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**TROTSKYISM—
A WEAPON
OF ANTI-COMMUNISM**



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AN URGENT TASK OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE

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The current stage of world development is marked by an acute struggle in the international arena. As Comrade Leonid I. Brezhnev said in the Report to the 24th CPSU Congress: "It was precisely in the period under review that the attempts on various sides to attack Marxism-Leninism as the ideological-theoretical basis for the activity of the communist movement have been most acute." Our class enemy attaches no small importance to various opportunist trends and conceptions in the ideological struggle. In the last few years he has tried to use Trotskyism more actively as a weapon of anti-communism.

Advocates of capitalism have often made use of Trotskyite ideology and its political aims to frame their "arguments." Trotskyite concepts are eagerly borrowed by anti-communist propaganda writers. Trotskyism is the subject of large volumes of allegedly objective research by bourgeois professors. At the same time students of Sorbonne and some other universities in the capitalist countries carry placards with Trotskyite slogans.

Wherein lie the roots of these apparently contradictory phenomena? For Trotskyism, which

had been a dangerous and at times the chief enemy of the world communist movement at different stages, and of the CPSU, had suffered a total defeat. This was a tremendous achievement of Lenin, the CPSU, the fraternal communist parties and the Communist International. How, then, do the remnants of Trotskyism manage to stay afloat in the ideological and political struggle? In this situation, what are the practical tasks that confront the Communists?

It is important to consider these questions not because Trotskyism can grow into a political movement of any significance, but because anti-Communists in their insidious designs are trying to hamper the moulding of genuine revolutionary consciousness of the masses by spreading Trotskyite ideology among them and to lead their protest into the blind alley of pseudo-revolutionism. Moreover, elements of Trotskyism—especially those that are typical of it, as Lenin said, such as political unscrupulousness, “Left-wing” phrasemongering and eclecticism—are components of many varieties of present-day pseudo-Left anti-communist ideology.

Thus, struggle against latter-day Trotskyism is an essential condition for the winning over by the working class of those social groups that instinctively gravitate towards revolutionary struggle but having no clear idea about its ways and forms tend to fall prey to ultra-Left phrasemongering. Like other petty-bourgeois “Left” trends Trotskyism thrives among those who lack political experience and knowledge, especially young people. It is particularly important, therefore, to acquaint the young people with the historical experience of revolutionary struggle and to tear off

the mask of revolutionism worn by the Trotskyites which prevents some young people from seeing them in their true colours.

The struggle against Trotskyism may help improve existing methods and develop new ones for exposing other varieties of "Left-wing" extremism. Movements (whatever guise they may take) that seek to take up positions "Left" of the Communists will inevitably have much in common in their political line and approach and in their propaganda methods and techniques. Thus arguments developed in the struggle against the Trotskyite variety of "Left-wing" extremism may well be effectively used against similar trends.

It is also important to expose Trotskyism in order to foil the attempts of bourgeois propaganda to use Trotskyite arguments and slogans for attacking socialism as it exists today, the USSR and the other socialist countries, for slandering the strategy, tactics and all other activities of the communist movement and falsifying its history, and for discrediting the ideas of socialism. Trotskyism is the Trojan horse which the reactionaries are trying to lead into the camp of revolutionary fighters. To expose its essence would mean to deal an effective blow at ideological sabotage which is playing an increasing role in the plans of the imperialists.

Struggle against Trotskyism is also an important part of the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists, especially of members of communist and workers' parties who belong to the younger generation. In the last few decades the ranks of the international communist movement have been joined by millions of new fighters who do not always fully understand Trotskyism either as a

theory or in practice. At the same time, however, the communist movement has gained a wealth of experience in the struggle against Trotskyism, and on the basis of this experience Marxists-Leninists show to the new generations of revolutionary fighters the unsoundness and political harmfulness of Trotskyite ideas, and they instill in the young Communists a spirit of irreconcilability towards Left opportunist distortions of Marxism which only serve the ends of the imperialists; they help young Communists to see the reactionary essence of Trotskyite ideas camouflaged by ultra-revolutionary wording.

I.

"Reanimation" of long defeated opportunist, anti-Marxist conceptions is not a new phenomenon. These conceptions are revived not because they contain elements of truth. Their "vitality" is explained by the fact that capitalist relations have been preserved in a considerable part of the world, that these conceptions reflect the social outlook of non-proletarian sections of people, and that they bear the imprint of the vacillations characteristic of these sections, of their prejudices, psychology and mistaken views concerning their interests. Lenin wrote: "The wavering flows in two 'streams': petty-bourgeois reformism, i.e., servility to the bourgeoisie covered by a cloak of sentimental democratic and 'Social'-Democratic phrases and fatuous wishes; and petty-bourgeois revolutionism—menacing, blustering and boastful in words, but a mere bubble of disunity, disruption and brainlessness in deeds." (V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 21). That is why defeat-

ed theories may reappear in new ideological guise with a set of refurbished ideological and political slogans intended to appeal to a new generation of people.

Lenin's struggle against Trotskyism, and the struggle waged by the CPSU, the other Marxist-Leninist parties and the Communist International against that trend have proved that to rout Leftist dogmatism and ultra-revolutionary adventurist concepts in political practice it is above all necessary consistently to expose Right-wing opportunism and social reformism, to promote the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in keeping with the changing situation. It is possible to defeat opportunism only by waging a struggle on two fronts—both against the Right and "Left" deviations.

This struggle on two fronts is not a short-term campaign, but a constant necessity. Steadily upholding this principle the communist and workers' parties have been making every effort to create the necessary ideological and political conditions for intensifying revolutionary class battles against the chief enemy—imperialism.

Lenin pointed out that there is a deep-rooted connection between Right and "Left" opportunism. The Leftist deviation had repeatedly appeared in the working class movement as a reaction to the Right opportunist "sins" of the leaders of the II International. And conversely, Leftist plunges have always nourished Right opportunist views and social reformist sentiments, and repelled many people by their recklessness and adventurism. Thus each deviation gives rise to the other; they are two sides of the same coin.

Judging solely by their political slogans and phraseology one might think that "Left" and Right opportunism are the exact opposite of each other in terms of ideology and tactics. Right-wing opportunism appeals to those who cherish illusions about peaceful "transformation" of capitalism. "Left-wing" opportunism appeals to those who are against the capitalist system and are prepared to take action but fail to realise that they have common interests with the Communists, with the working class and world socialism. Behind this seeming opposition, however, these two trends have much in common. Thus, in a crisis situation in which the ideological positions of the two trends are fully revealed, both Right and "Left-wing" opportunists invariably direct their fire against the same opponent—the communist and workers' parties and the existing socialism. The pivot of the ideology and policy upheld by these two varieties of opportunism is anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and anti-party tendencies.

While it is possible to distinguish between Right and Leftist distortions in the field of ideology and theory in general, in the field of practical politics history has furnished many examples of how these two deviations are interwoven and even how the opportunists of both trends collaborated with one another. Each time when, as a result of the strengthening of the communist and workers' parties in different countries, as a result of their achieving stronger internationalist unity, the opportunist trends and groupings proved to be on the brink of total defeat, their leaders who seemed to uphold diametrically opposite "ideological" positions would form alliances,

throwing principles overboard, in an attempt to achieve one practical end—to fight the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Marxist-Leninist parties have been subjected to fierce attacks from the Right and "Left-wing" opportunists in recent years, that is, during the preparation and conduct of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 and after this Meeting. This is explained by the fact that the world communist movement has advanced to new frontiers in the world-wide revolutionary struggle, that its prestige is mounting and its influence on working people everywhere is increasing. In a number of countries the Communist Party is a major national political force. The communist movement has shown an increasing inclination towards international cohesion of its ranks. In the face of this development Right and "Left" opportunism frequently close ranks to fight the Communists and sing in unison in the anti-communist choir. Erroneous, contorted conceptions are evolved on the basis of anti-Sovietism and for the purpose of disuniting the revolutionary forces and belittling the revolutionary role of the international working class. Sometimes it is difficult to say which variety of opportunism—Right or "Left-wing" opportunism—is responsible for these confused and unprincipled platforms.

For instance, E. Fischer, the well-known propagator of Right-wing opportunism, like the Trotskyites, talks about the working class having lost its revolutionary spirit. He turns to the "new young forces" who, he says, should take over from the working class leadership of the revo-

lutionary movement. F. Marek, another Austrian revisionist, also woos rebellious youths by calling them the "barometer of revolution," a phrase borrowed from Trotsky. As F. Frnberg, a member of the Central Committee Politbureau of the Austrian Communist Party pointed out, this is an obvious case of relapse into Trotskyism.

R. Garaudy, the Right-wing revisionist, who has been expelled from the French Communist Party, tries to defend "Left-wing" adventurers and provocateurs. According to him, the party made a mistake when it criticised the methods and the senseless violence of the Leftist groups. He strongly opposes the policy of rallying the workers and other democrats, consistently pursued by the French Communist Party. Like the Trotskyites he attacks the Leninist principles of party organisation and upholds freedom of factional activity. In criticising Garaudy's positions Comrade G. Marchais said in the Report at the XIX Congress of the French Communist Party that to accept the line which Garaudy tried to force on the party would mean to "split the working class movement, to launch a bloody adventure and to undermine the prestige of Communists in France."

After his expulsion from the party Garaudy, as reported by the French press, has taken part in rallies and other activities organised by both Right and "Left" anti-communist organisations. There have been meetings called by the Trotskyites at which Garaudy shared the rostrum with Marek, Pelikan, an avowed anti-socialist ideologist who has fled from Czechoslovakia, and other Right-wing opportunists.

The views of the anti-party "Manifesto" group

expelled from the Italian Communist Party are also characterised by eclecticism; they are a confused mixture of Right-wing revisionist and Leftist views. Thus, on the one hand, its leaders supported the Right anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia, and demanded that the Communist Party be reorganised on social-democratic principles, while on the other hand, they tried to make the Italian working class adopt Leftist adventurist methods of action. Understandably, the "Manifesto" group finds a common language with the Trotskyites, and has contacts with the latter. It has invited Trotskyite leaders to work out a joint "strategic line" of struggle against the Italian Communist Party.

Some time ago the Communist Party of Venezuela waged a resolute struggle against the Right opportunist T. Petkoff and his supporters who tried to belittle the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary struggle, demanded "freedom" of factions and groups within the party, and advanced their renegade platform in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist programme of the Communist Party of Venezuela. Their renegade platform is a confused mixture of Right-wing opportunist and Leftist conceptions.

On the other hand, the latter-day ideologists of "Left-wing" extremism have included in their ideological propositions and political programmes theses which have long been advocated by social reformists and Right-wing opportunists.

Thus, at the present time, the struggle against Right-wing opportunism is inseparable, perhaps more so than ever before, from the struggle against Leftist adventurism. Consistent exposure of Trotskyism, of its latest ideological proposi-

tions, is an essential part of the struggle against Right-wing opportunism.

II.

What are the main causes for the mounting activity of Trotskyite groupings in certain countries and in the international arena?

First, it is the sharpening struggle between imperialism and socialism in the sphere of ideology, the use by anti-Communists of methods and means designed to weaken the anti-imperialist movement from within, to set one anti-imperialist detachment against another and disunite them ideologically and politically.

Secondly, it is the Chinese Communist Party's hoisting the false flag of "ultra-revolutionism" and adopting an anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist platform designed to split the communist and entire anti-imperialist movement; this position gives hope to all splitters, including the Trotskyites, and encourages them to step up their activities.

Thirdly, they are the growing pains of the world revolutionary process which has tremendously expanded in scope, of the drawing into the world-wide revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle of many millions of working people, large non-proletarian sections, peasants, intellectuals, youths and students.

As regards the first cause, it should be noted that in recent years imperialism has proved incapable of achieving its ends by direct frontal attacks against the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, and that this holds true in the

ideological sphere as well. The ruling circles in the imperialist countries have come to realise that outright anti-communism is less and less effective and social reformism misfires more and more often. The working people of the capitalist countries have learned from experience that social reformism has become part of bourgeois ideology and of state-monopoly manipulations concerning reforms, and that it has been drawing them away from the real fight against the omnipotence of the monopolies and for the satisfaction of their vital needs.

In these conditions the imperialists are actively seeking to make Leftist ideas and slogans serve their ends.

Of course, the advocates of imperialism have in the past, too, used anti-Soviet and Trotskyite anti-communist cliches and the slanderous Trotskyite theses about "reformist transformation" of the communist parties, about their "becoming bourgeois," etc. However, today there is a marked tendency among imperialist circles to take over the pseudo-revolutionary phraseology of the Trotskyites and use it as a means of struggle against communism.

Besides supplying the imperialist propaganda machine with "arguments," the Trotskyites have furnished "experts" as well. It is a fact that in the 1940's and 1950's such prominent Trotskyites as S. Hook, J. Cannon and I. Deutscher held leading positions in "Sovietology." And not only individuals, but whole Trotskyite organisations have served imperialist ends. By preaching ultra-Leftist ideology, they draw the working people away from participation in the real revolutionary movement and often push these working

people onto the path of futile, adventuristic acts.

The "ultra-revolutionism" of the Trotskyites does not frighten the imperialists. And this is understandable.

Indeed, how can the ruling circles of the imperialist countries possibly regard as dangerous to capitalism a "revolutionary" conception which is hostile toward the Soviet Union, toward real socialism in other countries, towards communist parties—i.e., toward the most powerful revolutionary forces of the present period? And this is not all. The Trotskyites, besides attacking the world system of socialism and the world communist movement, seek to belittle and even to deny the revolutionary potentialities of the international working class as a whole. They also deny that progressive socio-economic changes carried out in the young independent countries play any role in the world revolutionary process. These so-called revolutionaries deny, in effect, the role of the most powerful and best organised forces in world revolution, forces that are capable of waging this revolution and are actually waging it.

The imperialists know only too well that if Trotskyism were to grow it would constitute no danger to them, but would, on the contrary, harm the revolutionary movement. Trotskyism is actually an ally of the advocates of imperialism and not an opponent.

It is a fact that the monopolistic press readily gives publicity to Trotskyite slogans which combine pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering with the most vicious anti-Sovietism. Anti-communist propaganda willingly uses for its own ends various "resolutions" and "appeals" of the so-cal-

led "IV International." It is worth noting that the assemblies of this pseudo-"international," publicised as "world-wide congresses," actually represent groups of political career-seekers and demagogues. One of these "congresses" was forced to admit in 1963 that the "IV International has failed to establish any lasting influence on the masses in any country."

Bourgeois publishing firms have in the last few years put out an increasing number of books by Trotsky and about Trotsky. These books exaggerate Trotsky's role particularly during the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Civil War. One of the main goals of this publishing campaign is to belittle the historic role played by Lenin, Leninism, and the great revolutionary activity of the CPSU. It is not surprising that this campaign on behalf of Trotsky and Trotskyism became particularly noisy at the time when progressives everywhere were celebrating the Lenin centenary.

And now a few words about the second cause of the current revival of Trotskyite groups. This is connected with the emergence of Maoist opportunism in the international communist movement. The "IV International" leaders quickly sensed their spiritual kinship with the Maoists and noted this with glee. As early as September 1960 the "IV International" sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China a letter hailing the position of the CPC leaders and stating that it "sides with them."

In their letter to their supporters the leaders of the Trotskyite "international" noted that the positions of the Chinese leaders "are opening up prospects for work that Trotskyism has never

had before." This is obviously designed to drive home the idea that Trotskyite views would crop up sooner on soil ploughed by Maoism. It has been pointed out in one of the documents of the "IV International" that "only 'Left-wing' communist trends can become allies" of the Trotskyites, particularly the "pro-Chinese trends in the capitalist countries."

And now a word about those social preconditions that have made possible the current relapse into Trotskyism. The sharpening contradictions and class struggle in the capitalist countries are impelling ever broader sections both of the working class and of the non-proletarians of town and countryside to search for a revolutionary way out of the blind alley into which they have been driven by imperialism. The various non-proletarian, general democratic movements acquire the character of movements spearheaded against the very foundations of imperialism.

However, within the anti-imperialist movement there are quite a few social segments which by virtue of their intermediate position in society and their political immaturity are not only susceptible to Leftist sentiments but are "vulnerable" to them. Like the other Leftist trends Trotskyism seeks to entrench itself precisely in these segments, taking advantage of their ideological instability, vacillations, petty bourgeois impatience and prejudices.

This particularly applies to the petty bourgeoisie which is being oppressed and ruined by the imperialists. Its social outlook and background is such that it lacks firmness, organisation, discipline and staunchness, and often seeks for a way out in extreme, "desperate" revolutionism. The

false slogans of Trotskyism about immediate "world-wide" social revolution are a bait for these segments.

It is also a fact that various groups of radical intellectuals, young people and students are easy prey to "ultra-Leftism." These sections have an acute awareness of injustice and of the contradictions in contemporary capitalist society. They often act as an active anti-imperialist force. But they have so far failed to realise that it is possible to put an end to injustice and to uphold their ideals and interests only through joint action with the working class, that to fight such an experienced and ruthless enemy as imperialism cohesion and political organisation are essential as well as the leadership of the working class vanguard.

Working among students and other intellectual circles the Trotskyites exploit the mounting protest of these circles against the oppression by the monopolies, bureaucratisation of political and public life under contemporary capitalism, and against the spiritual poverty to which the peoples are doomed by imperialism. At the same time while pretending to be fighters against bureaucracy and totalitarianism the Trotskyite recruiting sergeants work on the prejudices of certain intellectual circles and students against the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. One of the resolutions of the "9th Congress" of the "IV International" held in April 1969 speaks of a "crisis of the working class movement" and the emergence of a "new revolutionary vanguard." In this connection the "congress" set forth the task of inculcating in youth and student organisations "methods, doctrines and positions of

the Trotskyite movement." It is not difficult to see what aims these tactics are designed to achieve.

Enjoying no real support among the working class the Trotskyite groups seek to establish their influence among young working people who have not gone through a genuinely proletarian school of struggle or among the declassed elements which are being economically ruined as a result of the scientific and technological revolution. The Trotskyites are trying to form youth groups that would work under the "IV International." Whereas five or seven years ago only one such group was known to exist in Britain, today similar groups are active in France, Belgium, the United States of America, Japan and several other countries.

In trying to win young people to their side, the Trotskyites plan to use them to penetrate the ranks of the working class. Thus, at a conference of the Trotskyite "Socialist Labour League" held in Britain in 1968 it was declared that young people after being indoctrinated should be sent to factories and plants to establish contacts with the workers. At the same time the Trotskyites try to penetrate mass organisations of the working people, in particular various youth leagues, groups of radical intellectuals, student bodies and trade unions.

One of the methods with the use of which Trotskyism tries to adapt itself to the current situation is the tactic of forming an ideological alliance with other Leftist groups, even rival ones. The Trotskyites have sought to use in their own interests anarchist elements and a portion of the "new Leftists," deriving political ad-

vantage from the latter's negativist, rebellious and anti-communist views.

During the mass demonstrations of working people against monopoly capital and reaction, in the days of general strikes of workers, office employees and intellectuals in the West European countries and other parts of the world, the Trotskyites committed a series of provocative acts that helped disrupt the course of the class struggle and enabled the reactionaries to set some sections of the population against the actions of the working class and its immediate allies. These activities of the Trotskyites have been particularly noticeable in France, Britain, FRG, Belgium, Japan, the United States and Bolivia, and have already done much harm.

In France the Trotskyite renegades were among the active instigators of extremist actions taken by Leftist sections of the youth and students in May-June 1968. Together with Maoist elements they tried to set the youth against the working class and to spread doubt among the working people as regards the correctness of the positions of the Communist Party. These actions were of an obviously provocative character. They were encouraged by the police and other repressive forces seeking to create a situation in which it would be possible to "bleed" the organisations of the working class and the democratic movement.

The Trotskyite "Communist League" organised in France in spring 1969 openly called for a "tireless struggle" against the French Communist Party and for refraining from voicing solidarity with the USSR and the other socialist countries. The Trotskyites boycotted the referendum held in

France in April 1969. At the presidential elections in June 1969 they nominated their own candidate for the presidency, A. Krivine, who, as the bourgeois paper *Combat* put it, sought above all to create trouble for the Communists.

In Italy the Trotskyites attempted to take over leading posts in the trade union branches in several factories and plants and to set up their own trade union sections in opposition to the national trade union bodies, and to besmirch the policy of the Italian Communists. During the "hot autumn" of 1969 in Italy the Trotskyites advanced a slogan for organising "militant groups" and "armed detachments" at factories with obviously provocative aims.

In the United States the Trotskyite groups—the so-called "Socialist Workers' Party" and "Union of Socialist Youth"—have launched vicious attacks against the tactical line pursued by the United States Communist Party and against the programme of anti-monopoly struggle advanced by the American Communists. It is worth noting that in election campaigns the Trotskyites invariably oppose all progressive candidates on "grounds" that these politicians "do not reject the entire capitalist system."

In his report at a meeting of the National Committee of the United States Communist Party in November 1970 Gus Hall said that the Trotskyites, playing their traditional role of splitters, were seeking to create confusion and disunity in the ranks of the fighters for peace; they were creating difficulties for this movement which was trying to accomplish reorganisation to meet the new conditions of struggle after Ni-

xon's proclamation of the demagogic "Vietnamisation" programme.

In Japan the Trotskyite groups, some of which are connected with the Maoists, are trying to work actively in the student and youth movement. Their mob actions designed to provoke trouble have more than once given the reactionaries the pretext to resort to bloody reprisals. That was the case during the mass demonstrations of the working people in Shinji-ko in October 1968, in Yokosuka in January 1969 and in several other places.

In Latin American countries the Trotskyites have also organised a series of extremist actions. In Argentina, Brazil, Panama and Chile they have repeatedly tried to split the revolutionary forces and to wrest the revolutionary liberation movement from the influence of the Communist party and its allies.

The provocative nature of Trotskyite activity is clearly seen in the case of Chile. Through their splitting policies these pseudo-revolutionaries had tried to prevent the Popular Unity bloc from coming to power. And now, having joined forces with other Leftist elements, they are trying to undermine confidence of the people in the government and are inciting extremist sorties against it.

All these facts prove that Lenin was right when he told the Trotskyites: "...in your objective role you are a tool of imperialist provocation. And your subjective 'mentality' is that of a frenzied petty bourgeois." (V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 330).

The sorties of the Trotskyites are particularly dangerous in periods when the political situation

undergoes sharp changes. The present situation in the capitalist countries is such that sharp changes are highly likely. Political crises in the capitalist world are assuming ever greater proportions and affect ever more deeply the foundations of the exploiter society. The Marxist-Leninist parties are preparing themselves to meet any exigencies in the class struggle. Consistent and steadfast exposure of Trotskyism is a vital condition for such preparedness.

III.

To fight latter-day Trotskyism effectively it is necessary to go back to its source, to study the historical experience of the ideological struggle against Trotskyism, and to familiarise oneself with the main political and theoretical arguments advanced by Lenin, the CPSU, the other fraternal communist parties and the Communist International in the course of this struggle. These arguments are still valid today. In an open ideological combat which had developed over a period of several years the class essence of Trotskyism was exposed and the system of Trotskyite dogmas was uprooted. A study of the experience of the historical struggle against Trotskyism gives one a deeper insight into its "interaction" with other pseudo-revolutionary conceptions, and enables one to see that efforts to modernise Trotskyism in keeping with the new conditions are futile.

Lenin and his followers have laid bare the petty-bourgeois essence of Trotskyism. The XIII Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) held in January 1924 noted that

"Trotskyism is not only an attempt to revise Bolshevism, not only direct abandonment of Leninism, but also a manifest petty-bourgeois deviation. There is no doubt whatever that this opposition objectively reflects the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie on the positions of the proletarian party and its policy." (*CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and CC Plenary Meetings*, 8th Russian Ed., Vol. 2, Moscow, Politizdat, 1970, p. 511). Another basic feature of Trotskyism was also revealed. It consisted in the stubborn attempt to camouflage the Right-wing opportunist essence of its concepts first (before the Great October Socialist Revolution) with centrist, and subsequently more and more with Leftist phraseology. In its ideological and political essence Trotskyism grew out of Right-wing opportunism and developed as a result of capitulation to outright anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and of union with international counter-revolution. On Trotsky's political balancing Lenin wrote: "...twists, swindles, poses as a Left, *helps* the Right, so long as he can..." (V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p. 288).

Trotsky made repeated unscrupulous attempts to unite all opposition and opportunist forces on a common anti-Party platform. He pursued this course of action in 1912 when he hammered together the notorious "August Bloc" which united the *Bundists*, *Liquidators*, *Otzovists** and all the

* *Bundists* (from the Bund—General Jewish Workers' Union in Russia and Poland) worked for national cultural autonomy, which meant dividing workers according to their various national cultures and undermining international class unity of the proletariat. *Liquidators* advocated liquidation of the illegal Party organisations, cessation of

other opponents of Bolshevism. Trotsky acted in similar fashion in the post-October period. In 1926-27 he organised an anti-party bloc from the remnants of all the opposition groupings that had been routed by the party. He tried to play the same role in the 1930's after his expulsion from the USSR. He entered into alliances with the rabid enemies of Soviet power, rallying all sorts of renegades of communism within the framework of the so-called "IV International." Today Trotskyite groups and organisations are pursuing the same line, trying to play the part of a chief rallying point for all anti-communist trends which mask their true aims with ultra-revolutionary phraseology.

Lenin pointed out that at the core of Trotsky's theories and political views was his "ridiculously Left" theory of "permanent revolution." This theory had the same connection with Marxism as a caricature with the original. It was spearheaded against the theory of proletarian dictatorship and against the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasantry. It was a clear expression of lack of confidence in the revolutionary potentialities of the peasants and in the ability of the Russian working class to win over the peasants to its side, as its allies, in revolutionary struggle. The Menshevik origins of Trotskyism were obvious.

By demagogically juggling with the word "re-

all illegal revolutionary activity in the hope of securing police permission for a legal party. *Otzovists* (from Russian "otzvat" meaning to recall) demanded that the party should renounce legal forms of struggle and recall Social Democrats from the Third Duma (Parliament)—*Ed.*

volution" the Trotskyites assert that in any country—whether in the East or West—revolution will either occur straightaway as a "genuinely proletarian" revolution or it will not occur at all. Subjectivism, which is inherent in all varieties of petty bourgeois ultra-revolutionism, is the pith of Trotskyism. In some conditions political voluntarism is the origin of tactics of reckless adventures, while in other conditions it serves as an argument for inaction, for waiting for the arrival of "'great days' along with an inability to muster the forces which create great events," as Lenin said. (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 349). Thus, in reality Trotsky's "permanent revolution" is either permanent gamble or permanent passivity.

Now if we approach the theory of "permanent revolution" from the standpoint of development of the world revolutionary process, we will see that it absolutises the dependence of the revolution on external factors, and makes revolutionaries think in terms of instigating the revolution in other countries from outside, instead of emphasising the role of internal motive forces of revolution. Trotsky tried to persuade the Soviet state to pursue an obviously adventurist foreign policy which would have imperilled the existence of the young Soviet Republic and the cause of world revolution as a whole.

The rejection of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems stemmed from the same theory.

As is known, the struggle against the Trotskyites in the 1920's centered on the question of whether it was possible to build socialism in one country. To find the correct answer to this ques-

tion was of cardinal historic importance not only for Soviet Russia, but also for the future of the entire world revolutionary movement. The Trotskyites and their allies denied that in conditions of temporary stabilisation of the world capitalist system it would be possible for socialism to triumph in the Soviet Union without direct state assistance from a victorious proletariat in the West. Proceeding from this they sought to force on the CPSU and the entire international communist movement a totally unsound alternative: either outright capitulation or reckless gamble.

The views of Trotsky and the other opposition groupings were resolutely rejected by the Soviet Communists who won the support of the entire world communist movement. It was pointed out at the 7th enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Communist International Executive Committee (November-December 1926) that "The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) is carrying through its policy of socialist construction quite correctly, in the firm conviction that the Soviet Union has within the country everything that is 'necessary and sufficient' for the construction of a fully socialist society." The Resolution of the Plenary Meeting noted that by its work in the past and present the AUCP(B) "has demonstrated its internationalism." The Resolution said that the "enlarged plenum regards the accusation of national narrowness against the AUCP(B) as a calumny." (*Communist International Documents 1919-1932*, M., Partizdat, 1933, p. 680).

Now that the great historical role played by the Soviet Union as the mainstay of and a powerful factor in the world revolutionary process has

been proved by the practical experience of more than half a century, the counter-revolutionary meaning of the Trotskyite theory of "permanent revolution" becomes particularly clear.

The adventuristic character of this theory can be clearly seen today in the Trotskyites' position on problems of war and peace. Outright denial of the possibility to avert a world war, attacks on the anti-war movement and slighting it as a pacifist movement allegedly in fear of imperialism—such is the "essence of the philosophical ideas" of Trotsky and his supporters. They completely ignore the fact that the existence of the Soviet Union has brought about a change in the entire world situation and has opened up possibilities for waging an effective struggle for peace. Owing to certain historical reasons it had been impossible to prevent the Second World War. However, contrary to Trotsky's predictions that war was not a clash between a solid bloc of imperialist states and the state of triumphant socialism. The fact that the war ended in the victory of the Soviet Union and that socialism has been transformed into a world system marks the triumph of the Leninist foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union.

Another aspect of the adventuristic and at the same time essentially desperate theory of "permanent revolution" consists in the fact that according to this theory the prospects of revolution depend entirely on war. Thus the circle is complete: the only way to ward off the threat of war is allegedly socialist revolution, whereas a world war provides the main chance of revolution. It follows from this that, in effect, it is necessary to "fight for war" instead of fight-

ing for peace. Lenin exposed the essence of this Trotskyite position on the occasion of the signing of the Brest Peace. He showed that Trotsky's position would lead to the capitulation of the revolution in the face of imperialism, and to the defeat of proletarian revolution and the socialist state.

A most dangerous feature of the fallacious theory of "permanent revolution" is disregard for the national factor, national specificities and interests. Hence, the absurd Trotskyite conclusion that it is impossible to solve any major social question within the national framework. It is obvious that in today's world in which the level of economic and political development of individual countries tends to become increasingly uneven the political concepts arising from such premises are fraught with the most dangerous consequences.

The methods proposed by Trotsky for the building of socialism are closely linked with the theory of "permanent revolution." Subjectivist rule, emphasis on administrative methods, on militarisation of labour, on coercion and intimidation, rejection of methods of persuasion and material incentive, "constant reshuffling of leading personnel" and "clamping down on the rest" as a means of guiding the working people's public organisations—these were the methods which Trotsky tried to force on our party. This shows the real worth of the attempts of the Trotskyites to pose as defenders of socialist democracy and fighters against bureaucracy.

A description of Trotskyite activity would not be complete without mention of Trotsky's constant attempts to replace Leninism with Trotsky-

ism. By camouflaging his views and making them appear Leninist, Trotsky sought to undermine both the ideological and organisational foundations of the party. Factionalism and anti-party actions are characteristic features of Trotskyism.

Thus, all the elements and the very spirit of Trotskyism are a direct opposite of Leninism:

Trotskyism was opposed to Lenin's theory of imperialism and socialist revolution, with its anti-historical conception of "permanent revolution" which would in effect deprive the international working class and its national detachments of revolutionary prospects;

Trotskyism was opposed to the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence and demanded "revolutionary war" and export of revolution even at the price of losing all that socialism had achieved;

Trotskyism was opposed to the Leninist principles of the development and work of a party of a new type, with its demand for "freedom of factions and groupings" which would lead to organisational dismemberment and ideological disunity among the party ranks;

Trotskyism was opposed to the Leninist programme of socialist construction calling for the all-round strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance, industrialisation of the country, collectivisation of farming, carrying out of the cultural revolution and drawing the mass of working people into the management of the affairs of society, with its proposal to reorganise all social relations on principles of military administration.

The struggle against Trotskyism was a struggle for the victory of Leninism in the world communist movement. Today, to defend Marxist-Le-

ninist teaching and to develop it creatively, it is necessary to oppose resolutely any attempts to revive Trotskyite views in an open or a camouflaged form.

IV.

As mentioned earlier, the latter-day Trotskyites have joyfully welcomed the splitting political and ideological activities of the Maoists. They hoped that the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Maoist groups formed in various countries of Europe, Latin America and Asia would help weaken the communist movement, destroy its unity and undermine its Leninist ideological foundations.

At the time when the Chinese leaders launched their attacks against the general line of the international communist movement, the Trotskyites enthusiastically approved the policy and tactics of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Posadas, a leader of the "IV International," described the line pursued by the Chinese Government as genuinely revolutionary and noted that Maoist documents reflect Trotskyite views. In his letter to the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party he wrote: "...You cannot say that all the ideas which you have advanced as revolutionary conclusions are the conclusions of your own theoretical and political works. They are the conclusions of the IV International."

Commenting on the *Proposal on the General Line of the International Communist Movement* in which the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party set forth its own position on the car-

dinal issues of the present period, the *Red Flag*, newspaper of the British Trotskyites, noted with satisfaction, in 1963, that the "general line" coincided with its own views, conclusions and analysis, adding that the Chinese called this line their "Twenty-Five Points" while the British Trotskyites called it Trotskyism.

Like the Trotskyites, the Maoists began by emphasising their special revolutionism, by asserting that a positive answer to the question "whether or not to execute the revolution" distinguished them from the other communist parties, that is, they began by claiming to be the only revolutionary political force in the world. They spearheaded their policy against the CPSU, the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries and the communist Parties that upheld Marxist-Leninist internationalist positions.

Like the Trotskyites, the Maoists in effect reject the existing socialist reality, maintaining that the socialist ideal may be achieved only as a result of the efforts of many generations of people. Such a formulation of the question has led the Maoists and the Trotskyites to deny the achievements of the socialist states and to make the absurd charge that these states have not built a socialist society at all or that the social system in these states has lost its socialist features.

Like the Trotskyites, the Chinese splitters oppose the working people of the socialist countries to the communist and workers' parties in power there, and sometimes openly call for the overthrow of their governments.

The Trotskyites and Maoists hold similar views on questions of war, peace and revolution. Using practically the same expressions and terms they

assert that while imperialism exists it is impossible to prevent a new world war. More than that, they even say that world war is desirable, for then mankind will build "a really wonderful future" on the ruins left by such a war. Joining them the Latin American Trotskyites propose that one should not fear the losses in human lives and the destruction inevitable in a nuclear war. Posadas, for example, said that communist society could be built within a short time even on ruins. The most reckless Trotskyite groupings have even issued calls for a preventive war. The *Red Flag* said that a preventive war would mean delivering a devastating blow at the enemy first and thus prevent the attack which was being prepared by the imperialists.

Trotsky once said that if revolution failed to prevent war, war would help revolution. A similar thesis was advanced at the 9th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in April 1969. It read: "Either war will spark off revolution, or revolution will prevent war." This distorted logic in effect rejects the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Rejection of this principle has been the basis for the Maoist slander of the foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union, and it was essentially of an inciting character.

As is known, the Chinese leaders have carried out another tactical manoeuvre and are now again talking about the "five principles of peaceful coexistence." However, adhering to non-class anti-Leninist positions, they pursue an unprincipled policy of making deals with the imperialists in order to secure their great-power aims. At the same time they continue to gamble with

"Left" talk and offer others "Leftist" adventurist recipes and slogans. Really, it is like Heine said referring to different types of Pharisees: "in secret they drank wine, and in public they preached water."

Of course, ideological kinship with the Trotskyites is also a source of uneasiness to the Maoist theorists. This fact alone shows that the Maoists' claims to originality in thinking are totally unfounded. However, it is not without reason that the Trotskyites have insisted on their ideological kinship with the Maoists though they look down on the latter. It is also worth noting that during the "cultural revolution" the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party camouflaged their cynical struggle to establish a military bureaucratic dictatorship in the country and to suppress internationalist-minded members in the Chinese Communist Party with Trotskyite ideas about the inevitable "bureaucratisation" of the government and party machines. These actions of the organisers of the "cultural revolution" evoked enthusiastic praise on the part of all Trotskyite and some other Leftist groupings.

The danger of the Maoist version of "Left-wing" opportunism consists above all in the fact that, unlike the Trotskyites who are totally divorced from the masses, the Chinese leaders are standing at the head of a huge state and can rely on its resources to pursue their political line. This political line, as is known, is imbued with anti-Leninism and anti-Sovietism, its purpose being to split the socialist system and to disunite the anti-imperialist and national-liberation movements.

In their sallies and in their fierce struggle

against the world's first socialist country, the USSR, founded by Lenin, the other socialist states, and the Communist and Workers' Parties, the Peking ideologists have gone even farther than Trotsky and his followers.

V.

Such is the striking "echoing" between Trotskyism and the views of Chinese ideologists and politicians. It clearly reveals the principal tendencies inherent in Trotskyism throughout its history. On the one hand, this is extreme dogmatism, insistent chanting of the very same general theses regardless of the actual state of affairs. On the other hand, this is crude eclecticism, an ability to change one's principles depending on changes in political conditions, and unscrupulous shifts in positions to win new supporters and followers.

While clinging to its anti-Soviet positions latter-day Trotskyism not only divorces the question of the ripening of actual revolutionary crises from the struggle between the two systems, but also casts aspersions on the policy of the socialist states, describing it as a "brake" on the development of world revolution.

At the same time, the latter-day Trotskyites are forced now and then to revise their ideology, discarding certain "fundamental" propositions of the Trotskyite credo. As a rule, these zigzags end in the replacement of one set of unsound schemes by another which is more advantageous from the standpoint of propaganda or is designed to secure a rapprochement with other pseudo-revolutionary trends.

An example of how such tactics are employed is the Trotskyite position mentioned earlier, on the motive forces of world revolution. A resolution of a "congress" held by the "IV International" in 1963 reads in part: "...As a result of successive defeats suffered by two big revolutionary waves in 1919-23 and in 1943-48—and of a weaker wave in 1934-37—the main centre of world revolution has been shifted to the colonial world for the time being." This Trotskyite formula is a direct denial of the revolutionary potentialities of the working class in the developed capitalist countries. Performing one of their usual "jumps" the Trotskyites asserted that it was not the working class but the colonial revolution which was now the vanguard and the main force behind world revolution. Thus, the Trotskyites switched from one "Left"-sectarian line—the proletariat without the peasants—to another, equally sectarian—peasants without the international working class.

But this was not yet the last word uttered by the Trotskyites. The aggravation of class struggle in the developed capitalist countries soon caused the "strategic pendulum" of the Trotskyites to swing in the opposite direction, and they again began to talk about the "urgent need to speed up the proletarian revolution" in Western Europe. Speakers addressing Trotskyite gatherings declared that the thesis about the shifting of the centre of the revolutionary movement to the colonial world was unsound.

The ideological crisis of Trotskyism and its inability to advance a consistent political platform are reflected in the organisational confusion in the ranks of the Trotskyites. The "IV In-

ternational" was a still-born undertaking. This organisation was torn by internal contradictions as early as the 1940's. They flared up between the main Trotskyite leaders, Pablo and Cannon, who then organised their own separate factions. In the 1950's the "IV International" split up into the "International Secretariat" with headquarters in Paris and the "International Committee" in London independent of one another. From the 1960's the Trotskyites have rallied mainly around four antagonistic centres: the "International Secretariat" headed by Frank and Germain (alias Mandel), the "Marxist Revolutionary Trend of the IV International" headed by Pablo, the Latin American "Secretariat" headed by Posadas, and the "International Committee" in London which unites mainly British, American and Canadian Trotskyite groups.

The disintegration of the Trotskyite "international" has also affected Trotskyite groups in some countries. These groups, too, split up into groupings which are either affiliated with one of the four trends mentioned above or are outside international Trotskyite associations. Though these groupings are torn by internal differences and strife they are united by one thing—they persist in carrying out counter-revolutionary activities.

At the "international meeting" of representatives of 19 Trotskyite groups from ten West European countries held in Brussels in late November 1970 the speakers again issued calls to strengthen the international Trotskyite organisation and to establish mass Trotskyite parties. According to the Western press, a plenary meeting of the "IV International" executive committee was re-

cently held. The meeting proposed to take advantage of the current rise of radical tendencies among the masses "to secure maximum centralisation" of the Trotskyite movement and to strengthen its organisational set-up.

Both in theory and in practice Trotskyism has always been the antipode of Marxism-Leninism and a fierce enemy of the international communist movement and the world socialist system. Whatever problems Communists may solve, whatever conclusions they may draw from an analysis of the changing situation, and whatever slogans they may advance for the working class and other working people in their struggle against capital, the latter-day Trotskyites, like their predecessors, see only one task before them—to fight the Communists.

Comrade Castro has given a clear and concise description of Trotskyism. In exposing the intrigues of agents of the Trotskyite "international" against the working people of Cuba, the revolutionary forces of the Latin American countries and of other regions of the world Comrade Castro said: "The 'IV International' has committed... a real crime against the revolutionary movement with the aim of isolating this movement from the people and from the masses, of discrediting it, and contaminating it with recklessness and with everything that is sordid and despicable in the sphere of politics—by Trotskyism... Trotskyism has become an ugly weapon of imperialism and reaction."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile has aptly characterised latter-day Trotskyism as a peculiar sort of "Left-wing anti-communism." The Statement on the convocation of

the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Chile reads in part: "Small groups which carry out this function were set up to oppose the revolution in the name of the revolution. This 'Left-wing anti-communism' complements what others are doing from Right positions... The enemy uses all propaganda means at his disposal to encourage the actions of the 'Left-wing anti-Communists.' He propagates with their help sectarian positions in the hope of establishing these positions in the movements of the people, for he knows that if the vanguard is isolated from the masses there can be no real revolutionary activity. The enemy would be prepared to pay any price to effect such isolation."

Trotskyism not only opposes the communist movement on specific questions of strategy and tactics, but is waging an irreconcilable struggle against it on all fronts. The fraternal parties are actively working to prepare the mass of working people for revolution. They are trying to enable the masses to learn from their own experience that improvement of their living standards, consistent democratisation of all aspects of social life, their participation in the management of production, free access to education and culture, and a sense of confidence in the future will be secured only in day-to-day struggle against the monopolies and, in the final count, in the struggle for socialism. The Trotskyites regard this multifaceted activity of the Communists as "social reformist" activity.

This is not the first time the communist movement has been subjected to such attacks. In the period of the People's Front in France Trotsky was among its most rabid opponents. He opposed

the idea of anti-fascist unity and advanced the dissentient slogan of organising a "workers' government." In the 1930's, the Trotskyites in Spain violently attacked the policy of the Communists who sought to build up a broad alliance of all those who were prepared to support the Republican government against the Spanish fascists, Hitler and Mussolini. Thus Trotsky and his followers rejected all realistic steps towards unity of broad democratic forces in the struggle against fascism. During the Second World War the Trotskyites tried to prevent cohesion of all the anti-fascist forces in the Resistance Movement.

The latter-day Trotskyites are pursuing the same line of creating disunity, and of subversion. They have bitterly attacked the policy of the fraternal parties who have sought to win over to the side of the working class broad non-proletarian sections of town and countryside, and to rally all Left-wing political parties and mass organisations of the working people which are capable of fighting against the power of the monopolists and of undertaking united action with the Communists in the anti-imperialist struggle. The Trotskyites say that an alliance of the anti-monopoly forces is a myth. The position of the French Trotskyite, Krivine, is an example of this. During the presidential election campaign in 1969 he said: "As for us we say clearly that we are against this alliance of Left forces, for this conception is meaningless today."

In his Report to the 19th Congress of the French Communist Party Comrade Georges Marchais pointed out that "the working people and other democrats could see for themselves the tremendous harm done by Left-wing opportunism

during the mighty people's movement in the spring of 1968. Leftist elements of all hues said that there was a power vacuum and that the immediate aim of the struggle was to overthrow capitalism. They sought to sidetrack the mass struggle of the working people and students from the correct path by resorting to provocations, and to force on them forms of action based on the theory of active minorities and on violence. By this the Trotskyites rendered an invaluable service to the reactionaries and the authorities. It is a well-known fact that the bourgeoisie widely publicises the theses of Leftist groups which direct their main blows against the organisations of the working class and against our Party. Anarchism, Trotskyism and Maoism are a godsend to the reactionaries who are trying to isolate and disunite the working class and the democratic movement."

That Trotskyites are least concerned with the promotion of revolution can best be seen from the fact that they fiercely attack those communist parties which, proceeding from the conditions existing in their respective countries, call on the masses to overthrow by force of arms the dictatorial, anti-democratic regimes and wage a selfless struggle in the ranks of the insurrectionist forces. In this case too the Trotskyites, while actually sabotaging the revolutionary struggle, manage to find ultra-revolutionary "arguments" to denigrate the activity of the communist parties. What they hate most of all is that the Communists associate the mounting armed struggle with the drawing of broad masses into it and try to combine armed action with possibilities for legal activities.

In their desire to bespatter the policy of the socialist community and of the communist and

workers' parties the Trotskyites even reject solidarity with and support of peoples that have become victims of aggression—a sacred cause for every revolutionary and democrat. The fraternal aid rendered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states to fighting Vietnam, the Arab peoples and all other peoples waging an armed struggle for liberation from colonialism is either hushed up by the Trotskyites or described as "unrevolutionary." The mass movements against imperialist aggression which have been organised by the Communists and which have already proved to be a potent force have been referred to by the Trotskyites as useless manifestations of "bourgeois pacifism." For instance, the British Trotskyites have said that all the campaigns for peace in Vietnam "act in support" of different versions of imperialist policy and frustrate the independent struggle of the working class.

The Trotskyites are trying to thwart the formation of an alliance of progressive revolutionary forces in the developing countries. They fiercely attack the policy pursued by the communist parties of cooperating with the national democratic parties and movements. They slander the progressive leaders of the newly-free countries.

Some of the Trotskyites cannot help seeing that life itself has smashed their doctrines which are divorced from reality, and that their blind hatred for the USSR and the socialist system has led them to a dead end. These are trying to patch up their bankrupt platform and to somehow adapt their ideological positions to reality. Sometimes Trotskyite circles may be heard calling for "self-criticism" and "revision" of the most odious Trotskyite slogans. However, it would be

naive to take these calls seriously. The Trotskyites are frankly pinning their hopes on the centrifugal forces operating in the international communist movement and looking forward to a future in which there will be a "new communist opposition"—their name for the Right and "Left-wing" renegades from some of the communist parties in the Western countries.

It is well known that the Trotskyites have long resorted to the perfidious tactics of secret penetration into communist organisations, youth organisations above all, with the object of disrupting them from within and recruiting supporters from among unstable elements. Unfortunately, they have succeeded sometimes in achieving certain results. Thus, the French Trotskyites penetrated the Communist Student Union and managed to form a faction of their own within its framework and to launch their splitting activities. Operating through the youth section of the Swiss Party of Labour the Trotskyites were able to recruit several dozens of people into their ranks.

At present some Trotskyites are preaching "reverse infiltration." They call on the revisionist elements in the communist parties to conceal their ideological positions and to remain in the party ranks as long as possible and act along lines favourable to the Trotskyites.

Thus, the struggle against Trotskyism is today a major task confronting the communist and workers' parties. The urgency of this task was pointed out by several speakers at the International Meeting in 1969, including T. Zhivkov, W. Rochet, and M. Drumaux. The leading bodies of many communist parties, including the French

Communist Party, the Communist Party of Japan, the Italian Communist Party, the Swiss Party of Labour, the British Communist Party and the communist parties of several Latin American countries have urged their members to step up this struggle.

Marxists-Leninists conduct this struggle on the basis of actual developments in the world, which show that a decisive role in the advancement of the world revolutionary process is played by the mighty social forces which are the very object of violent attack by the latter-day Trotskyites.

The Soviet Union, the primary and cardinal object of Trotskyite attacks, has built a developed socialist society and is now engaged in creating the material and technical basis of communist society. The economic, political and defensive might of the USSR is exerting a mounting influence on the entire international situation and opens up new opportunities for all revolutionary fighters. Accomplishment of the tasks set in the Ninth Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR will enhance the progressive role played by our country in contemporary world. Implementation of the foreign-policy programme advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress will strengthen the international positions of socialism and of all progressive forces in their fight against imperialism and help bring about a change in the international situation in favour of peace and the security of nations.

The socialist world which the Trotskyites do not "recognise" and which they fight against has been making steady progress, surmounting all difficulties that must inevitably arise in such a historically new and great undertaking as the

establishment and development of a world system of socialism. The socialist community today constitutes the main force opposing the capitalist world, and is a bulwark of the liberation movements. The countries of the socialist community are working hard to develop and consolidate all-round cooperation between them on the basis of the principles of equality, to further socialist economic integration, to accelerate the rates of scientific and technological progress, and to improve the material and cultural standards of the working people.

The working class movement is dealing ever more powerful blows at the system of state-monopoly capitalism. The class battles fought in recent years have not only confirmed the importance of the working class as the main and strongest opponent of monopoly domination, as the rallying point for all anti-monopoly democratic forces, but have also exposed the ignominious role played by the Trotskyite pseudo-revolutionaries, and revealed the baselessness of their adventurist conceptions and their political impotence. Marxist-Leninist parties are developing and strengthening their ties with the working class and other sections of working people, and are now in the process of forming a broad anti-monopoly union.

In the course of their joint struggle against imperialism, and for peace and the security of peoples, *all anti-imperialist* forces, including world socialism, international working-class and national liberation movements, are being consolidated. Contrary to the assertions of the Trotskyites and other splitters, unity of anti-imperialist forces has proved effective. The world-wide move-

ment of solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom and independence has helped defeat US imperialism in Indochina and frustrate the plans of the Israeli aggressors in the Middle East. The joint efforts of the socialist countries, the communist parties, the mass democratic movement and national democratic forces have opened up new possibilities for further relaxation of tensions and strengthening of world peace.

The international communist movement is in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism. Marxist-Leninist parties have upheld the unity of the international communist movement despite the subversive activities of all splitters, including the Trotskyites. Since the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1969 this unity has been expanded and strengthened on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

For nearly fifty years the Trotskyites have been attacking the socialist society in the USSR, a reality created in the course of struggle, and all forces working for the victory of socialism. During this period the Trotskyites have slandered the CPSU, the Soviet state and the world communist movement, and tried to deny their historic achievements. What have the Trotskyites contributed to the revolutionary movement and the cause of socialism? Today the total bankruptcy of Trotskyism, the disgraceful results of the efforts of both the "old" and "new" Trotskyites, are more obvious than ever. The history of Trotskyism is the history of ideological and political degeneration, the logical outcome of which is its union with the rabid anti-communism of the imperialists.

In the 1920's the CPSU headed the ideological and political struggle that led to the defeat of Trotskyism. Today it analyses the activity of the Trotskyites in the international arena and wages an active struggle against all varieties of Right and "Left-wing" opportunism, including Trotskyism which has tried "...to replace the scientifically substantiated Marxist line of the revolutionary movement by adventurism" (L. I. Brezhnev, *Lenin's Cause Lives On and Triumphs*, 1970, APN, p. 77).

At the International Meeting in 1969 and at the Congresses and Central Committee Plenary Meetings of several communist and workers' parties in recent years, a Marxist-Leninist analysis was made of the anti-revolutionary essence of "Left-wing" extremism, including Trotskyism as one of its varieties. A great contribution to the exposure of latter-day Trotskyism has been made by the communist parties of those countries where the Trotskyites have been particularly active.

The Central Committee Report to the 24th CPSU Congress notes the urgent need for fighting Right and "Left-wing" opportunism, including Trotskyism. In this fight our theorists and propaganda workers are confronted with these important tasks:

To lay bare the anti-Leninist essence of Trotskyism, its ideological and political kinship with open anti-communism, with Right and "Left-wing" opportunism, and to resolutely repel all Trotskyite attempts to distort Marxism-Leninism;

To show by citing concrete examples that the theory and practice of Trotskyism are against the fundamental interests both of the working class and other sections of working people;

To expose the fake revolutionism of Trotskyites, to show by citing facts the anti-revolutionary character of their activity, their lack of faith in the potentialities of the working class and in the possibility of building socialism in individual countries;

To show how Trotskyism replaces the struggle against imperialism with the struggle against the main revolutionary forces of today, above all against the socialist countries and the international communist movement, and how it tries to bring about a split among the revolutionary forces;

To point out the essence of the international policy pursued by the socialist countries, to expose the Trotskyites' falsifications as regards the essence of this policy and its class character, to show the artificial character of the opposition of the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems to the tasks of revolutionary struggle.

These are the main lines of the ideological and propaganda struggle against Trotskyism at the present time.

The struggle against Trotskyism calls for the preservation of the purity of Marxist-Leninist world outlook, creative development of the social sciences and of Marxist-Leninist theory, and persistent defence and implementation of the principles of the communist movement. Fidelity of the Communists to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and consistent implementation by the communist parties of jointly adopted decisions on international questions are a reliable guarantee of success in the struggle against the ideological opponents of communism.

The efforts of the communist and workers' parties to explore to the utmost the new possibilities of revolutionary struggle for socialism that have emerged at the current stage are a decisive condition for the routing of "Left-wing" opportunism in all its forms.

Kommunist, No. 18, 1971

Б. ПОНОМАРЕВ
ТРОЦКИЗМ — ОРУДИЕ АНТИКОММУНИЗМА
на английском языке
Цена 6 коп.