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by Herb Tank

INSIDE JOB!



THE STORY OF TROTSKYITE INTRIGUE IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

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New Century Publishers

NEW YORK

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Herb Tank, author, screen writer, merchant seaman and active member of the National Maritime Union-C.I.O., is one of the thousands of American merchant seamen who "kept 'em sailing" during the war to defeat the fascist Axis. His articles in the *Daily Worker*, reporting on life aboard ship and travels to various seaports, were widely popular. He is the author of *Communists on the Waterfront* (New Century Publishers, 1946), and wrote and directed "The Fight for Maritime Unity," a documentary film recently released by the National Maritime Union.

Inside Job! is based on first-hand investigation of the activities of Trotskyites in Chicago, Detroit, Akron and other industrial centers in the U.S.A., and exhaustive and thoroughly documented research on their crimes and conspiracies throughout the world.

Published by NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. May, 1947.



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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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"A provocateur, Mister Murishima, is an active spy. You have always worked on the basis of observation and discovery, but the times demand more than that. I discover, I consider, and I destroy."

"But you read Trotsky!"

"My dear fellow, Trotsky is the Nietzsche of espionage, the apostle of panic and provocation."

"So you don't think there's need for espionage anymore?"

"Mister Murishima, there are active political workers and parties in existence. If you will allow me to say so, espionage is a means, not an end."

—CONVERSATION BETWEEN TWO SPIES;
FROM A NOVEL BY PIOTR PAVLENKO.

1. *The Case of the Stolen Ballot Box*

Five men walked into the union headquarters of Local 856 of the United Auto Workers Union in Akron.

The chairman of the elections committee, Ervin Booker, looked up.

"You guys want to vote?" he asked. "What's your names?"

It was four in the morning. The five guys walked over to the election committee's table.

"We don't want to vote, Bud," one of them said. "We just want the ballot box, see."

"What! Are you kidding?"

One of them walked behind the chairman and grabbed hold of his arms. The guy in front pulled back his first and slugged him.

"We ain't kidding," he grunted.

The blow struck the chairman square on the jaw. He reeled back and somebody caught him. Somebody was holding him up, but he didn't know who it was. He shook his head. The room was spinning round and round, and he was trying to put the brakes on it.

Whoever was holding him up let go, but that was all right because he could stand up by himself now. His jaw still hurt him, but the room wasn't spinning anymore.

The guy that had slugged him was making for the door with the ballot box under his arm. The other four guys were right behind him.

Outside they headed for two cars that were parked waiting for them.

The chairman went after them. As soon as he was outside he ducked. A brick came whistling past. It just missed him. They threw some more rocks and stuff; then they dove into the cars. With gears grinding loud as hell they roared off.

The chairman jumped into his own car and went after them. It was still dark, and though he could see well enough to follow them he couldn't make out the numbers of their license plates.

Outside of Akron he almost lost them a couple of times.

Coming into Sawyerwood they had to slow down. He was able to come up pretty close to the second car. Close enough to catch the number on the license plate.

After that he lost them. He turned around. Back in Akron he went to the cops, told them the story and gave them the number of the license plate.

Months later in the courtroom the state attempted to separate the fall-guys from the brain-boys, the sheep from the goats.

Said a fall-guy: "I was told that the only way we could save the union from the Communists was to steal the ballots. Otherwise many Communists would get elected."

The other fall-guys said substantially the same thing. They pointed to Schufle, Blackburn, Phillips, and Schanck. "They engineered the ballot box theft."

All four were found guilty and sentenced from one to twenty years.

In the shop the rank and file union members weren't surprised.

"Sure, they always posed like big 100 per cent union men, talked radical and stuff like that, but they were responsible for most of the factionalism in the local. It doesn't surprise me any that when the members don't vote the way they want they just go ahead and swipe the ballots."

One of the workers snorted: "Some working-class leaders they were! That guy, Doc Schanck, and Phillips! Saviors of the workers!"

Said another: "What do you expect. Those guys are Trotskyites. Sure they sound off loud against the boss, but they're the best little helpers the bosses have. They make fine speeches, and when you're not looking they wreck your union."

"THOSE GUYS ARE TROTSKYITES!"

Every now and then the word crops up: *TROTSKYITES*. What are the Trotskyites?

But first of all, who was Trotsky?

The little man with the long hair, the small, black-pointed beard and the pince-nez glasses who started his adventurous political career in Russia around 1903, called himself Leon Trotsky. That was the year the Russian labor movement was split right down the middle.

On the one side there was the majority led by Lenin. The Russian word for 'majority' is *Bolshevik*. On the other side was the 'minority', or *Mensheviks*.

Young Trotsky was very popular with the long-hair intellectuals who flirted with radical movements. He was a clever writer. He was an even better actor. Every speech became a dramatic performance when Trotsky got the platform. But Trotsky was also ambitious. He wanted to play the starring role in the drama. He was either going to play the hero or the show wouldn't open.

The part that Trotsky wanted was leader of the revolutionary labor movement.

The Russian labor movement was young. It hadn't developed many writers and speakers in its own ranks yet. A clever writer and speaker like Trotsky soon made a name for himself. The pattern is a familiar one to most trade unionists. How often have smooth and clever speakers quickly made a name for themselves in a local only to turn out to be phony later on.

Trotsky joined up with the minority group, the *Mensheviks*. Factionalism was his meat. During the 1905 Revolution he became a leading member of the *Menshevik*-dominated St. Petersburg Soviet. In the middle of frantic intrigue and conspiracy he found himself at home.

After the 1905 Revolution he went to Vienna and set up his own faction. He published a small paper irregularly. He used the paper to snipe at the work of the *Bolsheviks* who

were carrying out day to day organizing work among the Russian people. And from Vienna he continued his attacks against the leader of the Bolsheviks, Lenin.

In those years Trotsky labored to acquire a reputation as the main rival of Lenin. Said Trotsky about Lenin: nothing more than "a professional exploiter of every backwardness in the Russian worker's movement." Said Trotsky about himself: the real "revolutionary internationalist." And years later in his book, *My Life*, he boasted: "Among the Russian comrades, there was not one from whom I could learn anything."

During the years leading up to World War I, Lenin often found it necessary to expose the disruptive activities of the man who could not learn from anyone.

Samples:

"Trotsky plagiarizes today from the ideas of one faction, tomorrow those of the other, and thus he regards himself as superior to both factions. . . . I must declare that Trotsky represents his own faction only." That was in 1911.

And again in 1911. *"Everyone who supports Trotsky's group supports the policy of lies and deception of the workers . . . it is Trotsky's special task . . . to throw sand in the eyes of the workers. . . ."*

And in 1915: *"Trotsky as always, entirely disagrees with the social-chauvinists in principle, but agrees with them in everything in practice."*

Once again the Russian people placed their mighty shoulders against the rotten structure of czarism. And this time they succeeded. The czar's regime toppled in March, 1917. At the time Trotsky was in New York City.

The Russian people were on the march. They had kicked out the czar. Now the Russian people led by the workers wanted to kick out capitalism, too. They wanted the industry of Russia to be owned and run by the workers and farmers in the interests of all. They wanted socialism.

The Russian people looked to Lenin and the Bolsheviks to lead them in the fight against big capital, the fight for social-

ism. The party formed by Lenin and the majority group in the Russian labor movement was called the Communist Party.

The spotlight was on Russia. Trotsky came back to Russia.

Back in Russia Trotsky attempted to form a political party of his own, but he soon discovered that the masses of the people were supporting the Bolsheviks. True to his character, he became a leader of the so-called Left-Mensheviks who favored armed insurrection at that time. The interests of the revolution demanded that this group be taken into the Bolshevik Party. When they applied for membership Trotsky came in with them. The reservations Trotsky had, he concealed. What were they? Later they were brought to light by Trotsky himself: The revolution couldn't triumph! Socialism in one country was impossible!

The man with the concealed reservations was given every opportunity to do constructive work. An accomplished orator, master of many languages, Trotsky held a leading position in the first Soviet government. The government was a coalition of Bolsheviks, Left Social-Revolutionaries and former Mensheviks. Trotsky became Foreign Commissar.

The common people won. They were in power. And Trotsky continued disruption. In opposition to Lenin he refused to sign the peace treaty at Brest-Litovsk. The new workers' government needed a breathing spell. It needed peace to strengthen itself. But Trotsky would have none of it. If Lenin had not forced the signing of the peace the new workers' government would have crumbled.

Trotsky was removed as Foreign Commissar.

Publicly admitting his error Trotsky once again hypocritically accepted the program of the Communists. During the civil war he was given the post of War Commissar. The rank and file, the millions of Soviet people, emerged victorious from that bitterly fought struggle. Trotsky had made eloquent speeches. When it was all over he deluded himself into believing that he had led and won the civil war. History tells a different story. An investigation of the actual history of the

civil war reveals that Trotsky's strategy on every front was rejected, and that he was removed by Lenin from the most crucial fronts.

The great actor did not have the leading role in the drama. He continued his opposition to Lenin. He continued factional activity. The Russian people led by the Communist Party went forward to socialism.

Every honest worker hates the underworld of cliques and factions that often blunts, and sometimes destroys, his unions. But the underworld of unprincipled struggle for power was where Trotsky was most at home.

Out of a mess of cliques, factions, dissidents, opportunists and job-seekers Trotsky formed his infamous Left Opposition. This was the machine that was to bring him into power. This Left Opposition of Trotsky's was very much like the factional groupings that Trotskyites build in the American labor movement today. Here they consist of pie-card seekers, petty opportunists, gamblers and bookies, Christian Fronters and other native fascists, dissident elements and stool pigeons. Hidden by left-wing, seemingly progressive slogans, they do their dirty work.

Way back in 1917 Lenin cut through the confusion surrounding the super-militant Trotsky and put his finger on what the man really stood for:

"The name Trotsky signifies: left phraseology and a bloc with the Right against the aims of the Left."

Trotsky's Left Opposition inside the Soviet Union operated in two ways:

1. Openly. Supposedly having honest disagreements with the program and policy of the Communists.
2. Secretly. A conspiratorial faction that worked with spies, czarist generals, White counter-revolutionaries and foreign intelligence services.

For a number of years the Left Opposition was given every chance to win the Party for their position. Four different times they involved the Party in prolonged discussions of their

opposition platform. Each time the Party overwhelmingly rejected Trotskyism. Immediately after Lenin's death Trotsky made an open bid for the role that he felt he alone could play to perfection. The delegates to the Communist Party congress swept him aside in a unanimous vote. They voted to maintain Stalin as General Secretary, and they condemned Trotsky's unprincipled struggle for personal power.

While protesting loyalty to the Party after each defeat, the Left Opposition was secretly preparing for a palace revolution, a "ballot box steal" to power. Their putsch on the Red Square fizzled like a flat glass of beer on May 1, 1927, the day Trotsky attempted to take power. On that day the Soviet people pushed Trotsky and his Left Opposition aside as a pimple on the backside of progress.

Trotsky was expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This didn't stop Trotsky. He continued his factional activity. He continued hatching his conspiratorial plots.

In 1929 he was kicked out of the Soviet Union as a counter-revolutionary.

2. *Racketeers, Politicos and B-29 Bombers*

The Dodge-Chicago plant was just outside of Chicago. It took about forty-five minutes for Al Masser, a tool maker, to drive out there. It was share-a-ride style in those days during the war. The car was packed every morning. Some of the guys Al knew well. Some of them he only got to see in the car and at union meetings sometimes.

Garfield Boulevard is a good road, and the guys generally had a hot and heavy bull-session before they got to the plant.

"We got a union now, and we're sitting pretty," Mike was singing. "Put some of the boys on the steering committee."

"Let's see what kind of officials we elect before we start singing," somebody said.

Al looked back over his shoulder. "You can say that again. There's a lot more to a union than winning a Labor Board election and forcing the company to recognize you. When the company can't beat you from the front they go after you from the back."

When they parked the car everybody got out except Bill, and he said: "Wait a minute, Al; I want to talk to you."

Al closed the door and put a match to his pipe. There was time.

"Some guys were talking to me about this foremen situation during lunch yesterday," Bill began. "They want to do a little educational job on these foremen, see? They figure we could get a little dumping squad and really work them over. Then they wouldn't give us so much trouble in negotiating grievances. Strictly on the Q-T, of course. What do you think, Al?"

Al knocked out his pipe. "I think it stinks," he said.

"But you got to be realistic, Al."

"Now suppose you be realistic. Are we fighting fellow wage workers even if they are company fall guys? Or are we fighting the big boys in Chrysler? For my money that Q-T stuff, that individual terrorism, is strictly company provocation. I'm a Communist, Bill. With me its a question of principle. I only know one way to win negotiations, and that's by organizing all the workers—by mass action on the part of all the guys in the plant. And I'll tell you something else. I don't like to throw labels around, but it sounds to me like we got Trotskyites moving in here."

Al was right. The Trotskyites were moving in. The Dodge-Chicago plant of the Chrysler Corporation was a key war plant. It was the largest airplane engine plant in the world.

The Trotskyites worked fast. They quickly welded all the rotten elements into a bloc in order to capture the new UAW local's first election.

First of all they grabbed hold of the job-seekers, the petty opportunists. These guys had ambitions to fill union posts, but they didn't have much ability. They were glad to stooge for the Trotskyites in exchange for a "line." The Trotskyites would teach them how to sound like trade union leaders.

Next came the gangsters, the racketeers and the bookies, all the racket boys who move into big plants to control the numbers racket, the betting, and generally fleece the workers. Plenty of them moved into the plant, and the company knew about it. Many of them had criminal records and the company had carefully investigated all workers. These gun-toting characters aimed to rake in the dough. Actual working in the plant was only a sideline and a cover-up for them. In order to balk any interference from real union men they wanted to be in the leadership of the local so that they could control the union. They particularly wanted to control the union's treasury.

But the racket-boys needed a brain trust to advise them on union matters. The Trotskyites supplied them with the brain trust.

Finally, the Trotskyites rounded out their bloc with company stool pigeons, outright fascists, ACTU elements and the stone age characters who didn't like Negroes or Jews, or Communists or Catholics or what have you.

The Trotskyites served as the theoreticians, or brain trust, for the bloc. It was their job to give this group a line sufficiently militant and "left" to confuse the honest workers in the plant. The Trotskyites taught them how to exploit the just grievances of the workers for their own opportunist ends.

With this bloc the Trotskyites moved into the unions' elections.

Al brought his car to a stop in front of the apartment house his girl lived in. A half block away another car pulled up alongside the curb. Al watched him through the rear view mirror. Whoever was in the car didn't get out. He watched the car for a moment, and then he got out and walked into the apartment house.

Al's girl worked in the plant, too, and he wanted to talk to her about the elections.

When she opened the door he said: "Get your coat and let's go. I want to check on something."

When they got settled in the car she asked: "What's up?"

"I think somebody is tailing me."

"Whatever for?"

"I don't know, but watch that car back there."

He suddenly started the car and shot away from the curb. At the first corner he swung right, tires screeching.

"Hey!" his girl said. "Don't be so hard on your tires. Don't you know there's a war going on?"

Al kept his eye on the mirror. Sure enough the other car came around the corner. Al slowed down. The other car slowed down.

"Yeh, I'm being tailed all right," he said. "I'll shoot down to the Loop and lose him in the traffic. Just on general principles."

"Who do you think it was?"

"I don't think it was anybody in the plant. They just hired some private dick to try to get something on me to beat us in the elections. Maybe just straight Red-baiting is beginning to wear a little thin. Boy, I'd sure like to know where the Trotskyites and those other characters get the dough from to run a fancy election campaign like this. Everything from fancy free literature to private dicks."

"I don't know where the money comes from," said his girl, "but if the company isn't paying them they ought to. They

do a real job for the company by putting the finger on the Communists in the plant. And then all this factionalism has pushed the union's fight against the company into the background. We sure aren't getting any grievances settled this way."

But for all their disruption and expensive electioneering the Trotskyite bloc lost. They became the opposition.

The Trotskyites settled down to do some real dirty work. In the height of the war against fascism they fought to revoke labor's no-strike pledge. Their line on the war coincided with the needs of the Nazis. Hitler wasn't able to bomb any American war plants, but the Trotskyites worked frantically to pull stoppages and phony wild-cat strikes in order to halt production of the war materials needed to beat the fascists.

In the Dodge-Chicago plant they were instrumental in pulling 224 disruptive strikes and work stoppages during the war against fascism.

There was a stoppage in one of the departments. Al was meeting with some of the guys from the plant.

"There is something damn funny about this," one guy said. "If this strike, for a phony reason like moving the coat racks, hadn't been pulled, the company would have had to stop production anyway."

"How do you figure that?" Al asked.

"Well, the company is short of cutting tools, see? They would have had to stop production anyway. Those rats are provoking strikes just when the company needs a strike to cover up for their mismanagement."

"It's an old Trotskyite story," Al said. "They use radical speeches as a mask to hide behind. What they actually do in practice is to help the bosses and the fascists!"

"THEY HELP THE FASCISTS!"

Trotsky was kicked out of the Communist Party.

Trotsky was kicked out of the Soviet Union.

But Leon Trotsky's career as political adventurer and rene-

gade extraordinary was only just beginning. There is work for Judas in the capitalist underworld.

Beneath the world's slick exterior of governments, and diplomats, and pious speeches is the vast network of machinery that runs the world. Right alongside the speech-makers, but not as visible to the naked eye, stands Big Business, the bankers and their buddies, the munitions men, the oil men, the big industrialists, whose interests determine the real aims of governments, if not always their outward appearance. But a slick exterior alone doesn't maintain their power. Their power rests on an underworld of violence, crime and corruption. The underworld of capitalism is international.

In the complicated structure of international Big Business there is always dirty work to be done. And there are people to do it. People who break strikes for a living; stool pigeons who spy on unions; characters who specialize in manipulating public opinion through incidents, race riots, rumors; some do it with their pens, and others have rougher techniques, but whatever the job is, capitalism has produced the men for it.

Trotsky entered this political underworld of Big Business.

And the political underworld needed Trotsky. For though it is true that the power of Big Business shaped the destinies of nations, this was only true for the capitalist world. One-sixth of the world was socialist. One-sixth of the world was being shaped by the power of the working class.

Big Business was not happy about losing one-sixth of the earth's surface. They wanted it back.

Big Business had been attacking the Soviet Union head on. Their methods were crude. Common people the world over were beginning to see right through the Bolshevik bogeyman that was painted for them by Big Business and its propagandists. Trotsky presented the capitalist underworld with new techniques for attacking the Soviet Union and the labor movement. The Trotskyite way was the counterfeit way. Through super-militant, very leftist and very radical phrases, Trotsky called for the overthrow of the Soviet Government,

not because the country was socialist, but because it was not socialist enough. The technique was clever and confusing. Hitler learned it, too, and called himself a National *Socialist* much to the amusement of the big German industrialists he was working for.

The exiled Trotsky made himself at home in the capitalist underworld with his chauffeurs, secretaries, bodyguards and the political careerists who tagged after him. Everywhere he built up his Trotskyite cliques. Everywhere he denounced the Soviet Union in the name of the world revolution. The capitalist press opened up their pages to Trotsky. The world witnessed a strange sight: William Randolph Hearst roaring that Stalin had *betrayed* the world revolution and Hearst by *not* making revolution all over the world. It was a strange sight—but it was also confusing.

The foreign intelligence services of capitalist countries value highly the services of renegades. Winston Churchill had taken note of Trotsky's activities. "*Trotsky*," he wrote, "*strives to rally the underworld of Europe to the overthrow of the Russian Army.*" Back in 1926 Trotsky had been ready to meet the intelligence services of the capitalist countries more than half way. That year he ordered his stooge Rakovsky: "*to sound out conservative circles in the capitalist countries . . . to what extent the Trotskyites can count on their support.*" Trotsky maintained his cliques and factions within the Soviet Union. By making deals with Trotsky Big Business was able to secure the services of the Trotskyite agents within the borders of the first socialist country. The fascists wasted no time. They made a deal. Germany and Japan would get certain areas of the Soviet Union; Trotsky and his gang would be placed into power.

Wrote Trotsky in a letter revealed by the Trotskyite agent, Karl Radek:

"It must be admitted that the question of power will become a practical issue for the Bloc only as a result of the defeat of the U.S.S.R. in war. For this the Bloc must make energetic preparations. . . ."

The letter stressed the "*victory of German fascism*," and in it Trotsky ordered that "*the diversive acts of the Trotskyites in war industries*" were to be carried out under the "*supervision of the German and Japanese High Commands*." The letter also revealed the concessions in land and resources Trotsky had to agree to in order to get the support of the German fascists.

With a rare talent for detail and organization Trotsky built up his gang into a model organization for crime, treason, terror and sabotage.

The organization was built on three levels. If one was exposed the other could continue.

1. The Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Center. In charge of terrorist activities. They were the Trotskyite Murder, Inc.
2. Trotskyite Parallel Center. In charge of sabotage of industry.
3. Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. The leading organization; made up of high ranking people within the government. It brought together all the opposition forces.

Russia's fifth column took concrete form.

On December 1, 1934, Sergei Kirov, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was murdered.

The murderer was caught red-handed.

The official Communiqué stated:

"The investigation has established that the motive for the killing of Kirov was a plan of this underworld anti-Soviet group to disorganize the leadership of the Soviet Government by means of terrorist acts directed against its chief leaders and thereby effect a change in policy along the lines of the so-called Zinoviev-Trotsky platform. . . ."

On December 28, 1935, Pichugin and Porshinev, two mine workers working in the Kuznetsk coal field, were gassed by carbon monoxide. The alertness of another miner prevented the tragedy from being far worse.

On September 23, 1936, an explosion took place in the same mine. Ten men were killed and fourteen severely injured. Among the dead were some of the most active and militant workers in the mine.

The trial which opened on November 19, 1936, revealed the true nature of the poison that had killed these militant workers. It was a deadly mixture of two elements: fascism and Trotskyism!

The trial revealed that the sabotage in the mines and the murder of the miners was the work of certain engineers:

Emil Stickling, a fascist agent;

Shubin, Trotskyite;

Noskov, Trotskyite;

And a number of other dissident elements who dreamed of returning the socialist land to the underworld of Big Business.

In the meanwhile cool and calculated Trotskyite murder struck in the shadow of the Kremlin. On June 18, 1936, the great and beloved writer, Maxim Gorky, died, murdered by one Dr. Levin, a Trotskyite agent. Dr. Levin admitted he had murdered his patient by an overdose of certain medicines. And Gorky had not been the first patient murdered by the Trotskyite doctor! The doctor confessed to the murder of Menzhinsky, chairman of the O.G.P.U., Kuibyshev, chairman of the National Economic Council, and Peshkov, Gorky's son; all murdered on orders from the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites!

The people of the Soviet Union were engaged in the serious business of building socialism, of building workers' republics on one-sixth of the earth's surface. They were determined that their socialist land would never be returned to the capitalist underworld.

And they were not going to permit the agents of the capitalist underworld to continue to sabotage socialist construction and to continue to murder their working class leaders.

They ferreted out the Trotskyites: the wreckers, renegades, saboteurs and traitors.

They placed them on trial before the world.

The trials laid bare the connections between the Trotskyites and the espionage services of capitalist countries. The trials revealed the rotten connections the Trotskyites and their cliques and factions had with German and Japanese fascists and the fascists of every country. Cornered and exposed the Trotskyites confessed:

They had set out to destroy the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

They were determined to undermine the defensive power of the Soviet Union, to assist fascist military intervention and to prepare for the defeat of the Red Army.

They were ready to dismember the first workers' republic, to hand over the Soviet Maritime Region to Japan, Soviet Byelorussia to the Poles and the Soviet Ukraine to the Germans.

They were prepared to restore the rule of Big Business in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Soviet Courts found the Trotskyites guilty of treason to the working class. The Trotskyite gang in the Soviet Union was smashed.

When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union there was no fifth column within its borders to aid him.

But outside of the Soviet Union, together with the underworld of Big Business, the Trotskyites continued their conspiratorial activities. Disguised by leftist slogans they attached themselves to the growing labor movements all over the world.

Leon Trotsky, the "old man" his stooges lovingly called him, was in Mexico. From his fortress villa at Coyacan he directed the work of his agents all over the world. And it was there that the "old man" was murdered.

On August 20, 1940, a Trotskyite who called himself Frank Jacson, smashed his leader's head in with a pick-ax.

Said Jacson to the Mexican police:

"... in place of finding myself face to face with a political

chief who was directing the struggle for the liberation of the working class, I found myself before a man who desired nothing more than to satisfy his needs and desires of vengeance and of hate and who did not utilize the worker's struggle for anything more than a means of hiding his own paltriness and despicable calculations.

"... I asked myself very often, from where had come the money for such work. . . . Perhaps the consul of a certain foreign nation who often visited him could answer that question for us. . . .

"It was Trotsky who destroyed my nature, my future and all my affections. He converted me into a man without a name, without country, into an instrument of Trotsky."

Trotsky was finished.

But Trotskyism continued to roam the capitalist underworld desperately trying to infect labor and progressive peoples' movements with its poison.

3. *The Deep Six*

There were three or four young girls. They looked to be about eighteen years old. Standing before the National Maritime Union Hall on 17th Street in New York City, they handed out leaflets to the seamen as they entered the shipping hall. That was on Thursday, May 16, 1946, one month before the scheduled waterfront strike.

Some of the seamen took leaflets without looking at them and walked into the hall. Other seamen refused to accept them. They recognized the girls as the same ones that sometimes handed out the Trotskyite sheet, the *Militant*, before union meetings at Manhattan Center.

Inside the lobby of the N.M.U. building a group of seamen were looking over one of the leaflets.

"This is the finkiest leaflet I've read in a long time," one sailor growled.

The Trotskyite leaflet was against the strike. It said the strike was only a political strike and shouldn't be supported by the seamen.

That afternoon a special membership meeting was held on the second floor of the union hall.

Stocky Joe Stack, at that time Port Agent for New York, opened the meeting and explained its purpose:

"There are people around this waterfront now that we haven't seen for a period of four or five years. Now that the strike is coming June 15, they are working to sabotage it, so we have to have a proper discussion of this thing today. . . .

"The line they are trying to pursue is that this strike—well they don't want to come out openly and say they are against the strike—but they say there is very little possibility of a successful strike. And they generally work to confuse members

of our union, create an attitude of panic, and split the ranks of the unity we have with the various unions. . . .

"Possibly some members don't know what role these people are playing. The same as some guys don't understand, when they see gals in front of the union hall putting out leaflets, what the leaflets mean, and what their purpose is. You haven't seen these people in any of our struggles trying to help the union, but now they are very much interested in our strike. These are the things we have to discuss. We have this resolution. We will read it off and that will open discussion."

Stack read the resolution and submitted it to the union membership for discussion. The resolution condemned the activities of Trotskyites on the waterfront and "resolved that all ports be alerted to guard against the picket-line busting that has already started, even before the strike has begun, by these backdoor enemies of the union and maritime unity known as the Trotskyites, working through the I.W.W. and their paper, the *Militant* . . ." and further "that all ships and ports be instructed to call immediate strike security educational classes to acquaint our new members with these organizations and officials who are the left arm of the shipowners and the boss class, and to expose and drive these elements back into the strategy rooms of the shipowners where they belong."

A motion was made and seconded to accept, and Chairman Rogan opened the floor for discussion.

Hands flew up all over the hall. Everyone wanted the deck.

The first speaker at the mike was Paul Palazzi.

He recalled some of the earlier waterfront struggles and the disruptive role the Trotskyites had played in the past. He pointed out that the waterfront workers were moving into strike struggle: "This is war! And we cannot tolerate a fifth column. . . . We have to stamp out the possibilities of a fifth column organizing to stab us in the back."

There was applause and more hands shot up for the floor.

The chair recognized a young Negro seaman. He walked up to the mike.

"We won't tolerate Trotskyites or anyone else who tries to undermine our strike, or sows disruption in our membership," he said. "They are going to be chased off the waterfront every time they come down. When they left today, they hollered

back: 'We will get you next time. We are going to send a Negro to distribute the leaflet, if you attack him, you will start a race riot!' " The young Negro seaman paused for a moment, and then his voice louder, he said: "I told them if you find a Negro rotten enough to do that, I myself will strike him down, and there will be no race riot. Trotskyites—no matter who they are or where they come from, are going to be smacked down by this membership. . . ."

One seaman got the mike and said he had just come in from a trip on the S.S. Washington. "I just want to say a few words," he said. "You cannot always tell a Trotskyite, because they don't call themselves Trotskyites. The previous brothers left that out. They spout unity, make wonderful speeches about unity, hurrah for Joe Curran, hurrah for the other officials, but at the same time, aboard ship, everytime some progressive legislation is put forward, they torpedo it. Not only that, but in the name of unity, they lead Negro against white seamen, Spanish-speaking seamen against the Negro. And in the name of unity and the N.M.U., they will deliberately sabotage everything the N.M.U. is fighting for. . . ."

When he finished the chairman asked if any member of the union who was a Trotskyite wanted to get up and defend the Trotskyites.

The hall became quiet. No one spoke. No one got up to defend the Trotskyites.

The chair called on a Spanish-speaking brother to speak in Spanish for the benefit of the Latin-American seamen.

Mohomed Mahomond, an Egyptian seaman, then came forward, and offered to summarize the meeting in Arabic for the Arabian seamen. He finished off with a few words in English:

"A fellow fights for me, he fights for all my people—the Negro people, the Spanish people. You fight for your country, your children. You fight for black face or white face. That is all brothers."

One by one, more seamen hit the mike and told what they knew about the Trotskyites. Much of it was personal experiences told in colorful and vigorous language. Finally the chairman took the deck.

"I think we can get a pretty good picture of these Trotsky-

ites by just comparing two periods," he said. "During the war we recognized that the way to defend the conditions of the workers, the seamen, was to get together with all the people in the world and destroy fascism, and we adopted a no-strike pledge in order to keep 'em sailing. Well, at that time the Trotskyites were saying to hell with the no-strike pledge. They were all for strike then, but to hell with the war.

"Now we are in a period when we have defeated military fascism, and we face the bosses who became even more greedy during the war. They think they can destroy the labor movement and maintain the same high profits as during the war. And now the shipowners force us to strike.

"But now what is the role of the Trotskyites? These very militant people who wanted to strike and strike again during the war. Now they come out with their leaflets on the waterfront against our strike. Now they say to hell with the strike. They say it is a political move, a maneuver, and it has nothing to do with wages, hours and conditions. They try to destroy the unity we need. . . .

"So if you compare these two periods, you can see very clearly that the role of the Trotskyites is to be the arm of the bosses inside of the labor movement, to split up the unity of the workers, and to prevent us from doing a job militantly together. . . ."

The vote was called on the resolution condemning Trotskyism. It was carried.

Aboard ship, when useless gear or garbage is thrown overboard, sailors call it: "giving it the deep six."

At the special membership meeting of the National Maritime Union of America in New York on May 16, 1946 the seamen gave Trotskyism and the Trotskyites "the deep six."

The Trotskyites lost that round on the waterfront.

WHAT BRINGS IT ABOUT?

Stormtroopers are not born that way. Stoolpigeons are not born stoolpigeons, either, they are made. But how do you account for a movement like Trotskyism and the people who

follow it? Trotskyites certainly aren't born that way either. And that brand of opposition to the labor movement named after Leon Trotsky was surely not some strange historical accident, peculiar to one country alone, because it has recurred in the labor movements of many countries.

Political and social movements are not accidents. They have a basis and a reason in the everyday real life of people and nations, in their economic systems and in the struggle between different classes and different interests. It is here that we must look for the basis and the reason, for a movement like Trotskyism.

But what about the man himself? His tremendous ego and conceit? Of course the personal factor cannot be ignored. The man Trotsky gave more than his name to the Trotskyite movement. He gave his talents, as well as his warped ego, and these certainly helped determine the characteristics of the movement. But Trotsky was a man born of woman in this very real world, and it is in this very real world that we must search to find the basis, and the reason, for the movement that bears his name. Just as political movements are not accidents, neither are they merely products of the personalities of certain individuals.

From the very beginning Leon Trotsky represented a certain brand of opposition to the revolutionary labor movement. This form of opposition was rooted in the attitude of a certain class, a particular economic grouping in society. Political economists call this class the petty bourgeoisie. This is the economic grouping whose members are not large scale capitalists and are not wage workers. They are petty capitalists.

Karl Marx called this class a "transitional class." They stand between Big Business and the labor movement. Of course they hope to be Big Business themselves someday. But those days are gone forever, and more and more petty capitalists are forced to be wage workers. Deep down inside the petty capitalist wants to become rich, wants to become a big-time capitalist. But the real world of capitalism is constantly

knocking his feet out from under him, and his real interests, he discovers, are in alliance with the working people in their struggle against the monopolies and the trusts.

The petty capitalist wavers. He is caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. He is caught in the middle of a great class struggle, and he can't make up his mind. He doesn't know whether his interests are with Big Business on the one hand, or with labor on the other. The interests of the two classes, said Marx, are "simultaneously blunted" in the petty bourgeoisie. The petty capitalist, as a class, does not consistently support Big Business, but it does not consistently support the labor movement, either. They are afraid of the big monopolies, but they are also afraid of "revolution." They are in between. They are the "middle" class.

Some sections of the "middle" class are attracted to "revolution." Only by doing away with monopoly control and setting up social ownership of industry can the "middle" class be free members of society. So certain "middle" class elements are drawn to the labor movement and the idea of revolution. But real revolutionary struggle frightens them. The petty capitalist draws away from class struggle. Basically he wants class peace.

When the wage workers develop a strong and tough labor movement they attract "middle" class elements. The petty capitalists revolt against the existing monopoly capitalist system, but they also find fault and revolt against the labor movement and its leaders. Because of the nature of their class they are not consistently with the labor movement. They dress themselves up in "extreme left" phrases. They are the "true revolutionaries." The real labor movement they attack as "dogmatic, narrow and dictatorial."

Trotsky's approach to the labor movement, the working class and the revolution, was the approach of a "middle" class intellectual.

But Trotsky was not a petty shopkeeper. Well, Hitler wasn't a big German industrialist either. He was a paper-hanger. But he became the political representative of Big Business.

Those who represent the petty capitalists as a class are not necessarily shopkeepers, Marx once pointed out. As individuals they may be the direct opposite. They become the political representatives of this "middle" class because in their outlook they don't go beyond the limitations of middle class existence. In the field of political ideas they bring forward the same solutions as the middle class is forced to have in practical life because of their social position and material interests. "Speaking generally," wrote Marx, "such is always the relationship between the political and literary representatives and the class they represent."

There are many groups of people who find themselves opposed, if not always consistently, to monopoly capitalism. Farmers, professional people, artists, small business men—they all make up the great mass of people who often find themselves in opposition to the dictatorship of Big Business. But it is the working class whose conditions of living organize them as a class capable of overthrowing the dictatorship of Big Business. The industrial workers with their unions and political organizations are organized against that system. That is why the working class leads the struggle against the dictatorship of the monopolies and the trusts. That is why the working class leads the fight for the socialist reorganization of society.

The very conditions of the life of the workers force them, *as a class*, to constantly and steadily fight Big Business. This is not true of the middle class. That is why they often waver, lose confidence in themselves and lose confidence in the ability of the working class to carry through the revolutionary struggle against Big Business to its logical conclusions.

However, the middle class, also, suffers from the rule of Big Business. Often, intellectuals and others find themselves opposed to capitalism. They revolt. They attach themselves to the labor movement. Some develop a romantic attitude to "the revolution," and call for adventurist tactics. They want to destroy—but they have nothing constructive to offer. They want

to lead the working class—but they do not want to accept the discipline of the working class. They become the super-critics of the labor movement. They develop grave misgivings. They denounce its “extremes.” Everybody is out of step except themselves. They become the only “true revolutionaries.”

The working class does not live in a vacuum. It lives in the real world. And in the real world the working class and its organizations are surrounded by middle class elements who bring to it many of the characteristics of their own “in-between” social position. The surrounding middle class elements introduce petty capitalist individualism, hesitancy and demoralization, factionalism and splits into the ranks of the working class. They also bring a “leftism,” a tendency to ignore the very real problems of the daily struggle against reaction, in order to attempt to live out their own revolutionary day dreams. This is particularly true in moments of grave difficulty for the working class. In such periods these elements become frightened and demoralized at the powerful blows of Big Business, and in their fright and hysteria they exhibit an unrealistic, escapist, “leftism.” Their language is marked by day-dreaming, super-revolutionary phrases.

Such a development in the labor and revolutionary movement did not happen only once, and it did not happen in only one country. It expressed itself many times in attempts to divert working class movements from correct program and policy. It is in this expression of the penetration of petty capitalist, class characteristics into the labor and revolutionary movement that we discover the roots and the foundations of Trotskyism. *Here it has its beginning.*

In 1924, the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union put it this way:

“In the person of the present ‘opposition’ we face not only an attempt to revise Bolshevism, not only a direct moving away from Leninism, but also a clearly expressed petty-bourgeois deviation. There is not the slightest doubt that this ‘opposition’ objectively reflects the pressure of the petty

bourgeoisie on the positions of the Party of the proletariat and its policies."

Trotskyism was born in this expression of middle class influence on the working class and the revolution. But Trotskyism didn't stand still. At its inception unrealistic Trotskyite "leftism" and the factionalism it introduced into the Russian labor movement aided the forces of reaction. Trotskyism travelled a treacherous path. Big Business constantly seeks out treason in the labor movement. It was not far down the Trotskyite road that aiding the forces of reaction *became an alliance with the forces of reaction*. From opposition to the revolution Trotskyism sank into the gutter of the underworld of Big Business, and the Trotskyites became the stooges and the murderers for the fascists.

Said Stalin: "*Present day Trotskyism is not a political trend in the working class but a gang without principle, without ideas, of wreckers, diversionists, intelligence service agents, spies, murderers, a gang of sworn enemies of the working class, working in the pay of the intelligence services of foreign states.*

"Such is the indisputable result of the evolution of Trotskyism. . . ."

The Trotskyites presented Big Business with a conspiratorial organization and an ideology to penetrate the ranks of the working class.

And plain stoolpigeons became old fashioned!

4. *South of the Border*

Hard-hitting Vicente Lombardo Toledano, chief of the Latin-American labor movement, was sore. Trotsky was in Mexico.

The Mexican labor movement was angry, too. Over four thousand delegates to the National Congress of the Mexican Confederation of Labor prepared to listen as Toledano rose to present his resolution on Trotsky.

That was in February, 1938.

Toledano's voice was sharp as he read the long resolution.

"... Veteran militants in the working class movement of our country, without ties to the Communist Party of Mexico or to the Comintern, and, consequently, beyond suspicion of being Communists or sympathizers of the Communist Party, our words express the thought of the revolutionary masses in the C.T.M., with no other emotion save interest in truth and justice.

"The intensive propaganda which the capitalist press of the world has carried on, using Trotsky's attacks against the Soviet Union, has sown great confusion about the real significance of Trotskyism today. ..."

At considerable length Toledano traced the entire history of Trotsky from the early days of the Russian labor movement up to Trotsky's disruption of the united front movement against fascism.

The delegates listened attentively as Toledano lashed out bitterly.

"... Instead of directing his attacks against fascism, Trotsky collaborates with reaction in its offensive against the Soviet

Union, selling his articles full of vituperation and calumnies for publication in the periodicals of Hearst and Macfadden, the standard bearers of North American fascism, where they are used for editorial comments to demonstrate the failure, not of the Soviet Union, but of socialism in theory and practice."

He paused for a moment, then: "And this is the man who is to be sanctified as the leader of the world revolution!"

Toledano raised the question of Trotsky's attacks on the Mexican labor movement and his personal attacks on Toledano. Then, referring to himself in the third person, Toledano concluded:

"Since Trotsky has characterized Comrade Lombardo Toledano as a lackey of Stalin and agent of the G.P.U., it is evident that the aim of the letter of Trotsky, as far as the C.T.M. is concerned, is to sow confusion in our ranks, defaming our General Secretary and asking his organization to expel him from its midst."

Toledano sat down. The delegates cheered him.

The position taken by the Mexican Confederation of Labor was as follows:

"1. Leon Trotsky and his followers falsify fact when they assert that Trotsky is the continuator of Leninist theory.

"2. Trotsky acts in complicity with international fascism.

"3. Trotsky is an enemy of the Peoples' Fronts and particularly of the peoples of Spain and China who are fighting at this time against fascism.

"4. Trotsky participates in the internal problems of Mexico as an enemy of the unity of the working class.

"5. Trotsky, by all his activity regarding the fundamental problems of the historic period, has revealed himself as an enemy of the working class of the world.

"6. The C.T.M. Congress adopts as its own all the declarations of Comrade Lombardo Toledano and the National Committee of the C.T.M. concerning Trotsky and Trotskyism.

"7. Comrade Lombardo Toledano is the genuine representative of the Mexican proletariat."

When the position of Mexican labor became known the Trotskyites screamed:

"Stalinists! They are all a bunch of Stalinist stooges!"

THE LOGIC OF THIS MADNESS

What is Trotskyism? Is there logic to this madness?

You can not build socialism in one country!

That was Trotsky's opinion in 1906. That is what he wrote in a book called *Our Revolution*.

That was Trotsky's opinion in 1917. He said so in a pamphlet entitled *Program for Peace*.

That was his opinion in 1924. That year he republished his earlier pamphlet in his collected works.

But 1924! That was seven years after the historic day Lenin stood facing the cheering Russian people, waited for silence, and then announced simply:

"We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order!"

For seven years the common people of Russia led by the Communist Party had maintained their power. For seven years the Russian workers and farmers had directed the economy of Russia and the government of Russia. The Russian people were masters of their fates. Brick by brick they were constructing a socialist society.

But Trotsky decided it was hopeless "to think, for example, that a revolutionary Russia could hold its own in the face of a conservative Europe. . . ."

But Stalin pointed out: It was being done! To think otherwise would be "*sinning against reality*."

Socialism in the Soviet Union was a fact. The fact stared Trotsky square in the face. But Trotsky did not want to give up his pet theory. He theorized the fact away with theoretical hocus-pocus. He admitted that it was true that world capitalism had not yet smashed the workers' government, *but!* the workers' government, he maintained, was not really a workers' government, and socialism in the Soviet Union was not really socialism. Trotsky had proven all that on paper: you just couldn't build socialism in one country, and that was that! So why try? The Russian people were making a big mistake.

They believed what they built with their hands and saw with their eyes.

You cannot build socialism in one country, said Trotsky. And he kept on saying it.

In order to prove that socialism in one country was impossible he tried to prove that the achievements of the Soviet Union were the opposite of building socialism. Carrying out this argument in practical activity he headed the attack against the Soviet Union in order to destroy the socialist construction.

Trotsky never believed in the possibility of building socialism in the Soviet Union. He always claimed that in a backward agricultural country like old Russia socialism was impossible.

Lenin claimed that the first worker's revolution would break through the weakest link of the capitalist chain, and that socialism could be built in one country alone.

Socialism *was* built in one country. But Trotsky "warned" the world: "*The impending crisis of Soviet economy will inevitably and within the near future, crumble the sugary legend, and, we have no reason to doubt, will scatter many dead. . . . The nearest future will bring with it a new confirmation of our correctness.*" He wrote that in his *Soviet Economy in Danger*, in 1933.

Trotsky had made up his mind. His theory said that socialism couldn't be built in Russia alone. Everyday he discovered a new crisis. Every day he pointed his finger at the Communists and screamed that they were all bureaucrats who were ruining the workers' revolution.

Behind it all was this middle class intellectual's disbelief in the strength and the ability of the working class, and his fear before the terrific obstacles facing the first socialist republic surrounded by a hostile capitalist world.

Said the panic-stricken Trotsky: "The Russian proletariat, finding itself in possession of power . . . will meet with organized hostility on the part of world reaction. . . . *Left to its own forces, the working class of Russia will inevitably be*

crushed by the counter-revolution the moment the peasantry will turn away from it."

What to do? What to do? Call out to the workers "the world over," wrote Trotsky, "the old battle cry, which this time will be the battle cry of the last attack, workers of the world unite!"

The language of Trotsky always glittered with revolutionary dramatics. But what is the content beneath the glittering and spectacular phrases? The content is defeatist! It takes more than slogans to solve problems.

According to Trotsky "the peasantry will turn away" from the working class. The farmers and farm workers, Trotsky insisted, would turn against the workers, would be "the counter-revolution behind its back."

That would mean that in America the workers would not be able to win the support of the small farmers and farm laborers in their struggle against Big Business. It would mean that the tens of millions of small and middle farmers must of necessity unite with the monopolies and the trusts and crush the labor movement. Under those circumstances there would be no hope for socialism. This was Trotsky's "new idea." And of all things he called it "the theory of permanent revolution." It should have been called the theory of permanent defeat.

American Communists believe that the poor and middle farmers, the sharecroppers and other rural poor are the potential allies of the industrial workers in their battle against monopoly capitalism. American Communists fight to win this huge section of the American people to the side of labor.

The Russian Communists proved that this could be done! By bringing together the workers and the farmers it was possible to accomplish the revolution that took the power from the hands of the capitalists and bankers. That was the revolution that created Soviet power: the rule of the workers in alliance with the farmers. Maintaining and strengthening this union made it possible to defend the revolution and the Soviet power in the years of civil war. And it was this alliance between the workers and the farmers that made it possible to build socialism on one-sixth of the earth's surface.

And that is history. But in the eyes of the Trotskyites, history lies! In truth it is not history that lies. The liars are the Trotskyites!

And with what logic!

First, you cannot build socialism in one country.

Therefore, what the Soviet people are building is not socialism.

So you attack the Soviet Union because it is not "socialist."

And you aid Big Business in its attack on the Soviet Union.

The consistent followers of Trotsky were found with smoking revolvers in their hands. To lie is vicious. To base actions on lies is criminal.

The super-revolutionary hocus-pocus of Trotskyism is not limited to attacks on the Soviet Union. The progressive labor movements in every country, and particularly the Communist Parties, are under constant attack from the Trotskyites.

And the attacks are always from the "left."

In every country there are political parties. In every country these parties arise out of the need and necessity of a particular social class. Social classes with purposes to achieve, or interests to defend, form political parties.

Examine the actions of any political organization, and you will find that it is the political instrument of a particular class or section of a class in our society. It may mask its class origin. It may even claim to represent one class, when actually it represents another. But political parties must be judged, not by what they say, but by their actions.

The working people have interests to defend, and purposes to achieve. They have class needs and necessities.

They need:

DECENT CONDITIONS OF LIFE

SECURITY

PEACE

FREEDOM

But these needs conflict with the class interest of the capitalists.

In order to solve their problems the working people come

into conflict with Big Business. They are forced to struggle against the dictatorship of Big Business. They make gains. But the gains are only temporary because the dictatorship of Big Business remains. The working people discover that their class needs and necessities can only be completely solved by changing the social set-up.

But "the transformation of the world," as Stalin said to H. G. Wells, "is a great, complicated and painful process."

The political instruments of the working class have a tremendous job to do.

The Communist Party is the instrument of a class. It is the political instrument of the working class. It defends the interests of the working class, fights for their needs and aspirations and fights to bring about a change in the social set-up. The Communist Party fights for socialism.

Leon Trotsky claimed to be a leader of the working people. In his approach to the political instrument of the working class we see more of the logic of Trotskyism.

When the Russian labor movement split in 1903, the majority group, led by Lenin, advocated building a political party capable of changing the social set-up, capable of establishing socialism. Such a party would have to be united and disciplined, with every member carrying out the agreed-upon program and policy. The minority group, the Mensheviks, opposed such a political instrument. They advocated loose organization in which everyone could do as they pleased. Trotsky went with the Mensheviks.

Lenin fought to establish a fighting, working class party, a new kind of a political party. The new party had to be closely knit both in theory and in organization. For Lenin the struggle against capitalism was like scaling huge mountains. The mountain climbers must rope themselves together in order to climb dangerous mountains. In order to tackle the huge mountain of capitalism a worker's party must be held together by the strong ties of a single organization, well disciplined and united. In order to maintain that discipline in action it has

to be equally binding on both the leaders and the rank and file.

Said Lenin: "As we proceed with the building of a *real* party the class-conscious worker must learn to distinguish the mentality of the soldier of the proletarian army from the mentality of the bourgeois intellectual who makes a display of anarchist phraseology. . . ."

Trotsky screamed: "What an indignation takes hold of you when you read these hideous demagogic lies! The proletariat . . . today already is called to give lessons in *political* discipline! And to whom? To that same intelligentsia! . . . Yesterday the proletariat was still crawling in the dust, today it has been elevated to an unexpected height!" This was the way Trotsky raved in a pamphlet called *Our Political Tasks*.

Lenin answered: "The mentality of a bourgeois intellectual, who regards himself as one of the 'chosen few' standing above mass organization and mass discipline. . . ."

Trotsky did not understand either the role of the working class or the role that the intellectuals could play. He missed the bus on both counts.

It is one of the basic ideas of Marx that without a Communist Party the labor movement would never go beyond trade unionism. The Communist Party represents the most forward, courageous and advanced sections of the labor movement. Intellectuals who identify themselves with the working class have a great role to play in such a party. In every country there are intellectuals who have identified themselves with the working class as the only revolutionary class and have turned their talents and training into weapons in the battle for progress and socialism.

But Trotsky was worried: the workers giving lessons in political discipline to the middle class! Terrible! Trotsky took the frightened middle class intellectuals under his wing. He even says many times that perhaps the students and other intellectuals may be more important to the revolution than the workers themselves.

Under Lenin's leadership a Communist Party was built in Russia. It was a party capable of transforming the social system, and it did. The Communist Party led the common people of Russia to victory. They established socialism.

This didn't satisfy Trotsky. There was too much unity, too much discipline. Trotsky demanded that there be what he called "freedom of groupings" within the Communist Party. In a united and disciplined working class party there is no room for factionalism. Trotsky was an ace factionalist. He always liked to surround himself with a little group, a clique. There must be "freedom of groupings," he cried. "Without temporary ideological groupings, the ideological life of the Party is unthinkable." He wrote that in his *Strategy of World Revolution*.

What does "freedom of groupings" mean? If it means anything at all, it means freedom to form a party within a party. That is what Trotsky attempted to do all his life.

What does such "freedom" lead to? It leads to factionalism. It turns a fighting organization into a debating society. It demoralizes. Stalin pointed out that whenever this happens a working class organization is faced with the danger of becoming a plaything for the agents of the bosses.

Trotsky did not want a strong, tough, united disciplined Communist Party.

He wanted factions, splinter groups, each going their own way. And none of them getting anywhere. This middle class intellectual was afraid of a strong working class party and a strong labor government.

And that is exactly what the bosses are afraid of.

And that is the logic of Trotskyism.

First, the denial of the possibility of uniting the masses of the farmers with the workers in abolishing capitalism and building socialism.

Second, the denial of the possibility of socialism in one country. This was the basis for Trotsky's theory of permanent defeat which he misnamed the "theory of permanent revolution."

Third, Trotsky's famous "Clemenceau thesis." This was the program for inciting war against the Soviet Union, and with the aid of the enemy, seizing power. A more apt title for this program would have been: the Quisling thesis. And in Spain, Trotsky tried to apply his thesis on a grand scale.

The Trotskyites exposed their full roll in Spain during the civil war from 1936 to 1938. Here was the testing ground and rehearsal of the Nazi-fascist drive to conquer and enslave the world. All freedom-loving people recognized the need for unity of all anti-fascist forces in Spain and unity of all democratic world forces behind Republican Spain. The best sons of the working people everywhere fought with tremendous courage against unequal odds.

Here the Trotskyite P.O.U.M., directed by their master from Mexico, fraternized with the fascist forces. They played football in Barcelona with Franco Falangists and German Nazis. They carried on espionage and sabotage against the Spanish government and the forces of the Republic. They held up arms shipments, confiscated war materials destined for the Republican armies. Their treachery in the service of Hitler went to the extent of attempted armed insurrections against the Republic in the course of the war against the Nazi-fascist invaders. The super-revolutionary sounding slogan of Trotskyism, camouflaging their vile treachery, was "turn the war into a civil war." By that they meant civil war between the working class and its allies, opening the front and guaranteeing victory for Hitler. That was the fifth column strategy of Hitler and Franco.

For Trotsky nothing is "revolutionary" *enough*.

For the bosses everything is *too* revolutionary.

The results are the same!

5. *Gangsterism Unparalleled*

The teamsters learned about Trotskyism the hard way. The Teamsters' Union had quite a reputation for corruptness and rackets anyway. There had always been a number of dishonest officials in that union, and nobody in the top leadership did anything about it.

But enough is enough!

In 1940 the Trotskyites took over Local 544 in Minneapolis. Crime and corruption became the order of the day. The stench was terrific. The union took action.

Dan Tobin's executive assistant, Thomas J. Flynn, told the story in the August, 1944 issue of the *International Teamster*.

Wrote Flynn:

"No company union was ever run with such flagrant partiality and no company blacklist as ruthless as those of a Trotsky labor union. The teamsters of Minneapolis discovered this in 1940 when the Trotsky faction, headed by the Dunne Brothers, took over Local 544. They ushered in a period of gangsterism unparalleled in American labor.

"The Dunes split Local 544 into two warring factions. Union business ceased and the members were forced to carry weapons for their personal protection against the thugs the Trotskyites brought in to beat the membership into submission. If the Trotskyites had been able to hold Local 544, they would have seized other unions until they had the labor movement of Minneapolis, and possibly of Minnesota, firmly in their grip.

"But the Teamsters stopped them in their tracks. The International threw all its resources into Minneapolis. It gave protection to the membership, and it drove the Trotskyites back into the alleys whence they came."

The article was written during the war and Flynn takes

note of the Trotskyites' use of revolutionary phraseology. "To them, unions are merely weapons to be used in the fight against organized government. They are as violently opposed to the Communist government of Russia as they are to the 'capitalist' government of the United States and the monarchy of England.

"Their hostility to government appears to be confined to the types of government used by allied nations. They have no quarrel with the dictatorship of Germany, judging by their actions to embarrass the allies."

On Trotsky and the Soviet Union:

"Probably the Trotskyites are more bitter against the Russian government than any other." Flynn figures it out this way: "This is because their candidate lost when Lenin died. Trotsky didn't take his place. Stalin did. Nobody in America paid much attention to Russian politics at that time and nobody cared who was top man in Moscow. But now the people of the United States are giving thanks that Stalin won and Trotsky lost. Because of Stalin we are winning the war and at a very low price in American lives.

"If Trotsky had taken over at that time, Russia would probably today be part of the Third Reich and Hitler would be using the resources and manpower of Russia against us. The Trotskyites were wrong in Russia. They are wrong in the United States. Fortunately, Trotsky is now dead. Unfortunately, too many of his followers are not."

HIS FOLLOWERS IN AMERICA

In 1928 a little Trotskyite clique was thrown out of the American Communist Party.

"Thus began the open fight for American Trotskyism," wrote James P. Cannon, one of the big wheels among the Trotskyites. "It was not too promising a struggle from the point of view of numbers. The three of us who signed the declaration—Abern, Shachtman and myself—felt pretty lonely as we walked down to my house to lay the plans to build a new party that was to take power in the United States."

Cannon and Shachtman were the leaders of the Trotskyite faction. In 1944 Cannon published a book called *The History of American Trotskyism*. In this book he proves himself the staunchest follower of the "old man." It seems that Cannon was the only American Trotskyite who was permitted to smoke a cigar in the presence of Leon Trotsky.

"I pulled out my cigar and after the fact was about one-half accomplished, I said facetiously: 'I hear some people get expelled for smoking. Is that correct?' He said, 'No, no, go ahead and smoke.' He added: 'For boys like Glotzer I don't allow it, but for a solid comrade it is all right.' So I smoked all the time in his presence during my visit."

A very important accomplishment!

The earliest days seemed to be the hardest for the Trotskyites. Big Business had not yet recognized their value in America.

"In those dog days of the movement we were shut off from all contact," moans Cannon in his book. "We had no friends, no sympathizers, no periphery around our movement."

But the most difficult thing was trying to crawl into an organization. "Whenever we tried to get into a workers' organization we would be expelled as counter-revolutionary Trotskyites. We tried to send delegations to the unemployed meetings. Our credentials would be rejected on the ground that we were enemies of the working class."

Finally in 1934 the Trotskyites succeeded in crawling into an organization. This organization was called the American Workers Party and was led by a man named Muste. Muste was a minister who specialized in keeping unions from going left. He eagerly worked with the biggest labor fakers in the business. They didn't mind having him around because Muste always managed to disguise even the most corrupt policies with pious, progressive phrases. After a special visit to Trotsky in Turkey, Muste quit the Trotskyites without public explanation.

Cannon never explained in his book exactly what happened

to the American Workers Party. They just ate up the organization, and when it was all over there were nothing but Trotskyites left.

While Trotsky was in France, he told his French followers to take a dive into the French Socialist Party. That became the pitch for the Trotskyites all over the world. They called it the "French Turn."

Said Cannon in his book: "The Socialist Party was in our way. We had to remove that obstacle from our path."

The American Trotskyites went into the Socialist Party in 1936. It wasn't easy though, according to Cannon. "We received no welcome, no friendly salute, no notice in the press of the Socialist Party. Nothing was offered to us. Not one of the leaders of our party was offered as much as a post as branch organizer by these cheapskates—not one." But "there was a fruitful year of work ahead of us in the Socialist Party."

It was fruitful all right. That was the year the Soviet Union put the Trotskyites on trial as saboteurs and fascist agents. But what about the American Trotskyites that "fruitful year"?

"It was required for us historically, at that crucial moment, to be members of the Socialist Party and by that to have closer access to elements—liberals, intellectuals and half radical people—who were necessary for the great political task of the Trotsky Defense Committee. . . . We were then in the most favorable situation as members of the Socialist Party—and, therefore, surrounded to a certain extent with the protective coloration of a half-way respectable party. . . ."

The Trotskyites certainly did have a fruitful year within the Socialist Party. Their own testimony offers evidence. This is the way Cannon summarizes it in his book:

"Our entry into the Socialist Party had facilitated our trade union work. Our work in the maritime strike in California, for example, had been greatly aided by the fact that, at the time, we were members of the Socialist Party. Our comrades had better connections in the automobile workers' union where up to then, we had never more than an occasional con-

tact. The basis had been laid for a powerful fraction of Trotskyists in the automobile worker's union."

And now striking evidence that the Trotskyites had done a job of wrecking. Cannon proudly writes:

"... when the Socialist Party expelled us, and when we retaliated by forming an independant party of our own, the Socialist Party had dealt itself a death blow. Since then the S.P. has progressively disintegrated until it has virtually lost any semblance of influence in any part of the labor movement. *Our work in the Socialist Party contributed to that.* Comrade Trotsky remarked about that later, when we were talking with him about the total result of our entry into the Socialist Party and the pitiful state of the organization afterward. He said that alone would have justified the entry into the organization even if we hadn't gained a single new member."

The factionalism that the Trotskyites bring to every organization they crawl into infects their own organizations as well. In the inner sanctums of Trotskyism the very atmosphere is sordid. It reeks of intrigue and conspiracy. In the underworld of capitalism there is much mutual suspicion, veiled hatred and jarring personal ambition. Every now and then it brings about inner factionalism among the Trotskyites themselves, and another splinter group breaks off and forms its own organization. There is always room in the underworld of Big Business for more Trotskyite organizations. It helps them divide up the dirty work of crime and disruption. It helps to confuse the labor movement.

Before their entry into the Socialist Party a Trotskyite named Hugo Oehler split away from Cannon and Schachtman and set up his own shop. The handful of Oehlerites who still are in the game today call themselves the Revolutionary Workers League.

After they were kicked out of the Socialist Party the Trotskyites formed the Socialist Workers Party. It wasn't long before factional intrigue began to boil over in the Socialist Workers Party. A new split occurred in 1940. Lined up on one

side were Cannon and Goldman. Lined up on the other side were Shachtman and Prof. James Burnham.

What was the argument all about? Which side had the best "leftist" smokescreen under which they could hide their attacks on the Soviet Union and the labor movement. Cannon favored support to the Red Army in its war against Finland "as a means of weakening Moscow." Shachtman preferred to "weaken Moscow" by calling for direct attack on the Soviet Union.

After much name calling Shachtman and Burnham were expelled from the Socialist Workers Party. They immediately set up their own Trotskyite party and called it the Workers Party.

Soon afterwards Burnham split with the Workers Party and resigned. Burnham took another Trotskyite road. He became a free-lance Trotskyite. This is the Trotskyite path used by many of their writers and other intellectuals. The independent road is the path of such split-off Trotskyites as Max Eastman and Sidney Hook. These characters are free-lance Trotskyites and free-lance agents of the capitalist underworld.

With the publication of his new book, *The Struggle for the World*, Prof. James Burnham has become the favorite literary apologist for American Big Business. The book calls for an atomic war against the Soviet Union. *Life* magazine wasted no time in featuring the book, its author, and its dream of American world conquest.

By 1942 new splits took place in both the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party. The splinters got together in Akron, Ohio and formed another Trotskyite organization. This one was named the Independent Labor League. What was their argument? The other Trotskyite organizations were not active enough in sabotaging the war against fascism. Said the new splinter group: they wanted an organization "which would dare function despite the prejudice against Left Opposition in wartime. . . ."

The numerous Trotskyite splinter groups with their "Social-

ist" and "revolutionary" sounding names cause considerable confusion in sections of the labor and progressive movement.

Here is a list of these organizations:

1. SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. This is the Cannon faction.
2. WORKERS PARTY. This is the Shachtman faction.
3. INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE. Another Trotsky splinter.
4. REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE.

These groups publish various magazines with revolutionary sounding titles to deceive the unwary.

And of course the Big Business publications make constant use of Trotskyite writers for attacking the labor movement and the Soviet Union. Particularly notorious in this respect are the publications of Hearst, Henry Luce's *Life*, *Time* and *Fortune*, and such magazines as the *Readers Digest* and the *American Mercury*.

There are certain other organizations that are often lumped with the Trotskyite parties. Their identity and their relationships to the "official" Trotskyite parties should be cleared up.

1. SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY (sometimes on the ballot in New York State as the Industrial Government Party). They publish a weekly paper and several foreign language publications. The Socialist Labor Party was formed in America in 1877. This party made contributions to the early socialist movement in America. However the organization was sectarian. The Socialist Labor Party became isolated from the American workers and became a narrow sect without influence among the masses of the people. Isolated, hopeless and helpless, they became revolutionary phrase mongers, earnestly chanting "leftist" slogans to themselves. Today the S.L.P. is more a narrow sect than ever before. It is isolated from the main stream of American labor. Its policy of dual unionism, its day-dreaming "leftist"

slogans, and its attacks on the whole of the American trade union movement only serve disruptive ends.

2. **SOCIALIST PARTY.** Under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs the Socialist Party was organized in 1898. At its inception it was made up, in large part, of former members of the S.L.P. who opposed that party's narrow policies. The party grew rapidly and became an important force in America. But like the Socialist movements all over the world it split into a right wing and a left wing. The right wing became more and more opportunist. The left wing established the Communist Party of America. Under the leadership of Norman Thomas the right wing of the Socialist Party continued to degenerate. In 1936 they invited the Trotskyites into their party. By embracing Trotskyism they degenerated completely. Even though, today, they have expelled the known Trotskyites from the Socialist Party, their program and policy is hard to distinguish from the Trotskyite groups. It is no accident that they are so often confused with the Trotskyites.
3. **NEW COMMITTEE FOR PUBLICATIONS.** This is an organization made up of a handful of people who were recently expelled from the Communist Party. This new "left opposition" mirrors the frustrations of today's middle class elements who have become frightened and hysterical by the power of reaction. With a great show of revolutionary phrases they attack the Communist Party. Their radical rhetoric hardly serves to cover the nakedness of their opportunism. They condemn the Communist Party's struggle for peace because "war is inevitable under capitalism." Sectarian opponents of united front tactics, they would isolate the working class, splitting the trade unions into Right-wing and Left-wing. They are beginning a dangerous trip. The road they are beginning to travel has been explored before. On that road, as on all roads, one step leads to another.

6. "Stoolpigeon Work"

A couple of guys approached Tom Kelly. Kelly was picket captain for the Chevrolet local in Flint during the General Motors strike.

The strike was just starting and "these birds," as Kelly called them, offered to take charge of picketing at one of the factory gates.

"Okay," Kelly said. He needed all the forces he could get.

The strike went into full swing. Kelly was making the rounds of the picketing at the gates. He came to the gate where "these birds" were in charge.

"Well, I'll be damned!" Kelly watched them from the car.

Four of them were standing in front of the gate posing for a photographer with the Trotskyite sheet, the *Militant*, stuck in their hands.

Kelly got out of the car. He walked over to the nearest Trotskyite and knocked the *Militant* out of his hand. Kelly was sore.

"Listen, Bud," Kelly said, "if you want your picture taken with something in your hand, then pick up one of those picket signs with our demand for a 30 per cent wage increase on it. That's what the union people want to read, not your *Militant*."

Kelly noticed that there was hardly anybody around to do the picketing. He checked up on what was going on around the Trotskyite gate and found that they had sent the workers home.

Later on a top leader of the Chevrolet Local and picket captain Kelly were talking to newsman Billy Allan. Kelly blew his top about the Trotskyites.

"They are constantly telling the workers that the leadership of the union is selling them out. That, to my way of thinking and lots more of the leaders, amounts to splitting the unity of

the workers in the face of the company. That's disruption and stoolpigeon work, and we have told them so."

The big chief nodded and Kelly continued:

"Here is some more for you on them. They raise the question all the time whether the strike should have been called. Now, on this, we tell the workers that the strike is on and we have to win it. That's our answer to the Trotskyites."

"In conclusion," Kelly told the reporter, "and get this down. We passed a motion in our Local that their lousy sheet, the *Militant*, shall not be distributed. We classify them as disrupters who seek at this time to split the union by trying to turn the membership against the leadership in the face of the toughest situation this union ever faced."

The reporter turned to the Local leader. He nodded. "Tom speaks my sentiments about these birds, exactly."

WHO RUNS THE SHOW?

Said Shakespeare: "All the world's a stage." But what the public wants to know is: who is running the show? The people are getting more than a little fed up with wars, depressions and insecurity, and they want to know what is responsible.

Big Business is the producer of the show. Monopoly capitalism is responsible.

Backstage Big Business maintains the machinery to keep the outdated show running and capitalism alive. This is the underworld of crime and corruption, spies and disrupters, pen-pushers and stormtroopers, that make it possible for Big Business to run the show.

The Trotskyites are part of this underworld of Big Business.

Big Business needs many kinds of agents to confuse the people, destroy their unity and divert them from the path of real struggle—the path of revolutionary struggle. It takes more than publicity agents to do that. As capitalism cracks up they bring forward labor-fakers who claim to speak in the name of labor as they deliver the workers to the bosses. As the

workers advance Big Business pulls more agents out of its hat. Next come the "socialist" fakers. They actually make speeches about socialism as they tie themselves to the bosses' apron strings. These fake "socialists" do a job for Big Business by keeping the workers from joining the Communists and engaging in real struggle against Big Business. Finally when the workers are so radicalized that even the "socialist" fakers can't keep them tied to the apron strings of capitalism, the capitalist underworld has another agent—the Trotskyites and Trotskyism. These agents of the capitalist underworld come around as "Leftists," "true Leninists," "real revolutionaries," "super Communists." But the effect of their activities is the same: aid to Big Business by undermining the unions and other progressive organizations.

Big Business in America is attempting to follow the pattern of Hitler. That pattern is the pattern of war and fascism. That is the kind of show they are trying to run.

One of the biggest obstacles facing Big Business on the road to fascism and world domination is the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union. Like Hitler before them American Big Business wants to remove that obstacle. Big Business needs to undermine the prestige of the first socialist country, the first workers republic.

Leon Trotsky helped Hitler in his attempt.

Today the underworld of Trotskyism helps American Big Business as they try to accomplish what Hitler failed to do. The Trotskyites attack and distort and misrepresent Soviet policy in the hope of turning the American workers against it.

They gave Big Business the slogan of the threat of Soviet "expansionism." Under this slogan Big Business speaks openly of a war against the Soviet Union.

A policy of "expansionism" is a policy of conquest. It is the normal policy of Big Business. Big Business grabs foreign territories for markets, raw materials and profitable investment.

Such a policy cannot exist in a socialist country. The Soviet Union has abolished Big Business and the profit system. A

socialist economy does not need foreign markets and new peoples to exploit for profits.

The slogan of Soviet "expansionism" and Soviet "imperialism" is the work of the agents of Big Business within the labor movement. *Their purpose is to promote the policies of American expansionism and American imperialism among the people.*

Unless the policy of Big Business meets strong resistance from the American people the friendship, cooperation and unity of the Big Three nations who fought the war together will be completely shattered and destroyed. There can be no peace in the world unless friendship and cooperation is restored among the Big Three nations: America, England and the Soviet Union.

The Trotskyites attack friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union from the "left." They denounce unity of the Big Three as "power politics." Hearst, Vandenberg, Taft and Hoover also complain about the "power politics" of unity with the Soviet Union. The reason is simple. Friendship and unity with the Soviet Union stands in the way of American Big Business in its attempts to establish undisputed rule over the world.

Big Business can always count on the Trotskyites supporting their foreign policies. In order to make such policies acceptable to the workers the Trotskyites find a "leftist" way, a super-revolutionary way, of bringing them forward.

The same thing is true in the national scene. Here they are cursed with the rotten job of winning recruits from the ranks of labor for the underworld of capitalism. They carry out this job by means of radical phrases and slogans. But the "revolutionary" slogans of the Trotskyites are as phony as the famous nine dollar bill. Their slogans are counterfeit.

Big Business wants a divided labor movement.

The Trotskyites work overtime to divide the labor movement.

Being master factionalists they thrive on division. Whenever they can crawl into a union they begin building a "Left

Opposition" faction. Of course they don't call it that. They can figure out better names than that to hide behind. Counterfeiting is their specialty.

Every union has its share of petty opportunists, race-haters, pie-card artists and stoolpigeons to contend with. These are the elements the Trotskyites use to build up their faction. This is their mass base.

Big Business wants an isolated labor movement.

The Trotskyites work to isolate labor from its allies.

The labor movement needs allies in order to win its battles with Big Business. Big Business, drunk with its success in the recent elections, is moving speedily to secure its dictatorship. An isolated labor movement, and a divided one at that, is no match for the ruthless dictatorship of Big Business. Big Business counts on keeping the labor movement isolated from the other sections of the American people whose welfare and living standards are equally threatened by the fascist dictatorship of Big Business. These other sections of the American people include the veterans and the youth, the Negro people, small property owners and small business men, small farmers and sharecroppers. The fascist dictatorship of Big Business is aimed directly at these people along with the labor movement. All these people together make up the great mass of the American people. The struggle against an American form of fascism demands that labor win these natural allies to its side. In order to do this labor must fight not only to advance the immediate interests of labor, but it must fight for a people's program that will advance the interests of the majority of the American people. A united and democratic front is the only guarantee against a fascist victory for Big Business. The Trotskyites fight against policies that would win support for labor among its allies outside of the labor movement.

The labor movement, and large sections of the American people outside of the labor movement, are getting more and more fed up with the two major political parties. Every day it becomes clearer that the major political parties are the political instruments of Big Business. More and more people are seek-

ing new political expression. This new political expression must represent the interests of the labor movement *and all democratic and anti-fascist sections of the American people.* Some forces, like Wallace and Pepper, would try to win the Democratic Party away from reactionary control for such a program. A large section of the labor movement and the independant voters are beginning to think in terms of a third party. But whatever the form, Labor and its allies must build a *Popular Front* of the American people against the trusts and the monopolies of Big Business. *This must be the content.*

Big Business fears the Popular Front. Fascism is no match for a united and democratic front. Big Business wants to isolate the third party movement.

The Trotskyites strive to do exactly that. They raise the super-revolutionary slogan of a "workers' party," a "labor party." Such a party would consist of labor alone, isolated from its allies. The Trotskyites are not fighting for independent political action for the labor movement. They are fighting for the political isolation of the labor movement.

Big Business Red-baits.

Trotskyites do that job within the labor and progressive movements. The Trotskyites are the slickest Red-baiters in the business. They can Red-bait with one hand while piously deploring Red-baiting on the other. Such Social-Democrats as Dubinsky of the garment workers, Walter Reuther of the auto workers, and other counterfeit labor leaders, though they are no slouches themselves when it comes to Red-baiting, often get their pitch from the Trotskyites. They use Trotskyite help in fighting Communists and other progressive forces.

Whenever the Trotskyites find a home for themselves in some union, they begin grabbing certain key appointed positions. There are three spots they love to sit in:

Editor of the union paper;

Educational director;

Public relations director.

From these key spots they are able to sing their song of Red-baiting and disruption.

Big business fears unity of Negro and white.

The Trotskyites are particularly busy in the key Negro communities. In Harlem, Chicago South Side, Detroit and Cleveland they work against the interests of the Negro people. Here they try to cash in on the reputation that the Communists have earned in the fight for the rights of the Negro people. They often pose as Communists. Sometimes as a kind of special Communist. But their Communism is as fake as their interest in Negro-white unity.

At this moment in America the Negro people are targets for the terror launched by Big Business. In Columbia, Tennessee, in Georgia, in Mississippi, in Freeport, New York, and in numerous other places, a lynch war is conducted against the Negro people. The Trotskyites in their practical work divert attention from these events. Their recent activities in Chicago are typical. With all the real problems of discrimination that face the Negro people they went ahead and faked a phony discrimination beef and attempted to rally the Negro people of South Side Chicago around it. And this was at the time Negro people were being murdered in Columbia, Tennessee, and in Georgia. The Trotskyite issue concerned a Negro business man who had rented a store. When the lease came up the real estate firm refused to renew it. They had leased the store to someone else. At the moment when the Negro people faced organized terror, this was the incident the Trotskyites picked to raise hell about. They neglected to point out that the "someone else" the real estate firm leased the store to was another Negro business man. The real estate firm was Jewish and by constantly playing on the name of the firm the Trotskyites were able to stir up considerable anti-Semitism.

The Trotskyite pattern is always the same. They claim to be the "super" fighters for Negro-white unity. In practice they disrupt the organizations of the Negro people and provoke actions that play into the hands of the race-haters.

But their method of work among the Negro people is

different from their usual techniques of disruption. Generally they send a few hand-picked people into an organization to carry out Trotskyite activity in a more or less undercover fashion. In the Negro communities they work more openly and attempt to get a mass base among the people. They hold dances and other social functions and attempt to set up community clubs.

In a number of communities they have managed to worm their way into leading positions in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Two other organizational bases for Trotskyite operation among the Negro people are the Workers' Defense League, and C.O.R.E., the Committee on Racial Equality.

The Trotskyites are also developing new methods of work and organization within the trade unions. Their approach to the maritime trade unions is an example. For many years they have worked in the A. F. of L. maritime unions. Certain officials in these unions have made use of Trotskyites in their struggle against progressives and Communists. However in the N.M.U., the largest sea-going union, the Trotskyites had no foothold of any sort for many years.

The Trotskyites worked out a careful, long range plan, for disruption in the N.M.U. The plan seems to be modeled after the three level organization built by Leon Trotsky in his attack on the Soviet Union.

Back in 1944, before the war was over, the Trotskyites sent a considerably number of young men to "colonize" in the N.M.U. These were young men with a certain amount of "gift for gab." Some of them had college backgrounds and were fairly glib. Their job was to lay low, learn how to talk and act like sailors in preparation for the day when they would be ordered to crawl out of the woodwork. That was one level of organization.

The second level was made up of a handful of Trotskyites who were ordered into the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party.

The third level was made up of the contacts and working

arrangements the Trotskyites could make with a few officials in the union.

The different levels didn't necessarily carry out the same line. A program is not the concern of the Trotskyites. Their objective is wrecking. In any differences of opinion that arose among the seamen and in every case of factionalism in the union, the Trotskyites worked both sides. Trotskyites could be found in both sides of any dispute and in both factions. They would express the most extreme tendencies of either faction.

Today the three level organization of the Trotskyites in the maritime unions is crawling out of the woodwork and coming into the light.

In this three level mess of organization at this stage of the game it is difficult to separate Trotskyites from direct shipowner agents and government agents. It is hard to tell where one spy begins and the other spy ends. It is likely that when the full extent of this conspiracy is exposed, a fourth and higher level of organization will be revealed, the level that directs and ties together all operations.

When it became apparent that Joseph Curran, president of the N.M.U., was prepared to make a break with the progressive coalition that had led that forward-looking union for twelve years, the Trotskyites eagerly threw their monkey wrench efforts behind Curran. For years Curran had been identified with the progressive labor forces. During those years he was bitterly attacked from the outside by the shipowner press, and from the inside by the shipowner stooges, race-haters, and the Trotskyites on the waterfront. They called him "Red Joe Curranski" in those days. Today these same elements rally around their "Big Joe," and the shipowner press calls him "Honest Joe the Sailor." The *World-Telegram* officially welcomed him to the ranks of the Red-baiters in a famous editorial that will not soon be forgotten on the waterfront. "Welcome Joe!" cried that labor-hating sheet more than a little indiscreetly.

The Trotskyites are an active part of the famous "minority bloc" fronted by Joe Curran. This faction is not unlike the factions that the Trotskyites have participated in and used to undermine other unions. It is made up of the same elements. It includes pie-card seekers, A.C.T.U. people, and dissident characters with personal hatreds, plus something new that had been added: renegade Communists who are trying to make up a new "Left Opposition" under the name of the New Committee for Publications. The N.C.P. is discussed elsewhere in this pamphlet.

In April, 1947, the Trotskyites published a pamphlet aimed at the maritime workers. The pamphlet was called *Stalinists on the Waterfront* and was published under the name of the Socialist Workers Party. The S.W.P. is the Cannon faction of the Trotskyist movement. The "Cannonites" are the most active Trotskyites in the maritime industry. Full of such phrases as "finky Stalinists," and other strange examples of the rare jargon that serves the Trotskyites as a trademark, the pamphlet argues that the Communists have "betrayed" the maritime workers. The two principal "crimes" of the Communists are:

1. The Communists fought against fascism. They fought for an all-out war effort to defeat Hitler.

And so did all honest and militant seamen.

(The Trotskyites actively opposed the war against fascism and flatly admit it. No one will ever be able to accuse the Trotskyites of the "crime" of fighting against fascism.)

2. The Communists participated in building the Committee for Maritime Unity. The C.M.U. was the maritime worker's weapon that broke the shipowner deadlock in June, 1946. The C.M.U. forced Truman to back down after he had broken the railroad strike, and had threatened the seamen with the Army, the Navy, and the Marines. It marked the highest level of unity and the greatest gains the maritime workers had yet achieved.

(The pamphlet admits that "from the very beginning the

Trotskyites opposed the scheme." The Trotskyites helped to sabotage the Committee for Maritime Unity just as in earlier years they destroyed the unity of the maritime workers by undermining the Maritime Federation of the Pacific.)

A minor "crime" of the Communists is that they admit errors when they make them, and attempt to correct those errors. This is a "crime" that the Trotskyites are never guilty of.

Recently the Chamber of Commerce published a manual for business men advising them on how to fight progressive and militant workers in the trade unions. The Chamber of Commerce advises them to work with the Trotskyites, "the non-Stalinists." The shipowners took that advice a long time ago.

Big Business needs pen-pushers.

The school of Trotskyism produces them. Every year the school of Trotskyism produces its crop of bright intellectuals who will write anything for thirty pieces of silver. The Big Business publications like the *Readers Digest*, *Life* and *Time* make constant use of the Trotskyite "experts." The Trotskyites are the "specialists" on the Soviet Union, the labor movement, the Communist Party and any other organizations that stand opposed to the dictatorship of Big Business. To be an intellectual goon for the bosses is a pretty profitable racket. The market is terrific.

Publishing is big business. It is at the same time a propaganda agency for Big Business. The intellectual goon squads hold down key positions in the publishing houses. The Trotskyites often serve as editors and manuscript readers where they can knife anything progressive that comes along. In case something progressive does get published before they can murder it they are also well placed as book critics and reviewers. As book critics they go to work with blunt-edged, intellectual instruments and beat the hell out of anything that stands for progress.

But as clever as they are at dumping progressive books they do an even better job of building up a phony one. Give

them a good juicy anti-Soviet or anti-Communist book, ghost written by some old tired Trotskyite hack on his Connecticut farm, and they will really give it a send-off. First the rave notices on the front pages of the book review sections of the Sunday papers. Next a Book of the Month Club edition. Then the condensed version in the *Reader's Digest* plus a spread in *Life* magazine. Finally a radio dramatization. And while Hitler was alive, they could always count on a German translation.

The Trotskyites work hard to capture young intellectuals and hopeful writers for their intellectual goon squads. Posing as anti-capitalists they are cursed with the rotten job of winning stooges for the underworld of Big Business. Intellectuals, because of their "in between" social position, are particularly exposed to the disease and the dangers of Trotskyism. For a middle class intellectual who is dissatisfied with the existing state of things, but whose in-between class position leads him to fear Communism, Trotskyism offers a "glamorous" solution—a way out. It makes it possible for him to pose as a radical without taking part in real struggle. As a Trotskyite he can attack the Communists, attack the Soviet Union, attack the labor movement and at the same time use radical phrases and pose as a revolutionary.

Big Business has one set of words and the Trotskyites another. But the melody is the same.

But the appeal of Trotskyism is not limited to middle-class intellectuals. Their "revolutionary" phrases and their program around the immediate demands of the workers is capable of attracting militant workers who do not know the true nature of this poison. This is what makes the Trotskyites such valuable agents for the Big Business underworld. It is difficult to recognize the mailed fist of Big Business when it is hidden beneath the glove of militant-sounding phrases. It is a fact that many honest and militant workers in the unions have supported Trotskyite dominated factions or groups. Though these workers find themselves supporting a Trotskyite program it is a mistake to lump them with the Trotskyites.

Such loose slinging around of labels only serves to help disguise the real content of the Trotskyite movement. When Leon Trotsky made an outright deal with the German Nazis the act was concealed from the members of the Trotskyite-led faction in the Soviet Union and even from leading members of the Bloc of rights and Trotskyites. Pyatakov, Trotsky's chief lieutenant in Russia, speaking of the deal with Nazi Germany said that Trotsky had warned him:

"Program questions must not be put before the rank and file members of the Bloc in their full scope. It would only scare them."

Honest militant workers who are trapped into supporting a Trotskyite program are not aware of the real fascist content of Trotskyism. They are not made more aware by loose name-calling and careless labeling. It is in action, in actual practice, that the splitting tactics and the vicious disruption of these agents of the capitalist underworld can be exposed before the people.

By exposing the Trotskyite *deed* the smooth glove of glib "revolutionary" phrases can be torn off the iron fist of reaction which it conceals.

7. *"The Enemy Is Cunning"*

All during the trial the State Prosecutor, Vishinsky, had spoken in a low soft voice. In a calm, almost detached manner, he drew from the accused the full story of their crimes. For the spectators, sitting in the October Room of the Moscow House of Trade Unions where the trial was being held, it was almost like seeing a crime movie backwards.

Not until the last day did the tall and scholarly looking State Attorney raise his voice or change his manner in the slightest. On that day he summarized his case. On that day he tore the last mask from the Trotskyite clique. The accused were exposed before the world. There stood the murderers of Kirov and Maxim Gorky, the wreckers of Soviet industry, the fascist agents of the Big Business underworld.

"I now conclude, Comrade Judges." The prosecutor's voice was sharper now. "The last hour is approaching, the hour of reckoning for these people who have committed grave crimes against our great country."

The spectators looked at the accused. The Trotskyites had their eyes fixed on the floor or points on the ceiling and walls.

"A sad and shameful end awaits these people who were once in our ranks, although never distinguished for either staunchness or loyalty to the cause of socialism."

The courtroom was hushed and the loudspeaker that carried Vishinsky's voice almost seemed to be turned on too loud.

"The enemy is cunning. A cunning enemy must not be spared. The whole people rose to its feet as soon as these ghastly crimes became known. The whole people is quivering with indignation, and I, as the representative of the state prosecution, join my anger, the indignant voice of the state prosecutor, to the rumbling voices of millions."

Vishinsky's voice was loud, clear, and angry now.

"I want to conclude by reminding you, Comrade Judges, of those demands which the law makes in cases of the gravest crimes against the state. I take the liberty of reminding you that it is your duty, once you find these people guilty of crimes against the state, to apply to them in full measure those articles of the law which have been preferred against them by the prosecution."

A WORLD OUT OF JOINT

The capitalist world is out of joint. A world out of joint produces incredible people and incredible crimes. Hitler and Himmler and the crimes of Nazism are the products of such a world. So are race-haters and lynch mobs, and Rankin Un-American Committees. Big Business runs this world, but it already has one foot in the grave. Big Business with its trusts and monopolies and its ruthless exploitation of the people is dying. The atom bomb has become its symbol.

Incapable of satisfying the needs of the people, Big Business sinks more and more deeply into crime. In order to keep itself alive it arms a political underworld. Its tools and allies are all the rotten, degenerate elements who want to find a place for themselves in the Big Business dictatorship.

The capitalist underworld of crime, corruption and destruction is pitted against the world of socialism in the Soviet Union and the forces of the labor movement and democracy in every country.

In its search for new methods of fighting labor and the people Big Business sought out treason within the labor movement. They had long been accustomed to smuggling spies into the labor and socialist movements. The Trotskyites presented them with a better method. The Trotskyites presented them with a revolutionary sounding program and a political organization to penetrate and break up the working class movement.

Today America is the stage for what may well prove to be the final battle between the forces of fascism and the forces

of the people. The stage is set for a struggle of epic proportions. That the final outcome will bring victory for the people's forces there can be no doubt. How long, how hard and how difficult the struggle will be, and how much must be sacrificed, will depend on how well we in America have learned the lessons of Europe.

The forces of evil have already taken to the stage, ringing up the curtain on their version of the Reichstag fire. The drama is thinly disguised with hypocritical democratic slogans. But it is not difficult to recognize the plot. Did not German fascism, too, take over smaller nations in order to protect "western civilization" from the "communist menace"? And did not German fascism, also, select first the German Communists for its concentration camps as the first step on the road towards enslavement of the entire people? Recognize the plot? The provocative frenzy of the Big Business press drumming up a war against the Soviet Union? The police spies? The threatened book burnings? The idiot hatred of Negroes and Jews? The suppression of civil liberties that begins by driving the Communist Party underground?

Into this witch's Sabbath of a decayed capitalist world the Trotskyites come crawling for their final performance. Side by side with such pitiful renegades as Louis Budenz, who plays Judas while reverently fingering a rosary, stands the Trotskyite Ruth Fisher spilling out her guts in order to betray her Communist brother. And the setting is not Berlin, 1933, but Washington, D.C., in the year 1947.

The Trotskyites have presented the underworld of Big Business with well disguised agents.

They have "revolutionary" slogans.

They make "radical" speeches.

They attack from the "left."

But its all show.

And Big Business is running the show!

Our job, a job for all the people, is to spoil this rotten show by isolating its chief actors.

Key to Crime Map

----- Path traveled by Trotsky before the Russian Revolution.

--- Trotsky's travels after exile to Alma Ata.

A — (Berlin) Meets with German Intelligence; makes secret agreement in 1924.

B — (Japan) Agents contact Japanese Intelligence; serve as "brain trust of the secret service."

C — (Leningrad) Kirov murdered in 1934.

D — (Moscow) Gorky murdered in 1936.

E — (Spain) Serve as spies for fascists; sabotage operations of Loyalist Armies, 1936-38.

F — (Czechoslovakia) Collaborate with Nazi agent, Konrad Henlein.

G — (China) Agents work under direct supervision of Japanese Military Intelligence.

H — (Sweden) Financed by pro-Nazi magnate, Ivar Kreuger.

I — (England) Sabotage war production on eve of Second Front.

J — (New York)

K — (Detroit)

L — (Chicago)

M — (San Francisco)

N — (Minneapolis)

Activities concentrated in key industrial areas in United States.

