the inspired strategist then turned over what was left of the army to Hitler's hordes. During the first hours of the German offensive—in defiance of all the evidence, and because he had the idea of a planted rumor so firmly in mind—he refused to allow a counterattack....

The results: the airfields pounded by German bombers; the airplanes smashed to pieces on the ground; the German fighter planes masters of the sky, transforming the Russian plains into graveyards strewn with demolished tanks. On the evening of the 22nd, the leaders of the army, whom Stalin had forbidden to put their troops on alert, received the order to drive the enemy outside their borders. By this time the armored divisions of the Wehrmacht had already penetrated several hundred kilometers into Soviet territory.

It would take the sacrifices of a whole nation rising up against its invader to reverse the military situation. But meanwhile, Stalin's error would cost Russia millions of lives and prolong the war. ■

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Interim Preliminary Agreement for Common Work in Japan

Spartacist prints below an agreement between the iSt and a Japanese Group.

1. The iSt and the Japanese Group recognize the vital and urgent necessity to forge an authentic Trotskyist vanguard party in Japan, rooted in the proletariat and organized according to Leninist norms as codified in the Organizational Resolution of the Third Congress of the Communist International.

2. Such a party can only be created by waging an uncompromising struggle against the anti-Marxist state-capitalist theories of the Japanese fake-Trotskyist "far left." Writing about the USSR in January 1921, V.I. Lenin noted: "A workers' state is an abstraction. What we actually have is a workers' state, with this peculiarity, first, that it is not the working class but the peasant population that predominates in the country, and, secondly that it is a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions." In comrade Lenin's acute observation, subsequently deepened and expanded by Trotsky and the Left Opposition in their struggle against the consolidating Stalinist bureaucracy, are laid bare both the roots of Stalinism and the necessity of defending the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. The iSt and the Japanese Group uphold the analysis and programmatic conclusions of L.D. Trotsky expressed in *The Revolution Betrayed* and *In Defense of Marxism*. Only a party that steadfastly defends the Soviet Union will win the Soviet proletariat to the banner of Trotskyism and be capable of leading a successful

proletarian political revolution against the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. In Japan today the acid test for Trotskyists is the Russian question. In Trotsky's words: "It is the duty of revolutionaries to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."

3. We stand for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. We therefore unconditionally defend the Soviet Union's right and indeed obligation to have such nuclear weapons as are required to counter the nuclear arsenals of the imperialists. The Japanese Group agrees with the iSt's positions on Poland and Afghanistan and joins the iSt in denouncing the reactionary anti-Soviet alliance of the Chinese Stalinists and U.S. imperialism.

4. Further the Japanese Group endorses the 5 October 1986 iSt telegram addressed to the Commander-in-Chief, Soviet Navy regarding the recent accident aboard a Soviet submarine in the Atlantic Ocean.

5. The main enemy is at home! In Japan it is therefore the elementary duty of revolutionaries to oppose Japanese imperialism's revanchist and chauvinist claims to the four so-called Northern Islands, now part of the USSR. For the right of unrestricted passage of all Soviet ships through the Tsushima, Soya and Tsugaru Straits and all other passages connecting the Sea of Japan to the Pacific!

6. The Japanese Group defends workers democracy and



Eastern Department at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, Moscow 1922. Among the members: Tan Malaka of Indonesia and M.N. Roy of India (back row, third and fourth from left), Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam (front left), and Eizo Kondo and Sen Katayama, founders of Japanese Communism (front, second and third from left).

decisively rejects the gangsterism and thuggery that the Japanese "far lefts" inflict upon each other's organizations. Such behavior has everything in common with the most infamous methods of Stalinism and must be rooted out of the workers movement.

7. A Trotskyist party must be a tribune of the people. In Japan this means championing and defending the oppressed and discriminated-against minorities in Japanese society—the Ainu, the Koreans, the Chinese, the so-called half-castes and the burakumin.

8. Trotskyists in Japan must also, as a central part of their ongoing work, *consciously* and *persistently* struggle against the pervasive oppression of women in Japanese society. Japanese women, as a part of the leadership of the revolutionary party, will be a powerful force for workers revolution.

9. It is the Japanese Group's intention to study not only the basic documents of the iSt, but to learn more about specific positions of iSt sections on various problems and events in the world so as to become a fighting propaganda group capable of fully articulating the policies of the iSt and of intervening as Trotskyists in various struggles and movements. The Leninist party in Japan will be built from above through splits and fusions of the Japanese ostensibly revolutionary organizations.

10. It is the perspective of the iSt and the Japanese Group, after a period of study and common work, to fuse and forge a Japanese section of the iSt.

11. The iSt will assist the Japanese Group by making available such literature as will aid in this process.

12. The iSt and the Japanese Group look forward to an early exchange of visits of representatives.

13. In order to facilitate common work and integration into a common international organization, the Japanese Group members will undertake the study of English. For its part the iSt will assign suitable comrades to begin to learn Japanese.

14. In the period for which this agreement will be in effect the Japanese Group will assist the iSt by translating into Japanese and producing selected fundamental documents, and arranging for a modest distribution of these and other English-language materials in Japan.

15. As a culmination of these perspectives we look forward to an educational international summer camp to be held in 1987.

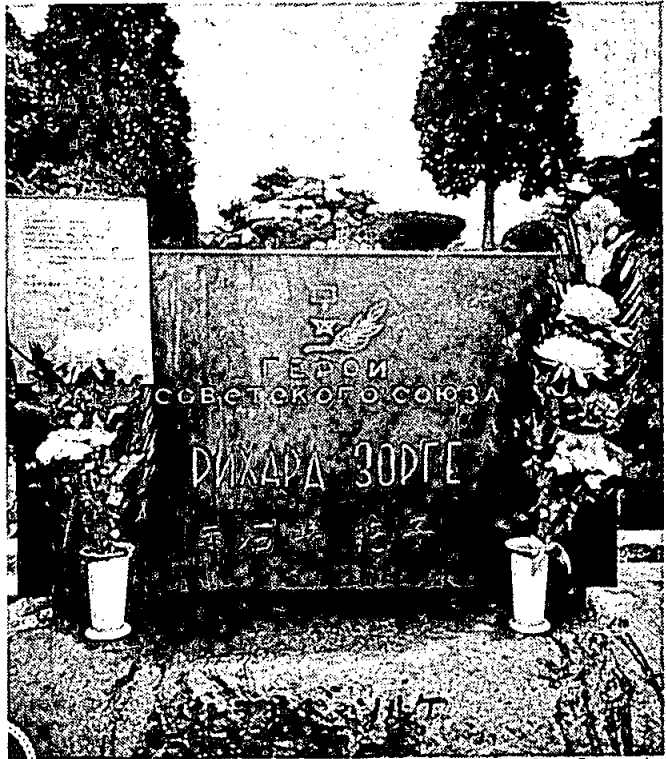
16. In matters of mutual concern regarding Japan, both parties to this interim preliminary agreement will consult.

17. In the spirit of the above agreement and as a first step in implementing this agreement, iSt representatives and comrades from the Japanese Group will on Sunday 26 October 1986 visit Tama Cemetery in Tokyo and lay a wreath at the grave of heroic Soviet spies Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi. Inscribed in English and Japanese on the wreath will be: "In honor of the memory of Richard Sorge, hero of the Soviet Union, and Ozaki Hotsumi who died fighting in the cause of the international proletariat. [Signed by both groups.]"

Forward to a Japanese Trotskyist party that will stop at nothing short of the dictatorship of the proletariat! Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International!

Signed by representatives of the iSt
and the Japanese Group

Tokyo (Tama Cemetery), 26 October 1986



Spartacist

The grave of Richard Sorge, Hero of the Soviet Union, in Tokyo's Tama Cemetery. Inscription placed by iSt and the Japanese Group honors Sorge and fellow Soviet spy Ozaki Hotsumi, "who died fighting in the cause of the international proletariat."

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The Poland of Luxemburg vs. the Poland of Pilsudski

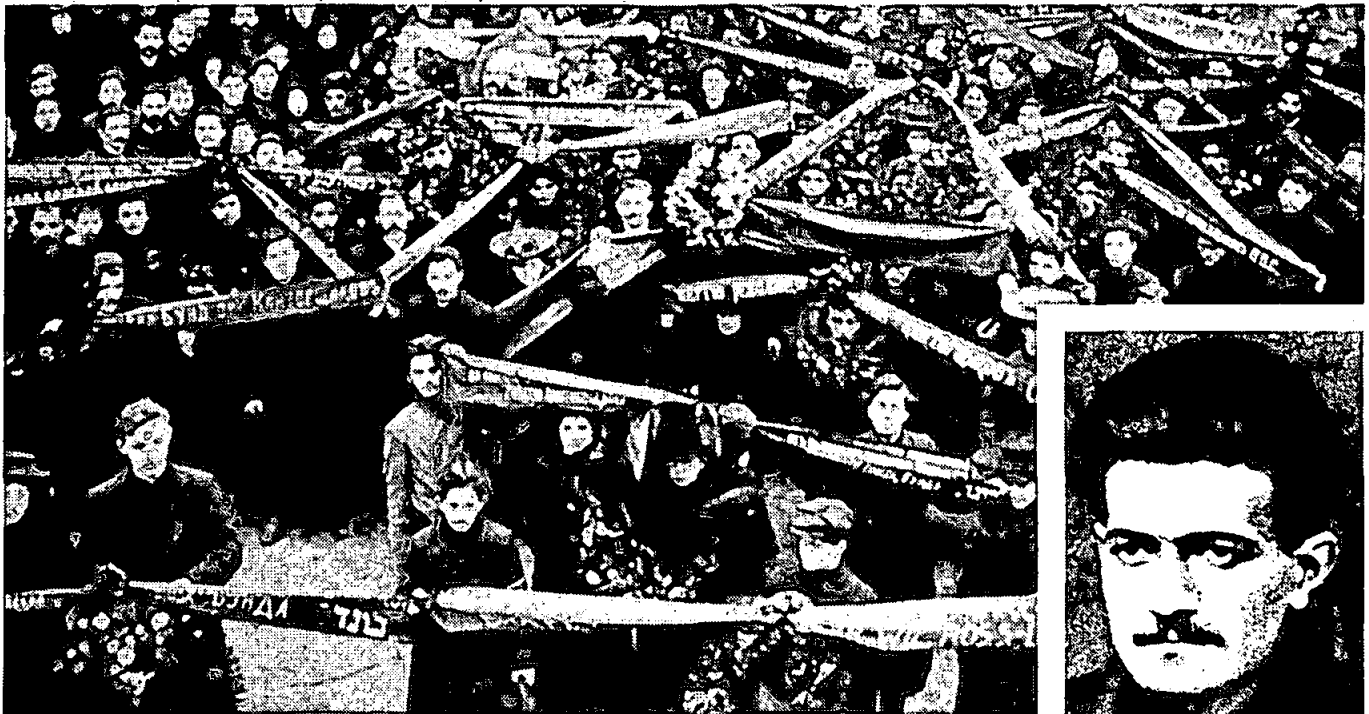
Memoirs of a Revolutionary Jewish Worker

The following article, translated from the German edition of Spartacist No. 13, Autumn 1987, is a review of Memoirs of a Jewish Revolutionary by the Polish worker Hersh Mendel. Published originally in Yiddish in 1959 (I.L. Peretz Library, Tel Aviv), translations were subsequently published in German (Rotbuch Verlag, Berlin, 1979) and French (Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1982). An English edition is scheduled for publication in September 1988.

In the days of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International, it was said, "The German party is the biggest, the Polish party is the best." The Polish party was the party of Rosa Luxemburg, the Jewish-Polish woman who fought—

and died—for the German workers revolution of 1918-19; this party, though condemned to illegality throughout its existence, was supported by the mass of the Polish proletariat.

With the rise of Polish Solidarność and its consolidation as a company union for the CIA, the Pope and West German bankers, the imperialists and their lackeys on the left hailed this agency for social counterrevolution as representing the tradition of the Polish working class. This is a lie. Solidarność is a capitalist-restorationist outfit whose idol is the fascistic dictator of Poland in the 1920s and '30s, Marshal Jozef Pilsudski. In December 1981, at the last moment, the Jaruzelski regime spiked Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid for power. The greatest crime of the



Vilna, Poland, 1905. Polish and Russian Social Democrats and members of the Jewish Bund demonstrate in memory of the victims of the tsarist pogroms. Right: Hersh Mendel at the front in Russia during the Civil War, 1918.

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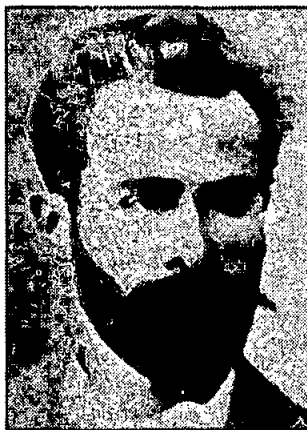
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Waryński—Leader of the party Proletariat at the end of the 19th century; Marchlewski, Jogiches and Luxemburg of the SDKPiL leadership; Adolf Warski, Henryk Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa—the “Three W’s” of the early Communist Party.

Polish Stalinist bureaucracy is to have driven a large part of the Polish working class into the arms of clerical-nationalist reaction.

It is the heroic revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg who is representative of the real tradition of the Polish working class. As a woman, a communist and a Jew, Rosa Luxemburg is triply hated by the reactionary nationalist forces of *Solidarność*, and by the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy as well. Most of the few remaining tens of thousands of Jews who survived the Nazi Holocaust (and the postwar pogroms led by anti-Communist nationalists) were driven out of Poland by an anti-Semitic campaign orchestrated by Stalinist bureaucrat Mieczyslaw Moczar in 1968. The Polish proletariat needs to be rearmed. There is a proud history to be recaptured. From Ludwik Waryński's party Proletariat of the early 1880s to the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL) of Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches, Felix Dzerzhinsky and Julian Marchlewski to the early Communist Party of Adolf Warski, the tradition of *revolutionary internationalism* is deeply rooted in the history of the Polish workers movement.

In Hersh Mendel's autobiographical *Memoirs of a Jewish Revolutionary* we find (despite certain historical inaccuracies) a story of the tremendous struggles and real

hopes of the Polish workers. In his lifetime, Mendel mirrored a generation of political upheavals, victories and defeats. He began as a supporter of the Jewish Bund, then adopted anarchism; in Russia during the 1917 revolution, he joined with the Bolsheviks and went through a period as a supporter of the Trotskyist Left Opposition. Tragically, like many of his generation, he reacted to the betrayals of Stalinism and the devastation of World War II by retreating into Zionism. The Polish Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher observes in his preface, written in 1958, that this book is “not only a self-portrait of Hersh Mendel, but rather of the fighting Jewish-Polish workers in general.” The Jewish workers and intellectuals constituted a significant component of the Polish revolutionary workers movement. Out of their ranks came not only Luxemburg and Jogiches, but Karl Radek and countless others. This tradition was carried on by Deutscher himself, followed by Abram Leon, the brilliant young World War II Trotskyist leader who authored the decisive Marxist analysis of the Jewish question shortly before being dragged off to his death in Auschwitz. And there was Leopold Trepper, leader of the Soviet anti-Nazi spy network, the Red Orchestra.

What made these Jewish revolutionaries into such committed internationalists? In his famous essay, “The

Non-Jewish Jew," Deutscher speaks of the Jews of East Europe:

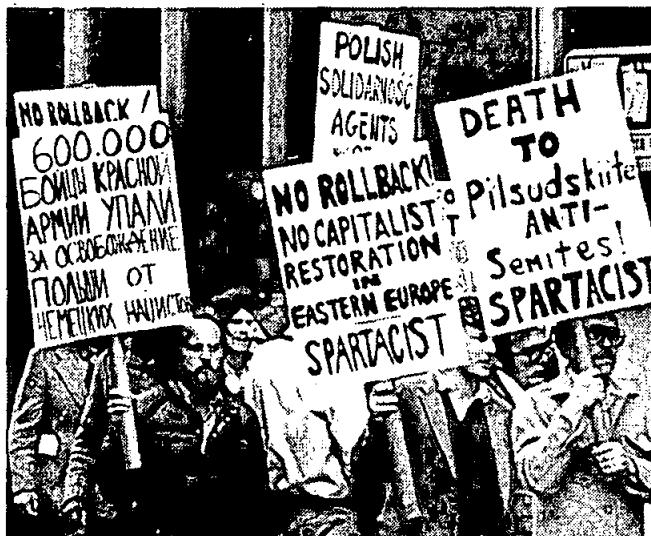
"They were *a priori* exceptional in that as Jews they dwelt on the borderlines of various civilizations, religions, and national cultures. They were born and brought up on the borderlines of various epochs. Their mind matured where the most diverse cultural influences crossed and fertilized each other. They lived on the margins or in the nooks and crannies of their respective nations. Each of them was in society and yet not in it, of it and yet not of it. It was this that enabled them to rise in thought above their societies, above their nations, above their times and generations, and to strike out mentally into wide new horizons and far into the future."

Hersh Mendel as a *Jewish worker* was right at the heart of the *Polish socialist workers movement*. The spirit of proletarian *internationalism* motivated Rosa Luxemburg to play a key role in the revolutionary movements of Poland, Russia and Germany. Indeed, the Russian/Polish/German axis was seen as key to the international revolution. Warsaw was a center of revolutionary ferment in East Europe, and also the center of European Jewry. In the gas chambers of Auschwitz, Majdanek and Treblinka, Hitler's Nazis liquidated the 3-1/2 million Jews of Poland; today the Solidarność-lovers feed off the vestigial anti-Semitism of Polish nationalism to liquidate even their memory.

Jewish Warsaw: A Revolutionary Crucible

Before the Russian Revolution, most of Poland was part of the tsarist prison house of peoples. The Polish workers movement was tempered in the flames of tsarist terror and national oppression; it matured under the blows of Polish nationalist revanchism and Pilsudskite dictatorship. Of such conditions, Russian Bolshevik Alexander Shlyapnikov wrote in his *On the Eve of 1917*: "Bitter struggle, exile and prison crippled thousands, but they reared individuals incomparably better than the 'peaceful' struggle in the west."

Hersh Mendel (revolutionary pseudonym of Hersh Mendel Shtockfish) was born into an impoverished working-class family in Warsaw's Jewish quarter, one of the worst slums in Europe, just before the turn of the century. The Jewish ghettos of East Europe bore all the



Workers Vanguard

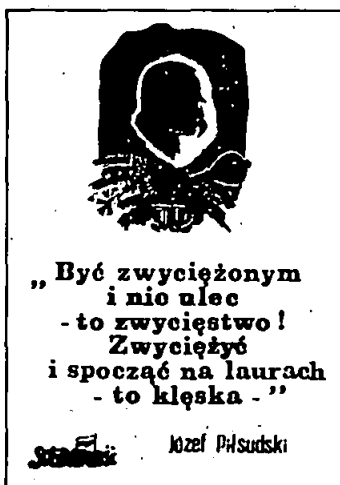
New York, September 1981: SL demonstration against Solidarność with sign in Russian: "600,000 Red Army soldiers fell in the fight to liberate Poland from the German Nazis."

hallmarks of ghetto oppression: suffocating poverty, widespread lumpy crime and underworld activity, benighted religious obscurantism. Only four of the ten children born to his parents survived infancy. His father was ostracized by their Orthodox relatives for becoming a workingman, his sister denied the right either to educate herself or to work.

In this environment, only two choices offered any attraction to young people: social struggle or criminal activity. Hersh Mendel was still a young boy when the Russian Revolution of 1905 broke out, enveloping Warsaw and the rest of Poland in revolutionary upheaval. But its impact was electric. Here, then, was a road out of the all-sided oppression of the ghetto: "Had it not been for the Revolution of 1905 there is no doubt that I would have sunk into the swamp of the Smocza Street underworld." The choice between loyalty to the underworld and loyalty to the revolution was made in the course of sharp, bloody clashes, as



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Pope blesses counterrevolutionary Solidarność leader Lech Walesa (left). Solidarność poster glorifies the fascist Polish dictator Jozef Pilsudski (center). Right: Pilsudski (in uniform), with Nazi leader Joseph Goebbels, 1934.

the employers turned to underworld elements to break strikes:

"One of these pitched battles in the year 1905 lasted several days. That time, the workers laid waste to all the bordellos, beat the fences bloody and tracked down the underworldniks where they lived with the aid of drawn-up lists."

But most decisive was the impact of the class solidarity between the Polish and Jewish proletarians forged in struggle. In response to calls for anti-Semitic pogroms by the counterrevolutionary Polish National Democrats, workers defense guards were formed block-by-block, house-by-house. At night, young Hersh would accompany his father, armed with a huge ax, to stand guard duty outside their block of flats. He recalls his childhood impression:

"I thought that the pogromists would have to come from Russia, that when they had finished their work there, the tsar would send them to us in Poland. I had come to the conclusion that they would have to come from Russia, that they could not be indigenous Poles, because there were also Polish workers participating in the self-defense organizations. On Pawia Street there were more Polish workers organized for self defense than Jewish workers. The Polish workers continually assured us that Poland was not Russia and that there would be no pogroms here."

Out of such experiences, the young Hersh Mendel decided to become a fighter for socialist revolution. The reactionary Zionist utopia of a national homeland in Palestine was of interest only to tiny handfuls of middle-class intellectuals. In Mendel's youth, he recalls, "There were also Zionist groups, but they were then unknown to us on Gesia Street." In 1911, already a veteran of clandestine trade-union organization, he joined the only Marxist organization he knew, the Jewish Bund:

"Everyone, no matter how young they were, dreamed of giving their lives for the revolution. And this is how they remained. I cannot remember one single comrade from those days who left the workers movement in order to establish himself in private life. This goes for those who remained loyal to the Bund as well as for those who went over to other workers parties."

The Revolution Comes From the East

The Bund (General Jewish Workers Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia), was formed in 1897 and participated



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Henryk Erlich (left) at May Day demonstration, Warsaw, 1933 and Victor Alter. Both were socialist leaders of the Jewish Bund and anti-Stalinist defenders of the Soviet Union. Both were murdered by Stalin's agents in 1941.

in the founding of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) a year later. But at the famous 1903 Congress of the RSDLP, Lenin's fight for a programmatically based, disciplined revolutionary party led to a split with numerous elements including the Economists, the Bund and the Mensheviks. With the influx of newly revolutionized workers into all the socialist parties two years later, Lenin conceded to a (shallow and temporary) reunification with the Mensheviks in 1906, incorporating the Bund, the Latvian Social Democrats and the SDKPiL on a semi-federated basis. In the subsequent political fights within the RSDLP, the Bund generally aligned with the Mensheviks while the SDKPiL generally stood with the Bolshevik internationalists. Thus, the Bund joined the Mensheviks in opposing the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, while the SDKPiL became a mainstay in the nascent Communist Party of Poland.

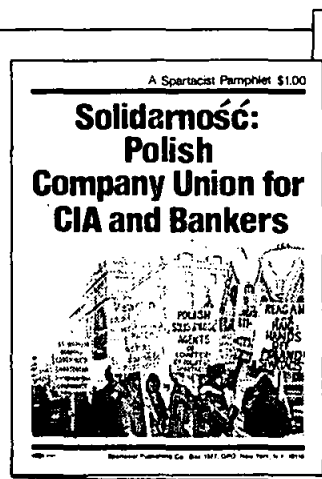
Before World War I, the SDKPiL waged an intransigent fight against all forms of nationalism within the

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Polish workers movement. Luxemburg rightly insisted that the fate of Poland was inextricably bound up with the proletarian class struggle in its oppressor nations, Russia, Prussia and Austria. But her dogmatic rejection of Lenin's correct call for Poland's right of self-determination weakened her struggle against chauvinist currents within the Polish working class.

Not surprisingly, the Jewish Bund also opposed Polish nationalism, which was synonymous with the pogromism incited by the Catholic middle classes and wealthy landowners. But when it came to the Jewish question, the Bund pursued a nationalist line of its own, arguing for Jewish "cultural/national autonomy" and insisting on the separate organization of Jewish workers apart from their Russian and Polish class brothers. The Bund was the target of many of Lenin's polemics against nationalist influence within the workers movement.

The prewar political disputes between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks were avidly pursued by Hersh Mendel and his young comrades, who overwhelmingly opposed the Bund's pro-Menshevik positions. They saw the emancipation of their people as part of the world socialist revolution: the Polish workers their comrades-in-arms, the Russian workers their vanguard. The revolutionary winds of freedom that swept through the Jewish ghetto of Warsaw blew from the east, from Russia. In his "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party," Isaac Deutscher observed: "if the history of the Polish CP and of Poland at large proves anything at all, *it proves how indestructible is the link between the Polish and the Russian revolutions*" (emphasis in original).

When the Lena gold fields of Russia were shaken by a massive and bloody strike in 1912, signaling a new period of revolutionary upturn, the reverberations were felt in Gesia and Mila Streets in Jewish Warsaw. To express their solidarity with the Russian workers, the Bundist youth set about organizing a political general strike for May Day. "By ten o'clock in the morning the strike in the Jewish quarter's working-class streets and alleys had become a general strike." Taken aback by their own success, with no leader-

ship forthcoming from the Bund, they decided to organize a demonstration to confront the police. "We wanted something more; we wanted to do something which would find an echo. If the following day's papers should carry the news that demonstrations and street fighting with the police had broken out in Petersburg, then they had better have the same thing to print about us Jewish workers." And so it was. *Pravda*, writes Mendel, saw the action as vindicating "the Bolshevik proposition that we were entering a new epoch of revolutionary struggle." For Hersh Mendel it was also to usher in his first period of imprisonment and exile. After a year in a tsarist prison, he made his way to France, where he was taken in and harbored by a French working-class family.

But such internationalist sentiments among the workers were about to be ravaged by their social-patriotic leaders. The great betrayal of August 4, 1914, when the German Social Democratic deputies voted for war credits to their own bourgeoisie, came as a shock to all revolutionaries. Lenin immediately launched the struggle for a new, Third International, seeing in the August 4 vote and the squalid chauvinism of all the major Social Democratic parties, the decisive degeneration/collapse of the Second International. Mendel, forced into hiding as patriotic hysteria swept France, reacted by abandoning Marxism in disgust at the capitulation of the social-chauvinist misleaders of the Second International and sought an alternative in anarchism.

"A Revolution for the Brotherhood of Peoples"

Little more than three years after August 4—three years in which all of Europe was turned into a slaughterhouse of the proletariat—the Bolsheviks' intransigently internationalist stance in opposition to social-patriotism and centrist conciliationism was vindicated. The February Revolution in Russia which overthrew the tsar opened up a stormy period of dual power. Mendel joined the many thousands of others who flocked to Russia to play their part in the revolutionary events. Though still an anarchist when he arrived in Moscow a few weeks before the



International Publishers

Strikers massacred by the tsar's soldiers during 1912 strike in the Lena gold fields in Siberia. Strike ignited a wave of revolutionary struggle throughout the Russian empire.

Victims of a pogrom by Ukrainian White forces under Petliura. Violently anti-Semitic Ukrainian counterrevolutionaries massacred scores of thousands of Jews before being decisively defeated by the Red Army in November 1920.



October insurrection, he was struck by the first mass Bolshevik demonstration he attended: "I was there, saw the enthusiasm and confidence of the people, and understood that this is how men feel when they are sure of victory."

Mendel enlisted in a Bolshevik unit of the army and within days, not even knowing how to load the rifle he carried, he was to find himself defending the insurrectionary barricades. The revolution he had dreamed of as a child "had arrived. I, a Jewish worker from Smocza Street, would go to the barricades tonight." Workers streamed toward the Moscow Soviet, begging to be armed. The sense of internationalism was all-encompassing. At one point, at the front, he encountered an argument among some Red Guards over what they were fighting for—land, peace, possession of the factories? No, exclaimed one, for the brotherhood of peoples! "An odd folk, these Russians. They had made two revolutions in one year and taken to the front in a civil war for nothing less than the brotherhood of peoples. How could you not love such a people?"

Hersh Mendel soon learned how to load—and aim—his rifle, and distinguished himself among his comrades, largely Russian peasants, many of whom had until recently been anti-Semites. Mendel briefly left the Red Army during the Civil War, but when he overheard some Russians talking about how they would deal with the "Bolsheviks and the Jews" when the Whites returned, he immediately re-enlisted. The White forces brought in their wake anti-Semitic and anti-Communist terror, while the numerous anarchist bands in some cases (like Mendel himself) fought for the revolution, in other cases against it, and many were simply criminal bandits. The Red Army, in its struggle to defend and consolidate the new proletarian state power, necessarily had to sweep away the pogromist old order. The October Revolution had thrown open the doors to full equality for the Jews; many Jewish officers distinguished themselves in the army and especially the Cheka (All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Struggle Against Sabotage and Counterrevolution).

Building the Polish Communist Party

In early 1919, Mendel returned to Warsaw in a now independent Poland, and it was here that he finally broke from

the anarchist illusions he had carried with him since the start of the war. When he read Lenin's *State and Revolution*, he found a Marxist analysis of the betrayal of the Social Democrats and a comprehensive theoretical understanding of the revolution he had just witnessed. He joined the Communist Party, which was formed through a fusion of the SDKPiL and the PPS-Left, a left split from Pilsudski's party following the 1905 Revolution. Out of this fusion came the leadership of the "three W's"—Warski, Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa—which was to lead the CP through its early heroic period. The party's Jewish forces were augmented by the fusion with the Combund, a pro-Communist faction from the Bund, as well as with smaller left splits from the Zionist movement. Communist influence among the Jewish trade unions in Poland rapidly outstripped that of the Bund. Likewise the CP gained control over key bastions of the Polish proletariat—in the railways, large metal factories, coal mines. In March 1920 the party prepared to face its first test of insurrectionary struggle.

Today, the Communist parties foster the belief that the use of the Soviet army as an agency to foment revolution in other countries is antithetical to Leninism. Nothing could be further from the truth than this "diplomatic" conception of Bolshevik internationalism. In response to Pilsudski's revanchist assault on Soviet Ukraine, the Polish CP set up a Military Revolutionary Committee, to which Mendel was appointed, "to organize Red units to fight the PPS units, and to enable the Red Army to march rapidly to the German border to gauge the pulse of the revolution in Germany, as Lenin expressed it."

The Bolshevik leadership was divided on whether a revolutionary offensive by the Red Army could succeed at that moment; with Trotsky in particular skeptical and advocating negotiation of an immediate peace. But the question, as Trotsky later wrote in *My Life*, "was simply one of the correlation of forces," certainly not the principle of revolutionary war. And had the Red Army advance on Warsaw been successful, it might well have altered the whole course of history. The offensive was attempted, but the Soviet forces were unable to cross the Vistula, where they faced not only Pilsudski but his imperialist patrons in the person of French general Weygand and French arms.

Contributing to the Red defeat was Stalin's treacherous refusal to bring his units into the battle when ordered to do so. Pilsudski's so-called "miracle on the Vistula" frustrated Lenin's plans and helped to prepare the stage for the horrendous destruction that was to play itself out on the same territory two decades later.

In 1923 both the German and the Polish parties failed to take advantage of revolutionary opportunities. The failure of the German Revolution in particular helped to assure the victory in the Soviet Union of a conservative bureaucratic caste under Stalin. Proletarian democracy in Soviet Russia was trampled underfoot; the Leninist program of world revolution was abandoned in favor of an illusory perspective of building "socialism in one country" while seeking to placate Russia's imperialist enemies. The Stalinist Thermidor had its concomitant disorienting effect on the Communist parties. In 1926, the Polish CP committed what came to be known as the "May mistake," initially supporting Pilsudski's bonapartist coup against the reactionary parliamentary regime as a populist uprising. Trotsky saw in this the disastrous influence of Stalin's resuscitation of the old slogan for a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." The party corrected its line within days and became the only opposition to the consolidating fascistic dictatorship of Pilsudski, but the consequent disorientation within the party was to be far-reaching.

Struggle for the Left Opposition

Throughout much of this period, Hersh Mendel was in one Polish prison after another, suffering a number of arrests. In early 1924, following an assignment to carry out clandestine propaganda activity among Ukrainian and Byelorussian peasants, Mendel was arrested and locked up for four years. The heroism of the Communist political prisoners was incredible. To defend themselves they fought with the only weapon they had left—their preparedness to die in hunger strikes or in outright defiance of the prison authorities. When the authorities at Mendel's prison forbade the celebration of May Day in 1928, the political prisoners bared their chests to the rifles pointed at them and burst into a chorus of the *Internationale*.

Released from prison that year, Mendel was struck by the deep changes which had overcome the party. Free-wheeling internal political debate had given way to blind obedience, clear-cut political struggle to murky factionalism over who had been more culpable for the "May mistake," with both sides jockeying to please the Kremlin. Sent to the Soviet Union to attend a Comintern school, Hersh

"Order of the Red Banner of Labor," medal from Soviet Byelorussia in 1920, inscribed in the three languages: Byelorussian, Polish and Yiddish.



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Leon Trotsky addressing the Red Army on the eve of the 1920 Polish campaign. Trotsky was Chairman of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic and People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs.

Mendel became convinced that the Stalin regime was fundamentally antagonistic to the principles of the Bolshevik Revolution. He witnessed the terror which gripped veteran Bolsheviks and the horrific waste accompanying the forced collectivization of agriculture, carried out by Stalin at breakneck pace after years of nurturing the restorationist ambitions of the wealthy kulaks. He was disturbed by the Stalinist clique's incapacity to honestly answer Trotsky's arguments. In 1930 he demanded to return to Warsaw: "Of the more than thirty comrades from Poland, barely seven or eight made the trip back home." Founding Polish Communist Wera Kostrzewa was one of those kept behind, and subsequently murdered, by Stalin.

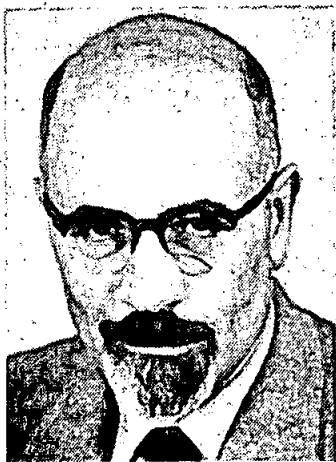
The burning question of the day was the struggle against fascism in Germany. The Social Democrats placed their faith in the fragile "democracy" of the Weimar regime and refused to fight; the Stalinists, who zigzagged between pseudo-ultraleftism and opportunism, were in the midst of their "third period" policy of spurning united action with the Social Democracy—and thus with the majority of the politically active workers still under its control—which they dubbed "social-fascists." Mendel and others—who soon included Isaac Deutscher, then a young Communist propagandist—initiated a faction founded on three points: for united fronts against fascism; for trade-union unity against the idiotic and sectarian "third period" policy of splitting away "red unions"; for party democracy.

This very partial program demonstrates a *weakness* of the Polish Opposition which it never overcame. This program did not represent *Trotskyism* and, indeed, these



PANSIOWE WYDAWNICTWO

1932-May Day demonstration in Lvov.



no credit

Isaac Deutscher, leader of the Polish Left Opposition, later biographer of Trotsky. Masthead of first issue of the newspaper of the Opposition dated May 1932.



points were shared by many left Social Democrats and the Communist Right Opposition, whose leading mouthpiece was the German Heinrich Brandler. Thus Trotsky wrote:

"The Brandlerites speak only of the ultraleftism of the Stalinists because they, the Brandlerites, along with the Stalinists, have zigzagged in the direction of opportunism and still do."

—"Zigzags and Eclectic Nonsense."
Leon Trotsky, *Writings* [1932]

When Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union in 1929 he set about organizing his supporters on three programmatic points: opposition to remaining in the Anglo-Russian Committee after the British labor bureaucracy's betrayal of the 1926 General Strike; opposition to the Stalin/Bukharin line on the Chinese Revolution (i.e., to political liquidation into the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang); and opposition to the doctrine of "socialism in one country" in the Soviet Union. As Trotsky said at the time, these points, centrally against the class collaborationism of the Comintern, were to "serve as a bridge to a future program of the Communist International," that is, a program for international workers power. But the founding program of the Polish Opposition was clearly inadequate to this task, a failing which was to become apparent

shortly thereafter with their disorientation in the aftermath of Hitler's rise to power.

The Polish CP had offered more resistance to Stalinization than any other large party of the Communist International. In December 1923 the Polish Central Committee protested against the anti-Trotsky attacks of the Stalin-Kamenev-Zinoviev triumvirate: "... for our party, nay for the whole Comintern, for the whole revolutionary world proletariat the name of Comrade Trotsky is insolubly connected with the victory of the Soviet Revolution, with the Red Army, with communism" (quoted in M.K. Dziewanowski, *The Communist Party of Poland*, 1976). In his drive to make the Comintern slavishly subservient, Stalin not only murdered the central leaders of the Polish party, but finally in 1938 ordered the liquidation of the party as a whole. According to Deutscher:

"Stalin saw the Polish CP as the stronghold of hated Luxemburgism—the Polish variety of Trotskyism—which had defied him as long ago as 1923; the Party in which some leaders were close to Bukharin and others to Zinoviev; the Party of incurable heresies, proud of its traditions and of its heroism...."

Deutscher recalls that out of 1,000 CP members in Warsaw, 300 were won to the Opposition. So much authority did Mendel have among the party ranks that when the



no credit

Miriam Shumik and her husband Hersh Mendel after their release from the Siedlce prison in 1928. Miriam Shumik remained a socialist until she died in the Warsaw Ghetto.



Photos: TASS from Sovfoto

Heroic Jewish partisan Maria Bruskina and two of her comrades, Kirill Trus and Volodya Shcherbatsevich, in Minsk, USSR, 1941, being led to the gallows by their Nazi executioners. The Stalinist nationalists have denied Bruskina her identity and have refused to grant the Jewish partisans, who fought with the Red Army against the Nazis, their rightful place in history.

Stalinists moved to expel him in mid-1931, they felt compelled to summon a special two-day conference at which he was given an hour to defend Trotsky's theses on the united front in Germany. Even then opposition to his expulsion was so widespread that Mendel was first suspended for a month "to think things over."

Despair and Disorientation

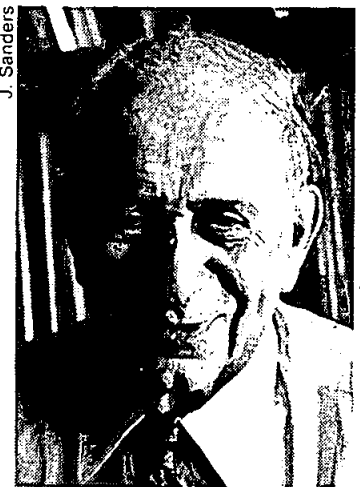
Trotsky's warnings of impending catastrophe in Germany were soon tragically vindicated, as the Nazi jackboot unopposed crushed the German proletariat under its heel. Overcome by despair over the Stalinists' world-historic betrayal, Mendel (and the Polish Left Opposition as a whole) began to express defeatist tendencies which would soon lead to a break with Trotsky. In a letter to the Polish Bolshevik-Leninists dated 18 July 1935, Trotsky noted that "the dominant tone of [their] documents could be called pessimistic." He urged them to carry out an entry into the PPS in line with the "French turn"—the international tactical orientation initiated by the entry of the French Trotskyists into the Socialist SFIO—aimed at intersecting left-moving forces in the social-democratic parties. By this means, explained Trotsky, they could get closer to the industrial kernel of the Polish proletariat: "one cannot help the Jewish workers to get out of the dead end of the Bund toward a larger arena except by revolutionary work crowned with success among the Polish proletariat." Mendel counterposed entry into the London-Amsterdam Bureau, a centrist bloc at whose 1935 conference he had been an observer. Trotsky replied to Mendel's position in "Centrist Combinations and Marxist Tactics" (28 February 1935).

Even after Stalin dissolved the CP in 1938, Mendel opposed the creation of a new communist party. Indeed, the bulk of the Polish Opposition, Deutscher included, opposed the formation of the Fourth International. Both

Mendel and the second Polish delegate, Stefan Lamed, voted against it at the founding conference in 1938. But however meager its organizational forces, it was only this new International which fought under the banner of revolutionary internationalism in the face of the impending imperialist carnage.

The outbreak of World War II found Mendel again in exile in France, where, as the Nazis raided the Jewish quarters, he suffered helplessly knowing that an active internationalist proletarian policy could have prevented the fascists from taking power. It was the awesome horror of Hitler's Holocaust, prepared by the criminal treachery of the Stalinists and Social Democrats, that drove the likes of Hersh Mendel into the arms of Zionism. Concluding his book, Mendel writes: "Nearly all of Europe's peoples were forced to pay a bloody price for these policies in the end, but the highest and bloodiest price of all was paid by us, the Jewish people." By 1944 he had become an active Zionist; four years later he hailed the creation of the Zionist state of

J. Sanders



The late Alexander Erlich, son of Bund leader Henryk Erlich, was raised in the tradition of proletarian internationalism. Alexander Erlich was a professor at Columbia University, New York and author of the definitive work, The Soviet Industrialization Debate, 1924-1928.

Israel. He renounced the very foundations upon which he had struggled for the Left Opposition—defense of the gains of the October Revolution—and drew the conclusion that the counterrevolution had triumphed completely in the USSR. In his preface to *Memoirs of a Jewish Revolutionary*, Isaac Deutscher polemicizes against Mendel's anti-Sovietism, but correctly sets it apart from the pro-imperialist Cold War circles in which such "anti-Stalinist dogmatism is in fashion": "It is an outcry of disappointment and pain from a participant in the October uprising who cannot and will not forget the Stalinist slaughter of those who led and participated in the uprising; and from a Jew who is incapable of forgiving the wrongs to which the Jewish people have been subjected by Stalinism." Hersh Mendel survived the Holocaust; his revolutionary will did not.

In 1940, on the eve of the Holocaust, Trotsky wrote:

"The future development of military events may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system."

—"Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question"
(Pathfinder, 1970)

And so it remains. The Zionist "dream" has revealed itself to be a hideous nightmare—a deathtrap for the Jews, a Nazi-like charnel house for the Arabs. During World War II Western Zionists not only accepted—and fostered—the racist closed-door policy of the imperialist "democracies" toward Jewish refugees but even collaborated with the Nazis in order to secure handfuls of emigrants for Palestine to carve a reactionary nation-state out of the living body of the Palestinian Arab people.

It was the Bolshevik Revolution—internationalist to its core—which provided a true beacon for the Jewish people. At the founding congress of the left-Zionist Hashomer Hatzair youth organization in 1918, the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution was palpable: of three wings which emerged, two demanded either immediate fusion or collaboration with the Communists in counterposition to the Zionist project of building a Jewish national state. Out of this split Leopold Trepper was won to communism. A generation later, Abram Leon was won to Trotskyism from the same Hashomer Hatzair, to become leader of the underground Trotskyist organization in Belgium and an organizer of clandestine revolutionary propaganda among German soldiers. In his incisive book *The Jewish Question*, Leon demolished the metaphysical mythology surrounding the Jews and analyzed them as a "people-class" based on mercantile and pre-mercantile capitalism. He said:

"The conditions of the decline of capitalism which have posed so sharply the Jewish question make its solution equally impossible along the Zionist road. And there is nothing astonishing in that. An evil cannot be suppressed without destroying its causes. But Zionism wishes to resolve the Jewish question without destroying capitalism, which is the principal source of the suffering of the Jews."

Reforge the Fourth International!

Reagan thirsts for a bloodbath of Polish and Russian workers. The imperialists saw the rise of Solidarność as the best chance since World War II to turn Poland into a reactionary battering ram to smash the Soviet workers state. At



McGraw Hill

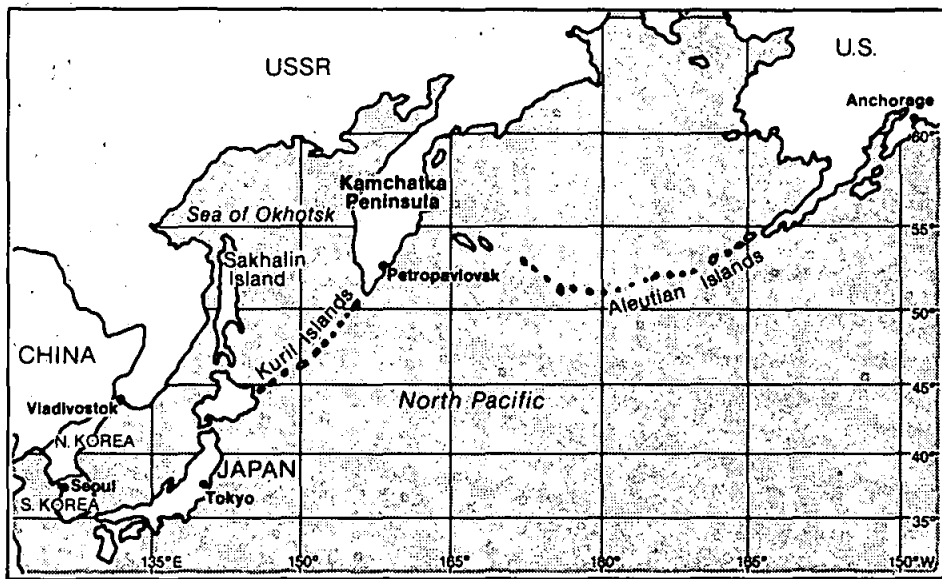
Many broke with left-Zionism to become Communists. Heroic Soviet spy Leopold Trepper (above, seated in the middle) with comrades of the Hashomer Hatzair in Poland, 1922. Right: Abram Leon, Trotskyist organizer and theoretician, murdered in Auschwitz.



Éditions La Brèche

Bitburg Reagan joined West German chancellor Kohl in honoring the Nazi SS killers who ran the concentration camps which annihilated the Jews. This grotesque display by Reagan and Kohl was their expression of common cause with the Hitlerite "anti-Bolshevists" as part of the crusade for a new thermonuclear "Operation Barbarossa" against the Soviet Union.

The socialist brotherhood of peoples to which Hersh Mendel and his comrades dedicated their lives remains for us to fight for and win. Today as in Mendel's day, that goal requires the most intransigent military defense of the deformed workers states and, above all, of the Soviet Union, despite bureaucratic degeneration. Today as then the only sure defense of the gains of the October Revolution is the struggle for international socialist revolution to root out the savagery which is capitalism. And in the deformed and degenerated workers states, only a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard standing at the head of proletarian political revolutions can oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies and revive the internationalist tradition of Rosa Luxemburg, restoring the historic revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Russian workers. Down with Solidarność counterrevolution! Defend the Soviet Union! Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■



Soviet Far East target of repeated U.S. war provocations. Arkansas penetrated major Soviet naval complex at Petropavlovsk. KAL 007 spy plane crossed Kamchatka and Sakhalin in 1983.

Kamchatka Provocation...

(continued from page 64)

and snapped a photograph of the cruiser with the mountains of Kamchatka looming up just behind the cruiser! The Soviets, after responding "in force with planes and ships" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 August) then held back—they simply issued an angry public protest on May 21 and dogged the U.S. Fleet halfway back to the Aleutians. The U.S. *Navy Times* printed the *Arkansas* photo on August 10 with an appropriate caption: "Too close for comfort." The swaggering *Arkansas* officers had T-shirts made up with the photo. What are they trying to prove—that they could get the world blown up?

The *Arkansas* officers were not acting on their own but as part of a criminal U.S. government strategy of provocation designed to intimidate the Soviet Union in preparation for a nuclear first strike. Last year, just before their terror-bombing raid against Libya, the U.S. Navy pulled a similar provocation off Black Sea Fleet headquarters in Sevastopol. And in April 1983, an armada of three U.S. aircraft battle groups assembled off the Aleutian Islands: Navy planes from the carriers *Midway* and *Enterprise* engaged in a sudden mock attack, reportedly violating Soviet airspace over the Kuril Islands. A few months later, Korean Air Lines Flight 007 made its infamous provocation across Kamchatka and Sakhalin island, triggering Soviet defenses along the way as intended by U.S. intelligence agencies. More than 200 innocent lives were sacrificed by the imperialists in pursuit of their anti-Soviet war drive.

We will never forget that the American ruling class dropped the atomic bomb on innocent civilian populations in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. By President Truman's own account, this atrocity was meant as a warning to the Soviet Union. The insanity emanating from the White House today reflects not the craziness of one man, but the plight of an entire ruling class in its twilight years. The imperialists are intent on taking back that part of the world which has been ripped from the capitalist world, and this means principally the industrial and military powerhouse

of the Soviet Union. Those like Gorbachev who preach the illusion of "arms control" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism are living in a fool's paradise. The U.S. ruling madmen—who pull the strings on both their Democratic and Republican puppets—can be stopped only when the working people of the United States, goaded beyond any limit, smash this ruling class and seize the future for themselves. We don't have a lot of time. ■

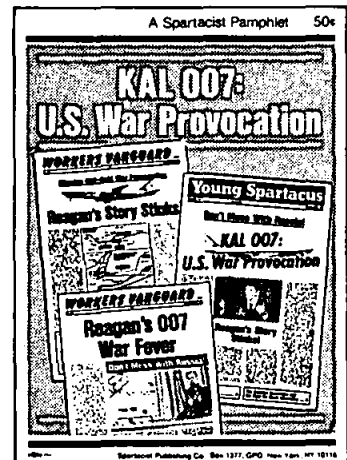
KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation

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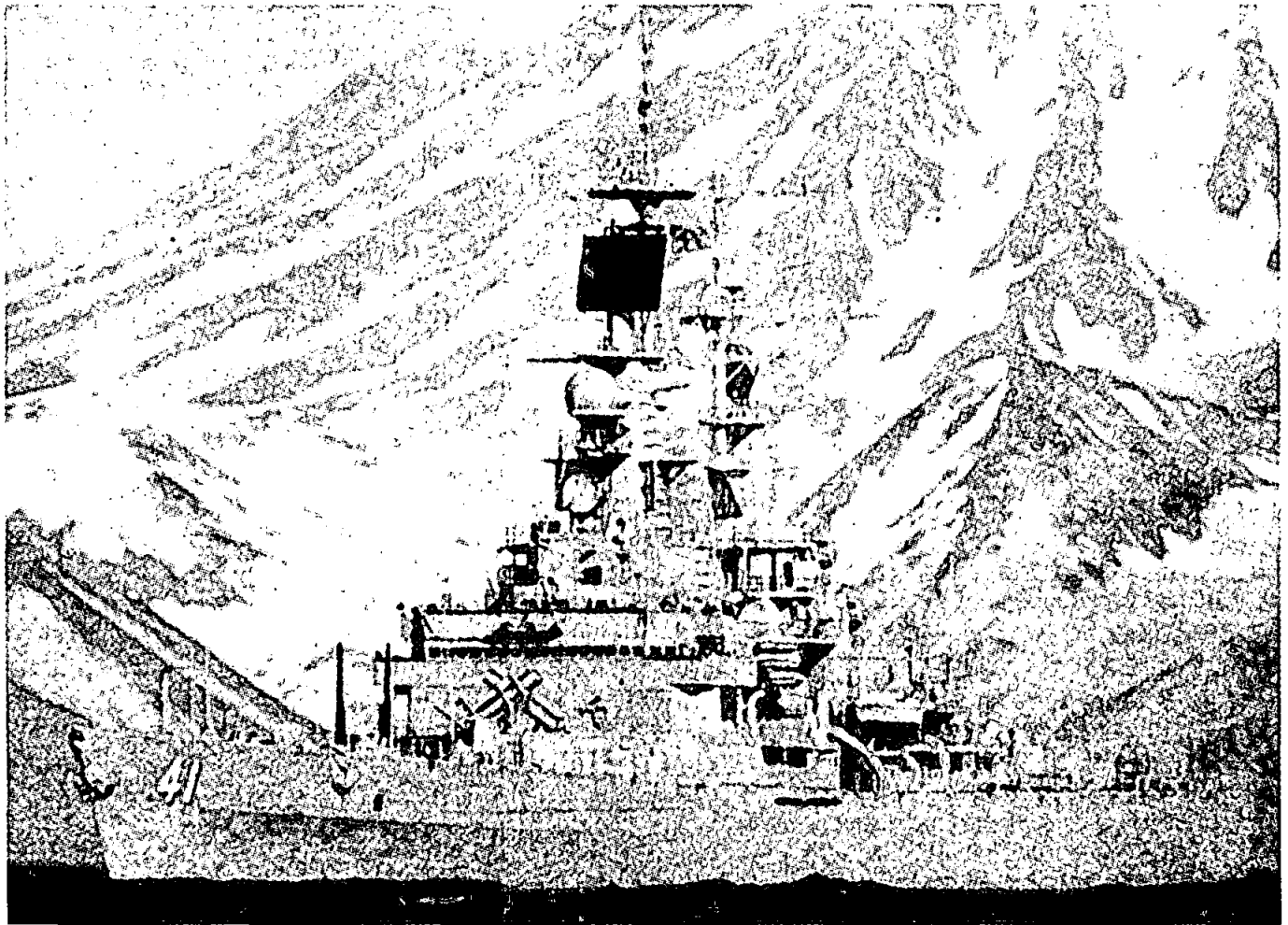
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Kamchatka Provocation:



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U.S. guided missile cruiser Arkansas penetrates Soviet territorial waters off Kamchatka Peninsula.

U.S. Missile Ship in Soviet Waters

U.S. imperialism's insane anti-Soviet provocations continue. In May, the USS *Arkansas*, a nuclear-powered guided missile cruiser spearheaded "exercises" of the U.S. Third Fleet and penetrated Soviet waters off Kamchatka Peninsula. According to Moscow's *New Times*, the *Arkansas* penetrated the restricted waters near the top-

secret Soviet Naval base at Petropavlovsk not once, but twice—first on May 17 and again on May 21.

A few details of the incident appeared in the American press. As the Soviet defense forces mobilized, the brazen little Rambos aboard the *Arkansas* launched a small boat
continued on page 63

**For Military Defense of the Soviet Union
Against Imperialism!**