

Late Episodes in Kirov Assassination Analyzed by Trotsky

A TRIAL BALANCE OF THE STALIN AMALGAM

By LEON TROTSKY

Conditions now permit us to elucidate briefly the latest episodes of the investigation relating to the assassination of Kirov as well as the amalgams (or more exactly, series of amalgams) interwoven with this affair.

Intervention against the U.S.S.R. A new version had to be found: the Latvian consul was, as a matter of fact, the agent of Hitler.

Open Letter

To All Members, Friends and Sympathizers: Two months ago the Workers Party of the U. S. was launched through a merger of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

- 1. Double the Party membership in six months. Achievements: Gains made in New York City, Minneapolis and Boston almost doubled. Philadelphia increased by ten; also Chicago and Los Angeles. Reports from other branches not yet in.

why then are they arrested? The foreign lackeys now besmirch Zinoviev with mud as shamelessly as in 1923-25 they crawled on their bellies before him.

1926 PLATFORM OF RUSSIAN OPPOSITION CITED

4. The gap between the terrorist group and Zinoviev and his friends was to be bridged by the "platform of the Left Opposition" of the year 1926. Citing one of the accused, who obviously mouths the formula of the G.P.U. examining magistrate, the indictment proclaims the "ideological" succession from the "new opposition" of 1926 (the Zinoviev faction) to the Nicolae group.

G.P.U. IS TOOL OF BUREAUCRACY

As a tool of the bureaucracy, the G.P.U. directs the weapon of terror both against the counter-revolutionists, who threaten the workers' state, and against the Y.C.Lers who are dissatisfied with the absolutism of the uncontrolled bureaucracy.

These words were written before I joined with Lenin, prior to his election as chairman of the Bolshevik Soviet in 1917, prior to the October revolution, the civil war, the creation of the Third International, and the founding of the Soviet state.

WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE INDICTMENT

7. The fourteen who were accused in connection with the Kirov assassination were all shot. Did they all participate in the terrorist act? The indictment answers this question in the affirmative, but does not adduce even the semblance of proof.

THE FALLACIES OF THE LEAGUE

To begin with, certain organizational features of the League must be kept in mind: (1) It is a permanent organization; (2) It permits and encourages individual membership; (3) It not merely advocates certain actions to be taken against war, but puts forward a program against war; (4) This program is in part political—e.g. it advocates, in a confused way, the abolition of "the profit system."

have been Y.C.Lers who were simply critically minded. The task of the amalgam was: to terrorize completely the youth, which was thirsting for independence, by showing it that the slightest doubt about the divine blessings which flow from Stalin, or about the immaculate conception of Kaganovich would meet, hereafter, with the same penalty as terrorist acts.

9. What is here involved is not so much the struggle of the Soviet bureaucracy against Trotsky and the "Trotskyists"; but the question of the moral atmosphere of the world working class movement. The vile amalgam constructed around the "consul" who, apparently, was in the simultaneous employ of three governments, stands today as one of a number of ordinary and normal measures utilized by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the struggle for its caste position.

REAL DEVOTION TO SOVIET UNION MEANS STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

10. However passionate may be one's devotion to the Soviet Union, it must not be blind; or else it is worthless. The development of the workers' state proceeds through contradictions, internal and external. The forms and the methods of the workers' state have already changed several times, and they will continue to change in the future.

Both of these arguments are profoundly and disastrously mistaken. The argument usually heard against the League is that the League is dominated in a mechanical and sectarian manner by the Communist Party.

At that time, the League, built upon the sands of vague pacifist sentiment instead of class organization, will be blown away by one puff from the capitalist state.

2. The League is a horrible parody of the united front as Marxists understand the united front. The united front, properly understood, is a tactic whereby working class and at times certain middle class organizations, differing in program, nevertheless unite on certain specific actions upon which all are agreed, while retaining their full organizational and programmatic independence.

THE PLUNDERING OF CHINA GERMANY—REARMED The Plundering of China The sequence of events in the East makes perfectly clear that the denunciation of the Washington naval treaty by Japan was merely a way of serving notice to the imperialists that the militarists of Japan intended to go forward more rapidly in their plundering of China.

China see "eye to eye" with the Japanese militarists in regard to the international situation in the Far East. The coming war against the Soviet Union is too close at hand for the Nippon generals not to seek in advance to guarantee themselves against attack from the rear.

THE LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

(Ed. Note: This is the third in Comrade West's series of four articles on war. The last, "The United Front and War", will appear in the next issue of the New Militant.)

In the chief, I shall outline certain of the mind fallacies. 1. The League, in spite of the pretentious language of its publications, is a pacifist organization. Its fundamentally pacifist character can be seen at once in the fact that the League attempts to isolate the struggle against war, to treat it as a "special" or "independent" struggle, apart from the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' state.

And like all pacifist organizations, the League is actually aiding the development toward war. It obscures the analysis of the causes of war, diverts the real struggle against war into harmless channels, provides a salvo for middle class consciences troubled by the horrors of war, and prepares to leave the working class helpless—both ideologically and organizationally—when a war situation arises.

War will be defeated only by the revolutionary struggle of the workers; and this struggle will succeed only under the leadership of the revolutionary political party. The business of a Marxist is certainly not to build up a reformist group—whose historical role, we ought to know by now, is to make smooth the road to war and reaction—but to build the revolutionary party.

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

THE PLUNDERING OF CHINA GERMANY—REARMED The Plundering of China The sequence of events in the East makes perfectly clear that the denunciation of the Washington naval treaty by Japan was merely a way of serving notice to the imperialists that the militarists of Japan intended to go forward more rapidly in their plundering of China.

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proletarian vanguard from the fatal influence of the uncontrolled bureaucratic clique, in order subsequently to aid the workers in the U.S.S.R. to regenerate the party and the Soviets, not by means of terrorist adventures which are doomed beforehand, but by means of the class conscious mass movement against bureaucratic absolutism.

January 12, 1935.

It was a foregone conclusion that with the coming to power of Hitler in Germany, the fascists would commence a program of rearmament in violation of the Versailles Treaty. For fascism, the outright and most violent form of the dictatorship of finance capital, can only retain power nationally by waging war internationally so as to expand its markets and thereby preserve the decaying national capitalism.

The protests of the powers victorious in the last war fell on deaf ears while Hitler proceeded with the program of militarism in Germany. At first quite hidden, the war preparations became more and more an open diplomatic "secret" that created consternation in the chancelleries of France and Britain.

What effect all this will have on the relations between Soviet Russia and imperialist France remains to be seen. All the great diplomatic victories of Litvinov—at the expense of the world proletariat—may soon crumble to ashes.

capitalist contradictions which likewise indicates the nearer approach of war as an attempted solution. By linking fascism and war, the League plays into the hands of the bourgeois Mussolini that declares Hitler and Mussolini to be the war-makers, and "democratic" England, France, and the United States the defenders of peace.

Much more could be said about the confusions, errors, and deceptions of the League. There is space now only to ask and briefly answer one final question: Where and why did an organization of this kind arise? THE POLICY OF STALINISM The answer is not a matter of conjecture. We know the record. The Leagues (here and in other countries) are the conception of the foreign office of the Soviet Union.

Revolutionary Party is First Task War will be defeated only by the revolutionary struggle of the workers; and this struggle will succeed only under the leadership of the revolutionary political party. The business of a Marxist is certainly not to build up a reformist group—whose historical role, we ought to know by now, is to make smooth the road to war and reaction—but to build the revolutionary party.

While it is true in a sense that "fascism means war", it is a complete illusion to suppose that fascism is the cause of war. By emphasizing the relation between fascism and war, as the League does, it suggests that the war danger from non-fascist nations is remote. But it is capitalism that causes war. Fascism means war only in the sense that the triumph of fas-

The Soviet Union is finally defended by attacking the real building of socialism will be accomplished—by the extension of the revolution. This is the only mode of "defense". In any other direction lies disaster, and the world-wide triumph of reaction.

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