# The Questions of Wendelin Thomas

The following letter was written in reply to questions put to the author by Wendelin Thomas, who argued for the view that there was a basic identity between Bolshevism and Stalinism, as shown by Lenin's attitude towards opponents like he Mensheviks, the Kronstadt insurgents and the independent Makhno bands in the Ukrane during the Civil War. Thomas is a former Communist deputy of the German Reichstag and now a member of the International Commission investigating the Moscow Trials. -Ed.

Esteemed Comrade:

I do not think that the questions which you asked me have -a direct relationship to the investigations of the New York Commission and can have an influence on its conclusions. Nevertheless I am fully prepared to reply to your questions in order to acquaint with my actual views all those who are interested in them.

#### "End Justifies Means"

source of evil in the principle: es widely exaggeration, distor-"The end justifies the means". tion, falsehood and slander. The This principle is in itself very revolutionists are always the abstract and rationalistic. permits most varied interpreta- | Marx, Engels and their friends; tions. But I am prepared to take later—the Bolsheviks, Karl Liebupon myself the defense of this knecht and Rosa Luxemburg; at formula-from the materialistic the present time-the Trotskyand dialectical viewpoint. Yes, ists. The hatred of the possessors and in the local Soviets through-I consider that there are no toward the revolution; the dull themselves or in connection with geoisie, the conceit and super- tensions ("We are from Krons- who were afraid of losing what principle. Those means that lead the material interests of the labor education and unprepared for re- Makhno (the ignoring of the

to the raising of the power of man over nature and the liquidation of the power of man over man are good. In this broad historical sense the means can only be justified by the end.

Does not this mean, however, that falsehood, treachery, betrayal are permissible and justified if they lead to "the end"? All depends on the nature of the class struggle. aim. If the aim is the liberation of manking then falsehood betrayal, and treachery can in no wise be appropriate means. The Epicureans were accused by their opponents of sinking to the ideals of a pig when they advocated happiness". To which the Epicureans, not without foundation, replied: that their opponents understand happiness... in a piggish way.

You make reference to Lenin's words that a revolutionary party has the "right" to make its opponents hated and despised in the eyes of the masses. In these words you see a principled defense of amoralism. You forget, however, to point out where, in which political camp are the representatives of lofty morals. My observations tell me that po-Like many others, you see the litical struggle in general utiliz-

### By Leon Trotsky

bureaucrats - all these factors combine in the hounding of the revolutionary Marxist. At the same time the Messrs. Slanderers do not forget to be indignant at the amoralism of the Marxists. This hypocritical indignation is nothing but a weapon of the

#### Lenin's Position

with his characteristic passion in relation to the "civilian" his life's work I declare that this character and since the insurexaggerations and extremes he crushed with the aid of arms. always strove to tell the masses what is. The struggle of the reformists against Lenin, on the contrary, was thoroughly penetrated with hypocrisiy, falsehood, trickery and forgeries under the cover of universal truths.

incorrect. The best, most sacrificing sailors were completely with-

was starving. The Kronstanders demanded privileges.. The uprising was dictated by a desire to get privileged food rations. The sailors had cannon and battleships. All the reactionry elements, in Russia as well as abroad, immediately seized upon this uprising. The white emigres demanded aid for the insurrectionists. The victory of this uprising could bring nothing but a victory of counter-revolution, en-In the words quoted by you, tirely independent of the ideas Lenin merely wanted to say that the sailors had in their heads. he no longer considers the Men- But the ideas themselves were sheviks proletarian figthers and deeply reactionary. They reflectthat he makes it his task to make ed the hostility of the backward hateful in the eyes of the work- peasantry to the worker, the ers. Lenin expressed his thought conceit of the soldier or sailor and opened the possibilities for Petersburg, the hatred of the ambiguous and unworthy inter- petty bourgeois for revolutionary. pretations. But on the basis of discipline. The movement therethe complete works of Lenin and fore had a counter-revolutionary irreconciliable fighter was a most gents took possession of the arms loyal opponent, for despite all in the forts they could only be

No less erroneous is your estimate of Mahno. In himself he was a mixture of fanatic and adventurer. He became the concentration of the very tendencies which brought about the Kronstadt uprising. The cavalry in Your evaluation of the Krons- general is the most reactionary It most slandered: in their time tadt uprising of 1921 is basically part of the army. The equestrian despises the pedestrian. Makhno created a cavalry of peasants drawn from Kronstadt and played who supplied their own horses. an important role at the fronts These were not downtrodden village poor whom the October out the country. What remained Revolution first awakened, but means that are good or bad in conservatism of the petty bour- was the gray mass with big pre- the strong and well-fed peasants some absolute supra-historical ciliousness of the intellectuals; [tadt"), but without political they had. The anarchist ideas of

volutionary sacrifice. The country | State, non-recognition of the central power) corresponded to the spirit of this kulak cavalry as nothing else could. I should add that the hatred of the city and the city worker on the art of the followers of Makhno was complemented by a militant anti-Semitism. At the very time when we were carrying on life and death struggle against Denikin and Wrangel, the Makhnovists, attempted to carry on an independent policy. Straining at the bit, the petty bourgeois (kulak), thought he could dictate his contradictory views to the capitalists on the one hand and to the workers on the other. This kulak was armed, we had to disarm him. This is precisely what we did.

#### Stalin and the Bolsheviks

Your attempt to conclude that Stalin's forgeries flow from the amoralism" of the Bolsheviks is basically false. In the period when the revolution fought for the liberation of the oppressed masses it called everything by its right nome and was in no need of forgeries. The system of falsifications flows from the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy fights for the privileges of the minority and is compelled to conceal and mask its real aims. Instead of seeking for an explanation in the material conditions of historical development, you create the theory of "the original sin", which fits the church but not the socialist republic.

Respectfully yours, L. Tretsky.

Coyoacan, July, 6, 1937.

# Once More: The Altman Thomas Finances

Last week, the Appeal printed the story of the shady deal proposed in the Altman-Thomas group by Girolamo Valenti for raising a slush fund from the bureaucracy of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for the purpose of financing the split drive against drive. the left wing.

proof of our assertions. It is presented by comrade Robert O. Menaker, an officer of the League for Industrial Demogracy and editor of its official periodical. We have received it in the form of a letter to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, which we print in full.

## The Menaker Letter

"August 11, 1937. "National Executive Committee,

- "Socialist Party, U. S. A.,
- "549 Randolph Street, "Chicago, Ill.

## "Dear Comrades:

"I wish to call the attention of the N. E. C. to the Party situation in Local New York.

"As a member of the Altman caucus since its inception, I have followed closely the conspiratorial actions of that body which I feel are against the best interests of the independent future of the Party. These actions, in my opinion, are a distinct corruption | the Workers Party into the Soof Party principles.

"I have attended numerous meetings of the Altman caucus including meetings of "key people" who number 25 or 30 and it that the City Central Committee was the last meeting of the latter group which motivates me in for expulsion of the Appeal severing all relations with this members that had been brought group and informing the Party up on charges.

"I charge and will cite here after my proof of the following

"1. That expulsions of the left wing in mass were decided upon in advance of the action.

"2. Authorization was given to raise a fund of from \$5,000.00 to \$10,000.00 to finance the Altman caucus in a national expulsion

The caucus tolerates This week we are printing the members who openly sabotage support be given to the Call, to be published.

"As to point 1:

"At every meeting of the Altman caucus that I attended, including the most recent one of "key people' held at Norman in the Party and in the caucus. Thomas' home on Tuesday, caucus decided that the Trotsymanner the action could be taken Executive Committee, which was G. Valenti and others. held on Monday, August 2, it had already been announced to a prior meeting of the Altman caucus by Hal Siegel that this committee would take action to expel 54 members of the Appeal group at that City Executive

"Norman Thomas made the statement at the meeting of August 3, which was held at his home, that he had made a mistake in approving the entry of cialist Party.

"Assurance was given to this same group of key people at this same meeting by Jack Altman would have two-thirds majority

"Girolamo Valenti, editor of La Stampa Libera, suggested at the August 3 meeting that a committee be formed to approach t h e Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and the ILGWU for funds to finance the Altman group with the statement that he was certain that five to ten thousand dollars could be raised. This suggestion was unanimous-

"As to point 3: "Sam Dewitt and G. Valenti, along with several others, suggested that no more financial the publishing of the Socialist which would result in its collapse. Call and advocate that it cease The suggestion was also made that Norman Thomas withdraw his weekly article from the Call. Though both of these suggestions were voted against, the people who made them are still tolerated

"Included aong those that at-August 3, all members of the tended this August 3 meeting were: Norman Thomas, Jack ists must be expelled in whatever Altman, Hal Siegel, Aaron Levenstein, Rose and Morris Sha-Before the meeting of the City piro, Sam DeWitt, John Herling,

"On the basis of the above statement I request the NEC, as the leading body in the Socialist Party to intervene in the New York situation. I am ready to appear at any time to substantiate this statement.

"Fraternally yours,

(Sgd.) "Robert O. Menaker. "PS. In order to acquaint those the Altman caucus, I am handing a copy of this letter to Gus Appeal, it would be wrong for Tyler, editor of the Socialist Call and to Max Shachtman, representative of the group against whom this expulsion campaign is beein organized".

The Socialist Appeal has only this question to put: what does the NEC intend to do about the malodorous scandal disclosed by the Menaker letter?

# Clarity Heads Oppose Independent SP Slate

leaders of the Clarity group in date and fight within the C.I.O. New York are carrying on a for Martin to adopt a program campaign of protest against the and platform as befits a warking right wing decision to withdraw class candidate. ly accepted and Valenti appointed the regular socialist candidate a committee of one to do the job. for mayor in favor of La Guar-

Good, so far as it goes!

But wherein is the city of Cleveland different from the city of New York? Are socialist principles one thing in New York and another in Ohio?

Frank Stern, Labor Secretary of the Socialist Party in Cleveland, writes as follows about the situation in that city:

"A new problem has come up here similar to the La Guardia situation in New York, but with added complications.

"Comrade Robert Dullea, as you know, is the regular Socialist candidate for Mayor in Cleveland. Filing date for candidates is two weeks off. Last week, the C. I. O. endorsed for Mayor an Independent Democratic named Martin. The Executive Committee of the SP then agreed to keep Dullea in the field and to issue a leaflet giving our position on the Martin business.

"Last night, at a special Executive Committe meeting, Ben Parker (a Clarity leader) brought the following matter up most affected by the actions of for discussion: that inasmuch as Bob Dullea is a supporter of the the S. P. to file for him because he would not be in the party by election day (September 28) and the S. P. would be placed in the position of filling for and supporting a non-party member who would probably be busy attacking the S. P.!

the C. I. O. has endorsed a man, manite".

Zam, Delson and the other; we should withdraw our candi-

"Bob Parker (another Clarity leader) supported Ben. Bill Kaufman, YPSL organizer here and a Clarityite, took issue with the Parkers. On our motion to reaffirm our support of Dullea the Clarityites split, Kaufman voting with us, carrying the motion through the Executive Committee. The Parkers will issue a minority report. The whole business is coming up at a general membership meeting Thursday night called for that purpose".

As we go to press, we receive the latest news about the situation in the Cleveland Party organization.At a membership meeting of Cuyahoga County, the left wing motion "that the SP of Cuyahoga County reaffirms its support of Robert Dullea as candidate for mayor of Cleveland", was carried by a decisive majority. The Clarity group split in two, with the YPSL comrades, Bill Kaufman and Hy Weintraub, supporting the left wing stand,

Highly interesting was the fact that Sam Baron, traveling caucus organizer for the Altman group, took the floor in complete solidarity with the Parkers' position, showing that it was identical with the New York right wing's stand on La Guardia. In his concluding remarks, Bob Parker declared: "If Baron has a good idea, I am not ashamed of agreeing with him. I don't think it's a crime to agree with Baron. If I agree with Baron on the question of candidates, then "Second, that inasmuch as I'm willing to be called an Alt-