

# Solzhenitsyn Slanders the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

We have here the unenviable task of reviewing Alexander Solzhenitsyn's latest work, **The Gulag Archipelago**. We say unenviable because in the face of universal acclaim, our solitary sour note will seem discordant to say the least. But we will proceed because we agree with Solzhenitsyn and most of his endorsers that what is at the bottom of the whole argument is the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the concept on which our Party is based and perhaps Solzhenitsyn will help us to understand this concept better.

This book and the author are recommended to us by every variety of bourgeois trend (including some who pretend to be proletarian) in the world today. The **New York Times** tells us:

Mr. Solzhenitsyn's courageous challenge to the overwhelming power of the police state is a political act without real precedent in the fifty-six years since the Bolshevik Revolution.

Thus any "political acts" by Lenin, Stalin, and the millions of Bolshevik workers who established the first socialist state are shadowed by Solzhenitsyn's unprecedented political act. The **Toronto Star** echoed these sentiments: "It is difficult to think of any 20th Century work to match Alexander Solzhenitsyn's **The Gulag Archipelago** in power and importance." Not satisfied with elevating Solzhenitsyn to a pioneer "without real precedent... since the Bolshevik Revolution," the **Times** goes farther: "In literary history there seemed to be no precedent for so sweeping and grave an indictment." He had already won the Nobel Prize for literature for one year; clearly, the **Times** is ready to declare him the all-time Nobel Prize winner for the greatest all-time literary services to capitalism. What happened to Shakespeare!

The kudos are universal: To the **L.A. Times** the book is "explosive, unprecedented in Soviet history." Apparently the cautious Los Angeles editorial writers are not sure if it is unprecedented in all "literary history." The **San Francisco Chronicle** calls the book a "massive expose, blockbuster of a hard factual documentary." And so on, from papers in Boston, Seattle, Chicago,

Montreal, London, Paris, etc.

But clearly a book of such magnitude—the only point of dispute being whether it is the greatest since 1917 or of all time—could not have been written by an ordinary man. Thus the reviewers and editorial writers rush to pay homage to Solzhenitsyn, the symbol.

To the **Toronto Sun**, he is "a writer cast in the heroic mould." The **Christian Science Monitor** appropriately calls him the "prophet of Russia's moral regeneration"; **Newsweek** says, "The bedrock of his reputation is a passion for justice and an uncompromising moral integrity," and to the **New York Times** he is the most "formidable domestic antagonist of the Kremlin." Fulsome praise enough it would seem. Yet the **Washington Post** is ready to elevate Solzhenitsyn to the status of a great moral symbol: "The career of Alexander Solzhenitsyn has come to symbolize the resistance of uncompromising moral integrity to the forces of reaction." The unpretentious Solzhenitsyn apparently agrees with the latter assessment of his role; at one point, he modestly said of himself: "For a country to have a great writer is like having another government."

William F. Buckley, however, is ready to sweep aside those panegyrics to Solzhenitsyn that imply he is merely mortal:

Solzhenitsyn is only an individual, but there was never in human history a clearer identification of an individual and a class. Others pale alongside the authority of Solzhenitsyn as representative of the 200 million people of Russia who have suffered, and continue to suffer, at the hands of the creed-ridden tormentors of that wretched country.

As the eulogy continues, Buckley is beside himself as he explicitly compares Solzhenitsyn to Jesus Christ. For a devout Catholic like Buckley, this is indeed the supreme compliment.

The revisionist cheerleaders of the bourgeoisie are likewise enamored of Solzhenitsyn, although they haven't yet compared him to Jesus. The Trotskyites compare him (fittingly) to Trotsky, which is the same thing for them. They at long last seem vindicated; the **Militant** (sic!) declares

the book "a major political event" and "a moving and forceful personal statement by one of the greatest Soviet writers." The discerning reader may note that the **Militant** is somewhat less absolute about Solzhenitsyn's greatness than its above-mentioned bourgeois sister publications. The reason is that the **Militant** claims that Trotsky said it all before and therefore he deserves the all-time Nobel Prize. They have a point here. Revisionist critic Georg Lukacs calls Solzhenitsyn "exceptionally gifted" and the book a "landmark on the road to the future." He eloquently refers to Solzhenitsyn's "tremendous historical achievement of having proved himself a worthy successor to the important plebian tradition," and continues, saying his works are "undoubtedly the first and most important precursors of a new creative effort."

The Chinese revisionist bosses were at first circumspect, not praising Solzhenitsyn directly. But that they give their stamp of approval to him was clearly indicated when they issued a long statement on the horrors of Soviet prison camps within one week of the publication of Solzhenitsyn's magnum opus. However, when Solzhenitsyn was kicked out of Russia the revisionist renegade clique in Peking went bananas, joining the "Communist" parties of Italy, France, Spain, Switzerland, etc., in a torrent of tears for "the great man's fate."

Nikita Khrushchev would be most pleased by all the plaudits and acclamation, for after all it was he who commissioned this masterpiece, he who supplied all the materials for Solzhenitsyn's "research," and he who is the source of "what really went on in the Central Committee meetings" that Solzhenitsyn talks about.

While we are not going to sink down on our knees before Solzhenitsyn and his "massive expose," we will not quarrel with the right of the bourgeois publicists to idolize him; he has indeed rendered them sufficient services. We will quarrel with the capitalist reviewers on one point, however. The **New York Times**, **Seattle Post-Intelligencer**, the **Militant** and other capitalist papers have referred to Solzhenitsyn as a "communist." This he is not, never was, nor did he ever claim to be. As the phrase goes, he "is not now, nor ever has been a member of the Communist Party." At one time he thought he was a Marxist, but then at one time so did Benito Mussolini, Golda Meir, Ronald Reagan, Chiang Kai-Shek and Harold Wilson, and we should never confuse self-delusion with being a communist.

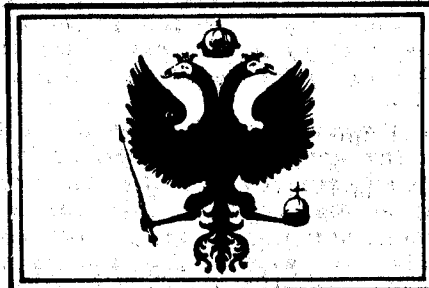
A rare comment, indeed, was made by the **Columbia Journalism Review**, when it warned liberals about praising Solzhenitsyn's ideology—which is somewhat to the right of Adolph Hitler's, who at least never suggested a reestablishment of the czarist state! (See box.)

#### WHAT SOLZHENITSYN PROMISES

Like Jesus, who he apparently so closely resembles, Solzhenitsyn relies on the sweeping generalization rather than the closely documented

Solzhenitsyn, unlike Sakharov, doesn't admire capitalism but Czarist feudalism instead, as this dispatch from the **Christian Science Monitor** indicates:

#### Solzhenitsyn endorses Slavophile philosophy



The Tsarist eagle

Moscow

The Tsarist eagle was double-headed because Russia, stretching across Europe and Asia, looked both ways.

Monitor correspondent Leo Grullov writes that ever since Peter I introduced Western ways early in the 18th century, Russian thinkers have divided between Westernizers, who looked to Europe, and Slavophiles, who sought an independent Russian way and idealized the country's rural life and autocratic rule.

This week exiled Soviet novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn ranged himself with the Slavophiles in a 15,000-word letter released by his Paris publisher after being sent to Kremlin leaders in September, 1973.

Abandon industrialism, including the "poisonous" automobile, and large cities, and go back to the simple life, he urged; divest Russia of the fringe territories, such as the Baltic and the Transcaucasus, inhabited by non-Russian nationalities, and build up Siberia as a Russian bulwark against China. He warned of a possible future military conflict with China springing from ideological differences, but said the Soviet Union had nothing to fear from the West and could reduce its arms expenditures.

But he proposed no democratic political structure. Except for freedom of speech, he would keep Russia's traditional autocratic rule if it were benevolent.

fact. Of course, no one could expect a great moral symbol to clutter his writings with mundane facts or even logic. Thus our great moral symbol states:

"The total of Stalin's victims dwarf that of Hitler's."

"The Soviet government exceeded Czarist rule by 10 to 1 or 100 to 1 (in arrests, executions, etc.)"

"Never in the history of any land has any people suffered at the hands of their government as under the Soviet system."

He tells us that in one year one quarter of Lenin-grad's population was arrested, that 12,000,000 were imprisoned, etc. "We dare to repeat those figures from rumors quite fresh at the time in 1939." (A lesser writer would have given us stale rumors.)

Even great moral symbols have a source for their sweeping generalizations. So while Jesus had God, Solzhenitsyn apparently had "rumors quite fresh at the time..." Does this man of "uncompromising moral integrity" have no other basis for his "so sweeping and grave an indictment" unprecedented "in literary history"? Is this behind the "blockbuster of a hard factual documentary"? Ah, but he has his own experiences and interviews with 225 other "victims of Stalin," to give him an unbiased view—and most importantly, the impartial Nikita Khrushchev.

For some reason the man with "a passion for justice and an uncompromising moral integrity" does not want to acknowledge his chief source. Perhaps he is not a "great writer" after all, just another propagandist for the Khrushchev clique in their dog fight with the Brezhnev clique. Perhaps he was commissioned by Khrushchev to prepare this tract for use by the Khrushchev clique against the "Stalinists," which is how Khrushchev always mislabeled his rivals. Could it be that when the tract was no longer usable due to Khrushchev's having been axed by the Brezhnev clique, our great moral symbol turned to the Western capitalists for aid to save his hide from the fate that befell the rest of the Khrushchev clique? Perhaps the **quid pro quo** was leaking this document to the U.S. imperialists? And perhaps that is why the bourgeois press is converting this run-of-the-mill scribbler for Khrushchev into an all-time great, and threatened dire consequences if the Brezhnev clique should have harmed a hair of his hallowed head?

When Solzhenitsyn says that Soviet rule under Stalin was worse than czarist rule that depends on your point of view. For bourgeois intellectuals like himself he is **quite right**. While czarist rule was not a bourgeois author's paradise, there was certainly sufficient freedom for authors who preached individualism, racism, free enterprise, pessimism, anti-communism, disdain for the working class and similar themes. Of course the dictatorship of the proletariat tried to suppress these themes and writers who persisted in the bourgeois line were indeed more comfortable under the czars.

**WHEN SOLZHENITSYN SAYS THAT THE total of Stalin's victims dwarfs that of Hitler, it**



*Workers! Take Aim!*

all depends who you consider victims. Since 200,000,000 died at the hand of the Nazis or as a result of their world war, and there wasn't that much total population in the USSR for Stalin to draw "victims" from, we know Solzhenitsyn is not speaking in terms of absolute figures. Since that is as close as our great moral symbol gets to being critical of Hitler, we don't know exactly who he considers to be the victims of Hitler. When the Nazis entered a Soviet town or captured Soviet troops, their stoolies, the Vlasov-men ("the finest Russians I ever met," according to Solzhenitsyn), fingered all the communists, commissars, officers and Jews, who then were promptly executed by the Nazis. According to Solzhenitsyn's mathematics, these are not "victims" of Hitler, but the Vlasov men who were caught and punished after the war are "victims of Stalin." So once again it all depends on your point of view. In order to make even his own figures jibe, only a small fraction of the 20,000,000 Russians, 6,000,000 Jews, 2,000,000 French, 2,000,000 Poles, 10,000,000 Germans, etc., who were killed at the hands of the Nazis managed to qualify as real "victims" for Solzhenitsyn. On the other hand, all of the monarchists, Okhrana agents, Mensheviks, "Socialist Revolutionaries," anarchists, businessmen, religious leaders, imperialist agents, Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Vlasov-men, Nazi collaborators, modern revisionists, etc., who for some reason Solzhenitsyn met in prison, qualify as "victims of Stalin." Hitler's victims have been counted, identified and documented countless times. Let us spend the rest of this essay in dealing with the famous "victims of Stalin."

## THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The dictatorship of the proletariat was indeed a nightmare for Solzhenitsyn and other capitalist agents. And Solzhenitsyn correctly blames Lenin for inspiring it:

The transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over the exploiters inevitably cherish hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration. After their first serious defeat the overthrown exploiters—who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it—throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the "paradise" of which they were deprived. (**Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky**)

This well known passage by Lenin is often quoted, but few really believe it. Everyone knows it is hard to make a revolution. But can Lenin be taken literally when he says that the bourgeoisie is a hundred times more energetic after the revolution than before and during? Most think Lenin is exaggerating here, or exercising poetic license. But the truth is, he means exactly what he says.

Stalin was one who took this thesis literally and he elaborated it further, pointing out that with each success of the socialist society the ruling working class faces even more furious attacks by the bourgeoisie. As socialism advances, the bourgeoisie loses the illusion that "the workers will never be able to run the country." They realize that only the most energetic and cunning measures can defeat the dictatorship of the proletariat. All factions of the bourgeoisie forget their quarrels and unite behind the one goal of turning the clock back to capitalism. Moreover, there are ever new adherents for the bourgeoisie as portions of the intelligentsia or disgruntled petty-bourgeois elements, pining for their lost privileges and individualism, join with the bourgeoisie. As socialism proves itself, the international imperialists, fearing the growth of an international base for world revolution, grow more frenzied in their attacks. Finally, as the revolutionary transformation deepens and touches new sections of society willy-nilly, new enemies of socialism are created even with socialism's success. In a nutshell, it gets harder, ever harder, not easier, to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat, at least for a long historical period.

Thus it was that the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat in its thirty-five years of existence faced five main waves of attacks by the bourgeoisie, each one harder to deal with than the previous one. Socialism made tremendous advances in that period, so the fury and the determination of the enemies of Soviet socialism progressively grew.

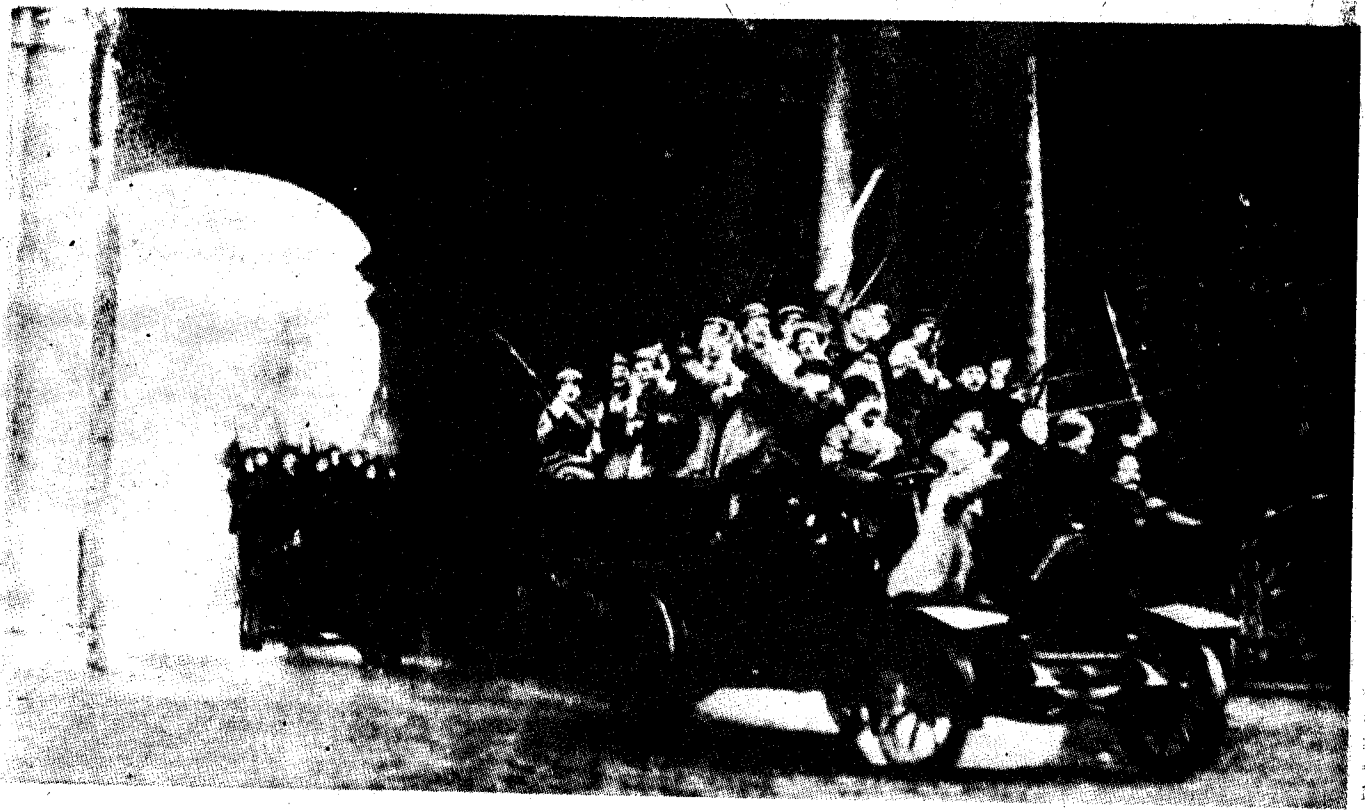
First came the attacks of the White Guards and the Monarchists.

## DEFEAT OF THE WHITE TERROR

In February, 1917, the industrial workers on strike in the Russian capital, Petrograd, were joined by hundreds of thousands of workers of all trades in a general strike. The Czar and his ministry called out the troops to suppress the growing demonstrations, but the soldiers joined the struggle and, with the support of similar manifestations in Moscow and other cities, swept aside the corrupt Russian monarchy. But the old oppressive bureaucracy remained intact, the capitalists retained their factories, the nobles their big estates, the czarist officers commanded the army. From February to October, the Bolshevik Party organized the workers and peasants in wave after wave of struggles against the old system. Workers fought the capitalists and many factories were taken over; peasants burned down the nobles' mansions and divided up the big estates; soldiers formed rank-and-file committees that took the army command from the officers. The Bolshevik Party organized this and directed the spearhead of the struggle against the government and its bureaucratic apparatus, whether it was headed by Prince Lvov or the fake socialist Kerensky.

Finally in October these struggles culminated in an armed insurrection organized by the Bolsheviks. The Petrograd capital fell in a few hours; Moscow after 20 days of street fighting. Other provincial cities followed suit. The armies at the front (Russia was at war at the time) declared for the new socialist government. The whole rotten capitalist system in Russia was swept aside, and for the first time in history the working class consciously made itself the ruling class of a vast nation. Tremendous energies were unleashed, great reforms were promulgated and in weeks Russia made advances it would have taken other systems years to accomplish. This was the dictatorship of the proletariat; the working class as the ruling class.

But the old ruling class was not reconciled to defeat. The nobility missed their mansions and their servants; the bureaucrats their unrestricted power over the people. The monarchists were not long in organizing a comeback. Some famous generals and admirals gathered around themselves a crew of former ministers and high-level bureaucrats, functionaries of the old czarist secret police, policemen, officers, inspectors, Cossacks (an elite military corps similar to the U.S. Marines), capitalists, nobles, princes. These White Armies were financed and "advised" by foreign imperialists. Eventually other imperialists sent in whole armies to fight side by side with the Whites against the Reds. Some 70,000 French, 100,000 Japanese, 250,000 Polish troops joined large regiments from Britain, Italy, Germany, U.S., Rumania, China, Finland, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Serbia and Turkey in an attempt to overthrow the workers' government. The revolution itself took only ten days in October of 1917. The civil war and imperialist invasion lasted three



*In 1917 the Bolsheviks mobilized hundreds of thousands of workers and soldiers (such as these pictured above) to overrun the bosses' system of Czarist Russia and establish the first workers' state. Solzhenitsyn, however favors "traditional autocratic rule"*

and one-half years, from 1918 to 1921. The hatred of the old ruling classes and the fear by the imperialist invader of the workers' state was so great that some of the most heinous crimes known in warfare were committed by the White terror. Wherever the White armies roamed, they brought a train of waste, ruin, massacres of men, women and children, desolation, etc.

**ONLY THE TREMENDOUS SUPPORT OF THE** workers and peasants of Russia who died by the hundreds of thousands to support their socialist regime, and only the resolute determination of the Bolsheviks led by Lenin and veteran professional revolutionaries like Stalin, Voroshilov, Kirov, Gusev, Frunze, Kalinin, Kubyshev, Dzerzhinsky, Orjonikidze, Sverdlov, Petrovsky, Molotov, Budyenny and others saved the dictatorship of the proletariat from defeat.

At one point in late 1919 the White Army of Judenitch was attacking Moscow from the northwest; the British were advancing from Normansk in the north; Admiral Kolchak's White Army, which with Japanese and American help had conquered Siberia, was attacking from the east; General Denikin from the southeast; the French from the southwest; the Germans from the west; etc. No bourgeois observer thought the workers' government could last the year. However, these forces were defeated and the dictatorship of the proletariat survived not by being nice to these enemies, but by acting like any revolutionary dic-

tatorship must—with ruthless energetic action. The counter-revolutionary leaders were shot; many of those who participated in the White terror were arrested.

To combat the White terror, which included sabotage, espionage, assassination of Bolshevik cadre and other subversive activities, the workers' government set up within a few months of the Revolution an Extraordinary Commission to suppress counter-revolutionaries known as the Cheka. Headed by the veteran Polish revolutionary Felix Dzerzhinsky, the Cheka was the opposite of a bourgeois secret police. A bourgeois secret police, like the FBI, Scotland Yard, the Sûreté or the Czarist Okhrana, has as its objective the destruction of communist organizations, the suppression of revolution, and the fastening of the chains of capitalist oppression on the working class. The Cheka had an opposite objective: the destruction of anti-communist organizations, the suppression of counter-revolution and the enforcement of workers' dictatorship over the capitalists. Naturally, to succeed, the workers demanded the Cheka be every bit as ruthless as the White terrorists; to be nice or democratic to these gentry would have been a sure loser.

Only a fool or a traitor believes in "turning the other cheek," observing democratic or judicial formalities in a time of civil war. The capitalists have given us many examples in their own struggles—Abraham Lincoln swept aside all

legalities in his struggle with the Southern slaveholders; the French Jacobins guillotined their opponents; workers on strike are beaten, jailed and shot; 1,000,000 workers were slaughtered in Indonesia in 1965. There is no end to examples. **Any party that frets about getting its hands bloody will bring only defeat and catastrophe on its head and the heads of those who support it.**

Of course the Cheka executed Admiral Kolchak and his staff. Naturally the Czar and his family were wiped out. Of course, thousands of capitalists, cossacks, politicians, police agents, White officers, nobles, etc. were rounded up. Were some of them put in concentration camps and kept there? Definitely! Could the dictatorship of the proletariat have done less and survived? We doubt it.

### **THE FAKE SOCIALISTS AS COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES**

We all have many experiences with the herd of fakes "on the left." All one needs is enough cash to start a newspaper and the gall to declare oneself the first communist, or the only authentic domestic follower of some dead phony like Trotsky, some living phony like Brezhnev, or sell-out like Mao. They had the same problem in Russia before, during and after the Revolution. There were a multitude of "socialist" and anarchist sects. The two most significant were the Mensheviks, a party which represented revisionist Marxism—class collaboration with a history of selling out to the bosses; the other was the Socialist Revolutionaries (SR) which represented a pre-Marxist populism which bordered on anarchism.

During the storms of the Revolution, the SR split into a right and a left. The right joined the Mensheviks in the last few bourgeois governments before the October insurrection. They employed every means to suppress the coming workers' revolution, but failed and were overthrown. The left SR vacillated for two weeks after the Revolution, then joined the Bolshevik government for a few months. When the going got hard, they quit and went over to the side of the Mensheviks and right SR.

At first, the overthrown capitalists placed all their marbles on the White generals and Cossacks. However, seeing that the workers and peasants favored socialism, they began to see that a "broader" counter-revolutionary front was needed. The Mensheviks and SR were brought step-by-step from "loyal opposition" to outright counter-revolutionary alliance with the Whites. Thus the inherent and implicit counter-revolutionary features of fake socialists became open and explicit.

In Samara in 1919, the right SR set up a counter-revolutionary government under the protection of Denikin.

In 1918-1919 the SR in conjunction with the British agent Sydney Reilly organized a plot to assassinate the leading Bolsheviks. Central Committee members Uritsky and Volodarsky were assassinated and Lenin was gravely wounded by the "left" SR. At the same time a revolt in Yaro-

slav was organized by the SR with the help of the British agent Lockhart.

Naturally, the dictatorship of the workers moved fast. A Red terror was organized against the SR, their newspapers suppressed and the fake socialists were rounded up and dealt with in the same fashion as the White generals.

**BUT ALL THIS WAS JUST THE BEGINNING OF** the capitalists' attack. With the final defeat of the White armies and armies of the fourteen attacking nations in 1921, the world bourgeoisie put all its hopes on the fake socialists to restore capitalism to Russia. The civil war had devastated the country and famine stalked the land. The SR and Mensheviks roamed the country calling for "Soviets without Communists." Communists were assassinated, local uprisings organized. The most serious took place on the eve of the 10th Party Congress in March 1921. Mensheviks, SRs and foreign agents organized a mutiny at the Kronstadt Naval Fortress and among the Baltic Sea fleet, a threat against Petrograd. Delegates to the 10th Congress headed by Voroshilov stormed the fortress with grave losses and suppressed the mutiny.

But the surreptitious class war organized by the fake socialists continued for the next ten years:

- In Poland an SR Army of 30,000 was organized which infiltrated to Russia to sabotage, assassinate and subvert. The arrest of the SR leader Savinkov in 1924 and the execution of his financier, the agent of Royal Dutch Shell, Sydney Reilly, in 1925 finally put an end to this front.

- The Mensheviks seized control of Georgia in 1920 and had to be driven out by the Red Army. Later in 1923-1924 pro-Menshevik nationalists took over again and had to be suppressed by the Cheka. (See Appendix 2)

- In 1928-1930 a secret Menshevik Central Committee organized to infiltrate the government and cause sabotage. They were tried and imprisoned in 1931.

So we can see that when the military civil war ended, the bourgeoisie threw its energy into a subversive civil war that was even more deadly. Whereas the Red Army was the spearhead in defeating the White generals, the Cheka was necessarily the spearhead in defeating the fake socialist underground bands. To better carry out its task in maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Cheka was reorganized as the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). After Dzerzhinsky's death, it was headed by the veteran Bolshevik Menzhinsky. In the end, it was the total support given to the Party by workers and poor peasants that created the conditions for victory. But the workers demanded tight organization and ruthless determination in suppressing the counter-revolution; the NKVD supplied this. To think that the counter-revolution could have been suppressed without the NKVD is like thinking the economy could have been reconstructed without the Supreme Economic Council. The counter-revolutionaries were well organized and had all the advantages of experience and technique; the

revolutionaries had to be every bit as organized.

In the end the Mensheviks and SRs were suppressed. Many of them found themselves in prison camps. It is not surprising that Solzhenitsyn found them there. These were some of his "Marxist" friends he writes about.

### THE TROTSKYITES AND THEIR ILK

The Mensheviks and SR by 1930 were political anachronisms. Life and events had passed them by ten or twelve years ago. Their base had disappeared and their credibility among the masses was zero. Thus their main conspiratorial organizations were isolated and the NKVD could finish them off. Increasingly in the late twenties imperialists turned to agents with a more "left" cover. They needed people who could appeal to left feelings of the people.

Thus when Trotsky began his splitting activities against the Party in 1924 (see PL Vol. 9, #1), the imperialists took notice and prepared to use him to restore capitalism in Russia. And so began a third wave of assaults on the workers' state.

The first Trotskyite to make contact with the imperialists was Krestinsky, who in 1923 was Soviet Ambassador to Germany. He made contact with General von Seeckt and for 250,000 gold marks, he passed on military information to the Reichswehr. Trotsky encouraged Krestinsky and told him that the "Opposition" needed foreign allies.\*\*

From then on contacts between the Trotskyites and foreign intelligence services increased:

- In 1924 Rakovsky, Soviet ambassador to England, was contacted by British intelligence. He reported to Trotsky, who said "relations with British intelligence should be established."

- In the winter of 1925-26 Trotsky went to Germany for his "health." There he and Krestinsky met personally with German military intelligence. (See Appendix)

- In 1931 Trotsky's son, Sedov, and Pyatakov, the head of the Soviet Trade Mission in Germany, a long-time Trotskyite, made arrangements through German Intelligence to cheat the Soviet government and funnel the money to Trotsky. Sedov also set up a certain engineer Shestov to spy for Germany.

Among the Trotskyites who had direct contact with imperialist intelligence were:

Rosenglotz, Commissar of Foreign Trade, worked for Germany 1923-1937, Britain 1926-1937.

Rataichak, official in the administration of the Chemical Industry, agent of German intelligence.

Hrache, official in the chemical industry, Czech and German agent.

Pushin, official in the chemical industry, German agent.

Livshit, official in the Siberian railroad, Japanese agent.

Sharangovich, Secretary of the Byelorussian

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\*\*All quotes and information in this section are from the confessions of the participants themselves at the Moscow trials in 1937-38.

Party organization, Polish agent.

Chernov, Commissar of Agriculture, German agent 1928-1937.

Imperialist money was used to hire small groups of professional gunmen, former czarist officers and other gangster elements. The Trotskyites Smirnov, Zinoviev and Kamenev directed this center. A second center headed by Pyatakov organized and directed economic and industrial sabotage by engineers, bureaucrats and other elements who hated the workers' state and couldn't stand the idea of common workers or peasants giving them orders. These two centers were coordinated in a general way by the two political leaders, Trotsky abroad and the right-wing Bukharin, who still maintained his seat on the Central Committee. The money, the return of capitalist privileges, the power and prestige of their imperialist backers abroad, hatred of the working class, racism, anti-Semitism, personal hatred and jealousy of Bolsheviks like Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, etc., were in varying degrees the motives of this motley crew of foreign agents, careerist officials, has-been politicians, bourgeois engineers, old czarist officers, ex-businessmen, etc., that the chief Trotskyites welded together in the Russia of 1930-1934.

**IT WAS AN EFFICIENT APPARATUS UNDER** the circumstances. It had friends and protectors in the Party, in the government, even in the NKVD, and it had money from abroad. The sabotage and terror had three main purposes:

- (1) to destroy key communists and to promote certain weak elements who were or could be bought off by the Trotskyites. Particular effort was made to promote a certain Yagoda to head the NKVD and Tukhachevsky as head of the Red Army.

- (2) to create a climate of fear and disorganization in the Party to enable a successful coup to take place. Particularly Stalin and Molotov were to be assassinated.

- (3) to enable Trotsky to go to his backers abroad and show that he represented a real force in the country and could then get more direct assistance, particularly from Nazi Germany. (See Appendix)

In 1934-35 the Trotskyite terror claimed some success:

- December 1934, the assassination of Kirov, veteran revolutionary, head of the Leningrad party organization.

- In 1934-1935, the murder by poison of Menzhinsky, head of the NKVD; Kubyshv, chairman of the Supreme Economic Council; and Maxim Gorky, noted writer and friend of Stalin.

- September 1934, the attempted assassination of Molotov.

- October 1935 the sabotage of a Red Army troop train—twenty nine soldiers were killed.

- In 1934, deliberate explosions in the vital Keremov works injuring several workers.

- Deliberate poisoning of horses killing 25,000 in Siberia and 30,000 in Byelorussia plus many other acts of economic sabotage.

- The murder of Menzhinsky paved the way

for the secret Trotskyite Yagoda to head the NKVD. He appointed a number of his agents, among them some Nazi agents, to important positions.

But without any popular base of support the Trotskyite conspiracy could not succeed. Even the cover and support of right-wing ex-party leaders like Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky was fast becoming useless as these three were exposed in the course of political debates as incorrigible revisionists. When, in the course of events, Nazi spies were uncovered with links to various Trotskyite agents, the conspiracy began to unravel. First Zinoviev and Kamenev were arrested; then Yagoda was removed from his post in the NKVD. When at the first Moscow trial Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky were implicated, they entrusted leadership of the gang to Krestinsky who tried to play the last card—a coup d'état led by Tukachevsky, a marshal in the army.

Tukachevsky was one of the old czarist officers recruited by Trotsky during the Civil War to help lead the Red Army. (Trotsky did not feel workers and peasants had enough "expertise.") Tukachevsky built up a small clique of Trotskyite and czarist officers who made a secret agreement with the German high command for mutual aid. The plot for the coup was discussed directly by Tukachevsky with German generals and Polish colonels, and through Krestinsky (himself a German agent) with Trotsky. The coup, to take place on May 15, 1937, involved seizing the Kremlin telephone exchange and killing Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov and other party leaders. But on May 11, the Soviet government uncovered the plot and arrested the leaders.

The conspiracy was smashed.

Tukachevsky and seven other generals were shot in June 1937.

Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov and thirteen other leaders of the terrorist group were shot in August 1936.

Pyatkov and twelve other leaders of the sabotage center were shot in January 1937.

Bukharin, Rykov, Yagoda, Krestinsky, Rosenglotz, Chernov and fifteen other political leaders who provided cover for the conspiracy were shot in March 1938.

Tomsky, General Gamarnik and a handful of others committed suicide.

Radek, Rakovsky and some others were imprisoned.

A general round-up of all Nazis, Trotskyites and other imperialist agents was conducted and these people were dealt with in each case according to their crimes.

Undoubtedly some of these gentlemen turned up in the "Gulag Archipelago" and some are the "heroes" of Solzhenitsyn's novels. The Trotskyites were finished inside the Soviet Union, although they continued full-force their wrecking pro-Nazi activities in other countries until Trotsky's extermination in 1940, and at a diminished capacity afterwards.

**THE SMASHING OF THE TROTSKYITE CONSPIRACY** vastly strengthened the dictatorship of

the proletariat in the Soviet Union. A weakness that was revealed, however, was that the party had not devoted enough effort to insure the political devotion of the leading cadre of the principal organs of the dictatorship. Thus it was too easy for careerists and agents like Tukachevsky and Yagoda to usurp leading positions in the army and the NKVD. This allowed the Trotskyites to pose far more of a danger than their political base among the workers should have allowed.

## THE NAZI INVASION

When it became clear other methods were not going to work, the international bourgeoisie armed the Nazi state of Germany to the hilt and encouraged it to attack the Soviet Union. Through the connivance of the ruling classes in Britain and France, the Nazis were provided with the manpower and industry of all of Eastern Europe for their venture. The Japanese and Italian ruling classes provided materiel and the Italians provided manpower for the invasion. In addition, the biggest sections of the ruling classes of Spain, France and Scandinavia provided direct materiel and manpower support to the Nazi invasion. It was in every way an invasion of the international bourgeoisie to destroy the only socialist state.

A library of books has been written on the Nazi-Soviet war. Of these books, the voluminous memoirs of the Nazi generals are the most distorted, and almost all bourgeois histories depend exclusively on these Nazi memoirs. The Soviet histories are more truthful, but these various histories are written from a point of view of the various cliques which jockeyed for power after Stalin's death. At any rate even the worst of these gives the reader some idea of the magnitude of the war and the tremendous self-sacrifice of the Soviet working class. (See Appendix IV for a few basic facts about the war.)

While Solzhenitsyn's figures about the numbers involved in the "purges" of the thirties are completely fanciful, it is probably true that during the war some millions passed through "Gulag Archipelago." We base this not on "rumors quite fresh at the time" but on facts and logical reasoning. This is obviously a large number of people, and the question arises about why they were imprisoned.

In the first place well over 1,000,000, maybe 2,000,000 Axis prisoners of war were taken and put in prison camps. Considering the horrible crimes of the Nazi invasion and the extreme hardship and deprivation of the Soviet working class, the Nazi prisoners were treated very well, far better than the Russian POWs were by the Nazis. Tens of thousands of Axis prisoners were won over politically and later formed an important part of the communist movement in Eastern Europe and Italy—some fought side by side with the Red Army in the later stages of the war.

A second big group were from the bourgeois superstructure in Bessarabia, Western Ukraine and the Baltic States. These former fascist states, or parts of fascist states, were incor-





*In the night of Nov. 7, 1917, the insurgent workers and peasants, led personally by Lenin, captured the Winter Palace and overthrew the reactionary bourgeois provisional government, bringing about the victory of the October Socialist revolution. No amount of lies and slanders by Solzhenitsyn can erase these gains.*

porated into the USSR in 1939-1940. The capitalists, the fascist bureaucrats, army and police officers were largely arrested and exiled to parts of the USSR remote from the front. This necessary precaution was entirely justified by subsequent events. For after the Nazi invasion it was manifest that the Soviet regime had erred on the side of liberalism on this score, since it transpired that most of those who had not been exiled collaborated with the Nazis and fingered hundreds of thousands of communists and trade unionists to be executed by the Nazis.

Within the Red Army and in other sections of Soviet society there were a number of weak elements who vacillated, deserted or collaborated with the Nazis. The shock of the 6,000,000 man armada that blitzkrieged into the Soviet Union from June to November 1941 was a severe test for all who were affected. The vast majority of communists and workers were strengthened by it, but a small minority weakened.

These collaborated in different ways. A few became stool pigeons, spies or propagandists for the Nazis, a greater number simply deserted their posts, leaving their former comrades in the lurch, and an even greater number just vacillated at crucial moments, causing great harm to the socialist cause. (Solzhenitsyn himself was in the latter category. As an army officer he sent around secret letters to other officers, criticising the leadership, with the result, if not the desire,

of in a small way disorganizing the Red Army offensive at a crucial moment.) These elements became in varying degrees enemies of the socialist cause and were dealt with variously. Some were shot, more were imprisoned and most simply were exiled to an area remote from the front where they could do little harm. (Solzhenitsyn was exiled to Central Asia where he worked in a research institute—not a very severe punishment.)

#### **FINALLY, WE GET TO THE VLASOV-MEN.**

(You'll remember that Solzhenitsyn called them, "The finest Russians I ever met.") Millions of prisoners were taken by the Nazis; most died in captivity, many under the severest pressure to collaborate. Stalin's own son was one of these. After the severest physical and mental torture (and after Stalin, quite rightly, refused a Nazi offer to exchange him for some Nazi generals), he faced the firing squad still denouncing the Nazi enemy. However, a few Soviet prisoners under the leadership of General Vlasov capitulated to the pressure and joined the Nazis. These men, numbering some tens of thousands, fought side-by-side with the Nazis, under the command of Himmler's hated SS. They also performed secret police functions and were responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of workers, communists and partisans. The Vlasov-men were dealt with severely—and justly—by the Soviet working class after the war.

Such were the inhabitants of Solzhenitsyn's

“Gulag Archipelago” in the period of the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat.

## THE MODERN REVISIONISTS

After the defeat of the open enemy, the Whites and the Nazis, and after the defeat of the enemy that pretended socialism but practiced collaboration with the bourgeoisie—the Mensheviks and Trotskyites—there came a most subtle threat: an enemy with no open ties to the international bourgeoisie, who proclaimed “undying” devotion to the leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These were the modern revisionists who gradually wormed their way into a position of leadership, often through useful work, but who weakened the dictatorship, eventually transforming it into its opposite with the help of a military coup after the death of Stalin in 1953.

How and why this could happen is a complex subject and we have only a few of the answers. (See “Road to Revolution III,” PL Vol. 8, #3; “Trotsky—Another Rightwinger,” PL Vol. 9, #1) On this line there are four main points to be made.

In the course of dealing with the Trotskyites and the Nazis, certain events occurred and policies were carried out that strengthened the revisionists and greatly facilitated their rise to power. Some of these were subjective mistakes made by the leadership of the world’s first proletarian state which was charting a new course in history. Others were objectively inevitable—potential weaknesses that are always present in a victory.

We will elaborate, but first we should point out that until the elimination on a global scale of capitalism as a system and as a source of ideology, the class struggle continues. Even as the capitalist enemy is defeated, it generates new forces, partly from the remnants of the old, partly from the new forces who ape the ways of the old, even if only to better defeat the old. With each new test, some become stronger, some are weakened. Each battle has its casualties. Some are revolutionaries who are destroyed physically; others, who though formally still revolutionaries, become weak, despondent, fearful and are destroyed mentally. Often the weaknesses are covered up and not readily apparent even to close comrades.

**IN THE SHORT HISTORY OF OUR OWN PARTY (PLP)** we have seen this process. We have seen a few members who at one period fearlessly fought the police and the class enemy, at a later period became overwhelmed by doubts and despondency and quit, though many are still friends of the Party.

This is an inevitable process in the revolutionization of a class and will continue to occur throughout the long epoch of building communism. As long as this objective process is fought and as long as the revolutionary leadership makes no serious subjective errors, the process can be kept in narrow bounds and the old tired ex-revolutionary cadre are more than replaced by new and better revolutionary cadre. This has been the case so far in our party, and it was the case in the Soviet party until serious subjective errors were made in the period 1935-45. What were these errors? There were four main cate-

gories: 1) Narrowing the scope of inner-party democracy; 2) Some revisionist and nationalist errors in combating the Nazi menace; 3) a “better-expert-than-Red” approach to cadre; 4) a bourgeois line on culture and science. For example:

1. In the big round-up of 1936-1938 of Trotskyites and other capitalist agents, some innocent people were inevitably caught in the net. This was unavoidable given the scope and nature of the Trotskyite conspiracy. However, in 1938 after the Trotskyites had already been smashed, the serious error was made of broadening the range of the roundup. The careerist Yezhov who replaced Yagoda in the NKVD arrested and hounded thousands of revolutionists loyal to the party and its Marxist-Leninist leadership. The unscrupulous Yezhov was out to make a name for himself; when he was found out he was shot and the party leadership tried to rectify the damage, but did not do enough on this score and was not self-critical and open about these errors. This had the serious effect of muting honest debate within the party, of preventing the clash of ideas which is essential to party life, and of discouraging constructive criticism and self-criticism without which the party cannot move forward. Worse yet, it created an atmosphere where grovelling sycophants like Khrushchev or Malenkov or “non-political” professionals like Zhukov or Vozneshensky were promoted, while critical thinking revolutionaries were passed up or demoted.

2. The leadership of the CPSU understood the extreme gravity of the Nazi menace as early as 1933 and the unprecedented danger this posed to the very existence of the Soviet system. The revolutionary leadership made the estimate (either rightly or wrongly) that the resources of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR and its close allies among the workers of the world were not sufficient, in and of themselves, to defeat Nazism, or at least to prevent catastrophic death and destruction in the Soviet Union. Thus the party as early as 1935 set out casting about for temporary bourgeois allies. Thus came about a remarkable and on the surface sometimes seemingly contradictory set of policies and pacts with the bourgeoisie around the world and even inside the Soviet Union. Among them were:

- The pact with bourgeois France and Czechoslovakia in 1935;
- The application to join the League of Nations;
- The “collective security” negotiations with Britain and France in the late thirties;
- The Soviet-German non-aggression treaty of 1939;
- The pact with Britain and the U.S. in 1941;
- The Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam agreements with the U.S. and British imperialists;
- The “united front” policies of alliance with various social-democratic labor fakers;
- The lifting of all restrictions on the bourgeois Russian Orthodox Church in 1942;
- The opening of the floodgates of Russian nationalism during the war;
- The dissolution of the Communist Interna-

tional in 1943;

• The various agreements with the bourgeois governments of Sweden, Finland, Turkey, Iran, China and other countries. . . .

Overwhelmingly the party relied on the Soviet working class and the workers of the world to produce the historic victory over the Nazis. Yet these pacts with the bourgeoisie were considered useful in a tactical or immediate sense.

The leadership was able to correct some of the more revisionist and nationalist distortions in due time. But the net effect of these policies was to vastly strengthen the hand of revisionists and nationalists in the second and lower levels of leadership in the party. By the end of the war, the revolutionary leadership found itself surrounded by nationalist, revisionist sycophants of the Khrushchev type. Worse yet the leadership, including Stalin, only dimly perceived the mortal danger this development posed to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. The dire threat that the Nazis posed caused at least a partial reversal of the general line of the party toward cadre. The communist position that politics must come first or "better red than expert" was relaxed especially in the Red Army. Professional military "geniuses" like Zhukov, Rokossovsky, Malinovsky and Konev, who were nationalists, not communists, gained great authority and prestige. These men and their ilk were not easily dislodged and, step-by-step, they converted the Red Army from an organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat into an organ for the restoration of capitalist rule. They had their counterparts on the economic front—so-called economic "wizards" like Kosygin and Vozneshen-sky gained power and authority and began to introduce a bourgeois style of economic work.

4. Some of the most serious and long term errors were made by the leadership on the cultural and scientific level. It was here that traditional Marxism-Leninism failed them. The concept of carrying out the class struggle against bourgeois science and culture was never fully grasped by Marx, Engels or Lenin.

Thus it was that in the Soviet Union no attempt was made to smash bourgeois culture. The works of Shakespeare, Goethe, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Picasso, Tchaikovsky, etc., were applauded and promoted. Putrid bourgeois institutions like the Bolshoi Ballet were not closed down but were glorified. Paintings, sculpture and architecture of the rotten czarist period were proudly displayed. Worse yet a bunch of artists who aped the methods of the bourgeois artists—people like Sholokhov, Shostakovich, Eisenstein, Prokofiev, Ehrenburg—gained enormous prestige and authority. And the few attempts to devise an entirely new form of proletarian art and literature died on the vine. This process was greatly accelerated during the war.

**THUS BY 1945, THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE** proletariat was in even more critical danger than when the Nazis were at the gates of Moscow in 1941. But unfortunately this extreme danger of a capitalist restoration was not perceived in all its gravity by the revolutionary leadership of the



*Here is Solzhenitsyn's military hero, the renegade General Vlasov, who joined the Nazis during WWII.*

Party represented by Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich and Beria. They did see some danger, however, and took some steps to fight the revisionists:

- they fought to reconstitute the international communist movement on a class-struggle line by fighting Browderism and Titoism and various bourgeois nationalists of the Nehru type;
- they fought the U.S. imperialists' plan to dominate the world;
- they smashed a series of Zionist plots in the Soviet Union;
- they removed Zhukov and other "little Napoleons" from positions of power and influence in the army;
- they struggled for the party to re-open the fight against nationalism, religion, Zionism and other forms of bourgeois ideology that had gained currency in the Soviet Union;
- Stalin wrote an extremely important anti-revisionist polemic in 1952, "On the Economic Problems of Building Socialism in the USSR."

These steps were too little and too late, but while Stalin lived, his enormous prestige and popularity kept the revisionists on the defensive. However, after his death they moved fast. First Beria and the leadership of the NKVD were murdered; then Zhukov was brought back to head the army. Zhukov and the army were used by Khrushchev in a series of military coups that removed the principal revolutionary leaders, notably Molotov, Voroshilov and Kaganovich. After that a wholesale series of purges were begun that removed two-thirds to three-quarters of the membership of the Central Committee and other principal leading bodies in a period of a few months. Finally, in 1956 a vicious campaign of

lies and slanders against Stalin was begun, with the direct assistance of the international bourgeoisie. This was done because at that point the memory of Stalin and all he stood for was all that separated the Khrushchev clique from completing the process of capitalist restoration. Toward this end, Khrushchev stooped to use a bunch of former Trotskyites and Nazi sympathizers, like Solzhenitsyn, to orchestrate a loud anti-Stalin chorus to the standing ovation of the U.S. imperialists, the British ruling clique, Nehru, Nasser, Sukarno, and all the bloody bourgeois beasts around the world.

### **SOLZHENITSYN AND SAKHAROV**

Now we can see more clearly where Solzhenitsyn and his partner, the physicist Sakharov, fit in historically. As the cultural advance guard of the modern revisionists who usurped the leadership of the Soviet Union after Stalin's death, they became increasingly expendable after the modern revisionists consolidated their counter-revolutionary rule. When their patron, Khrushchev, fell in a palace coup in 1964, they were isolated and turned to the Western bourgeoisie to provide them the protection that Khrushchev had previously afforded.

It's irrelevant to our central thesis, and we wouldn't mention this story, if such a thing had not been made of Solzhenitsyn's "great moral courage." Solzhenitsyn mentions in *Gulag Archipelago* that his secret letters to another army officer, an old schoolmate, during World War II is what led to his arrest. This man, Nikolai Vitkevich, was arrested three months after Solzhenitsyn. What got him arrested? At his hearing Vitkevich was told he had been denounced by none other than his old pal Solzhenitsyn. He didn't believe it then. But later when he was paroled in 1957, Vitkevich was shown the record of Solzhenitsyn's interrogation. There in Solzhenitsyn's "own unmistakable handwriting," he found that the great moral symbol had squealed on Vitkevich and others—including his own wife.

The reporter from the *Christian-Science Monitor*, who got this story, then asked Vitkevich, who served time with Solzhenitsyn, if there was indeed any truth to Solzhenitsyn's stories that there were "many millions in the labor camps"? Vitkevich answered, "That's just his weak point—those stories. He loved to gather stories. He wanted to stress his tragic biography. Such sources are somewhat imaginative." But this is just an aside.

It is not surprising to find Sakharov expressing his open admiration for western capitalism. As great "exposers" of Stalin they make the natural transition to apologists for U.S. imperialism. Thus about the vicious racism of the U.S. capitalists, Sakharov says:

I have no intentions of minimizing the aspect of poverty and lack of rights, but we must clearly understand that this problem is not primarily a class problem but a racial problem, involving the racism and egotism of white workers and that the ruling group in the United States is interested in solving this problem.

Then this George Wallace type goes on to urge us to let "the ruling group in the United States settle the Negro problem without aggravating the situation in the country."

As for the crimes of U.S. imperialism, he warns us not to combat the "so-called imperialist peril," but attributes U.S. corporate aggression to mere "egotism." He explicitly absolves U.S. imperialism of any direct responsibility for the Mid-East wars. As for the war in Vietnam, Solzhenitsyn chimes in to cover up the U.S. criminal role by calling for a mass movement to denounce the NLF's alleged "bestial mass killings in Hue." This is how the great moral freedom fighter views one of the great anti-imperialist struggles of the century.

It is no wonder that this pair have become the favorites of William F. Buckley, Jr. But actually, they are only following in the footsteps of their former boss, Khrushchev, who in his own time tried to sabotage the revolutionaries in Vietnam and in his own inimitable style liked to pay all manner of compliments to the U.S. imperialists. But the inter-imperialist rivalry between the U.S. and the USSR is now so sharp that these early prophets of modern revisionism are no longer useful to the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and have become an embarrassment. This explains partly their popularity in U.S. ruling circles, but that is not their main point. The main point is to build anti-communism.

### **ANTI-COMMUNISM**

On first glance, it might seem incredible that twenty years after his death there would be such an outpouring of boos attacking Stalin. Besides a number of "popular" or "scholarly" works on Stalin by various prostitute U.S. and British professors, we have Solzhenitsyn's "blockbuster" and now Khrushchev's memoirs. All these anti-Stalin diatribes are being ballyhooed by the media to the maximum.

What the bourgeoisie is about is building anti-communism. They want us to hate Stalin, to hate the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union under Stalin, and even to hate the very concept of workers' rule or communism. Thus they would attempt to divide workers from the vanguard communist party, the PLP.

We in PLP will fight this trend by not apologizing one bit for Stalin. We are proud to be his heirs and the heirs of the great revolutionary experience of the workers' dictatorship in the Soviet Union.

PLP will fight this anti-communism with unswerving vigilance. Not only do we not apologize for, but in fact we take inspiration from, the tremendous revolutionary advances made during 35 years of Soviet proletarian dictatorship led by Lenin, Stalin and other communist revolutionaries.

More significantly, PLP, in the tradition of Lenin and Stalin, will immerse itself in the class struggle of U.S. workers and attempt to become a Marxist-Leninist vanguard that will enable the working class to smash the U.S. rulers and establish workers' power—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## APPENDIX I

What happened to the White Armies in 1919 is of interest:

(1) Yudenitch: We have here four headlines from the N.Y. Times that tell it all:

Oct. 18, 1919: Anti-Red Forces Now in Petrograd

Oct. 20, 1919: Petrograd's Fall Again Reported

Oct. 21, 1919: Anti-Red Forces Near Petrograd News of Fall of City

Hourly Expected in London

Feb. 29, 1920: Yudenitch Quits Army

Starts for Paris

With his Fortune of

100,000,000 Marks

(2) British in Murmansk: In 1919 White forces in Murmansk numbered 18,400 British, 5100 Americans, 1800 French, 1200 Italians, 1000 Serbs, 20,000 White Russians. A proclamation from British General Headquarters declared:

"There seems to be among the troops a very indistinct idea of what we are fighting in Russia. This can be explained in a few words. We are up against Bolshevism, which means anarchy, pure and simple. Look at Russia at the present moment. The power is in the hands of a few men, mostly Jews..."

But this didn't clarify the matter, because in the summer of 1919 the British General Headquarters issued the following report:

"On 7th July a determined mutiny took place in the 3rd Company of the 1st Battalion, Slavo-British Legion and the Machine Gun Co. of the 4th Northern Rifle Regiment... On July 22 news was received that the Russian regiment (White) had mutinied in the Omega district and had handed over the whole Omega front to the Bolsheviks."

(3) Kolchak: Some headlines from the New York Times:

March 26, 1919: Kolchak Pursues Broken Red Army

April 20, 1919: Reds Collapse in the East

April 22, 1919: Red Rule Totters As Kolchak Wins

May 15, 1919: Kolchak Plans Move on Moscow

August 11, 1919: Disaster to The Kolchak Regime

The Siberian people had a song:

Uniforms are British  
Epaullettes from France  
Japan supplies the Tobacco  
Kolchak leads the Dance

Uniforms are tattered

Epaullettes are gone

So is the tobacco

Kolchak's day is done

(4) Denikin: In June 1919, Denikin occupied Tsaritsyn and was only 120 miles from Moscow. According to the New York Times, he was "sweeping all before him" and the Red Army was in a "wild panic." But by January 1920, the remnants of his army were streaming into a Black Sea port. On March 27, 1920, while a British warship poured shells inland, Denikin fled on a French warship, leaving the remains of his army to be arrested by the Soviets.

(5) French in Odessa: The French landed 70,000 troops in Odessa. The underground Bolshevik organization launched a French-language newspaper that won over most of the troops. When a small partisan band of 2,000 approached the city ten months later, the French command, fearing their own troops more than the Bolsheviks, hastily withdrew.

(6) Japanese in Siberia: In early 1921, the Japanese puppet Baron Ungern declared:

"Mongolia has become the natural starting point for a campaign against the Red Army in Soviet Siberia... Commisars, Communists and Jews, together with their families, must be exterminated... Truth and mercy are no longer admissible. Henceforth there can only be truth and merciless cruelty."

By August, after a series of defeats, his Mongolian bodyguard mutinied and handed him over to the Red Army. On October 19, 1922, the Red Army closed in on Vladivostok, the last Japanese stronghold, forcing the Japanese to evacuate.

## APPENDIX II

An incident in the suppression of the Georgian nationalists shows that there are no "infallible" leaders, not even Lenin. The nationalists not only opposed incorporation into the USSR, they suppressed non-Georgians. Armenians were expelled from Georgia, Georgian women who married non-Georgians were stripped of their citizenship, etc. The Politburo (leadership of the Central Committee) put Stalin in charge of reinstating the dictatorship of the proletariat in Georgia. He sent Ordjonikidze to Georgia to oversee Cheka efforts.

Now it happened that the leader of the Georgian nationalists, one Mdivani, was an old friend of Lenin's. He appealed to Lenin for help. Lenin was on his deathbed, but was moved by Mdivani, and on this impetus, he wrote his famous "testament" which called Stalin "too rude" and suggested his removal as general secretary, Ordjonikidze's expulsion from the party, and a reprimand for Dzerzhinsky. The Politburo, which knew that Lenin did not understand the situation, took no action and refused to accept Stalin's resignation.

Lenin was nothing if not dogged. He wrote three notes to the Politburo on the matter and then asked Trotsky and Kamenev, who he knew disliked Stalin, to bring the matter up at the forthcoming Congress. But Trotsky and Kamenev were too embarrassed to do so because they knew the facts of the Georgian situation. In fact, Trotsky loudly urged Stalin to remain at his post after the "testament" was circulated at the Congress. But years later in exile Trotsky had the gall to use this so-called "testament" to try to discredit Stalin.

### APPENDIX III

#### Confessions from the Moscow trials:

**Krestinsky:** "At that time we had already become accustomed to receiving sums regularly, in sound currency.... This money went for the Trotskyite work which was developing abroad in various countries, for publishing literature and so forth.... In 1928, when the struggle of the Trotskyites abroad against the Party leadership was at its height, both in Moscow and among the fraternal groups... Seeckt... advanced the proposal that the espionage information which was being transmitted to him not regularly but from time to time should now assume a more regular character, and, in addition, that the Trotskyite organization should pledge that in case it assumed power during a possible new world war, this Trotskyite government would take into consideration the just demands of the German bourgeoisie, that is to say mainly for concessions and for the conclusion of treaties of a different kind."

"After I consulted Trotsky... I answered General Seeckt in the affirmative and our information began to assume a more systematic character, no longer sporadic, as it had been before. Verbal promises were made with regard to a future post-war agreement."

"... We kept on receiving money. Beginning with 1923 until 1930 we received annually 250,000 German marks in gold... approximately 2,000,000 gold marks."

**Radek:** "Trotsky put the question in this way: the accession of Fascism to power in Germany had fundamentally changed the whole situation. It implied war in the near future, inevitable war, the more so that the situation was simultaneously becoming acute in the Far East. Trotsky had no doubt that this war would result in the defeat of the Soviet Union. This defeat, he wrote, will create favorable conditions for the accession to power of the bloc.... Trotsky stated that he had established contacts with a certain Far Eastern state and a certain Central European state, and that he had openly told semi-official circles of these states that the bloc stood for a bargain with them and was prepared to make considerable concessions both of an economic and a territorial character."

**Berman-Yurin:** "I had two meetings with him

(Trotsky). First of all he began to sound me on my work in the past. Then Trotsky passed to Soviet affairs. Trotsky said: 'The principal question is the question of Stalin. Stalin must be physically destroyed.' He said that other methods of struggle were now ineffective. He said that for this purpose people were needed who would dare anything, who would agree to sacrifice themselves for this, as he expressed it, historic task...."

**Bessonov:** "We shall consent to the cession of the Ukraine, Trotsky said. Bear that in mind in your work and in your negotiations with the Germans, and I shall also write about it to Pyatakov and Krestinsky. He then dealt with questions connected with the work of the Trotskyite organizations in the Soviet Union and particularly stressed the fact that under conditions when an inevitable war was brewing, the only possible way in which the Trotskyites could come to power was by the defeat of the Soviet Union in that war."

"He then dwelt on the methods of work of the Trotskyite organizations in the Soviet Union, particularly emphasizing the necessity of resorting to the most extreme terrorist methods of struggle. At this point he mentioned the words which are contained in the indictment and which were read out here today, namely, that it would be unpardonable squeamishness were we, his followers in the Soviet Union, not to proceed now to the direct extermination and removal of Stalin and all his immediate followers."

"Quite unexpectedly, he dwelt in this connection on Maxim Gorky, saying that the part played by Maxim Gorky was extremely exceptional in view of his influence, not only in the Soviet Union, but above all abroad. He referred to Gorky's extremely close friendship with Stalin and said that Maxim Gorky's utterances were most definitely driving away from Trotsky many of his followers among the European intelligentsia and bringing them closer to the position of the leadership of the Party. And in this connection he had arrived at the conclusion, which he openly expressed to me, that Gorky must be removed, mentioning those words which were quoted here about the necessity of physically exterminating Gorky at all costs. Such were his instructions."

There is more, much more, in the official transcripts of the three Moscow trials available at some libraries.

The net effect of the Moscow trials was summed up by the U.S. Ambassador to the USSR. Writing in 1941, Davies said:

"There was no so-called 'internal aggression' in Russia co-operating with the German High Command. Hitler's march into Prague in 1939 was accompanied by the active military support of Henlein's organizations in Czechoslovakia. The same thing was true of his invasion of Norway. There were no Sudeten Henleins, no Slo-

vakian Tisos, no Belgian De Grelles, no Norwegian Quislings in the Russian picture . . . .”

“The story had been told in the so-called treason or purge trials of 1937 and 1938 which I attended and listened to. In re-examining the record of these cases and also what I had written at the time . . . I found that practically every device of German Fifth Columnist activity, as we now know it, was disclosed and laid bare by the confessions and testimony elicited at these trials of self-confessed ‘Quislings’ in Russia . . . .”

“All of these trials, purges, and liquidations, which seemed so violent at the time and shocked the world, are now quite clearly a part of a vigorous and determined effort of the Stalin government to protect itself . . . . They went to work thoroughly to clean up and clean out all treasonable elements within the country. All doubts were resolved in favor of the government.”

“There were no Fifth Columnists in Russia in 1941—they had shot them. The purge had cleansed the country and rid it of treason.”

#### APPENDIX IV

##### A few bare facts about the Nazi-Soviet War:

##### Battle of Moscow (October 1941—April 1942):

Nazi Army Group Center pitted 1.1 million men, 1700 tanks and 19,000 guns against the three Soviet Fronts which had between them 800,000 men, 770 tanks and 9,150 guns. But the workers of the Moscow region made the difference. More than 100,000 workers, mainly women, built in the November cold (15°) 1428 artillery emplacements, 100 miles of anti-tank ditches, 75 miles of barbed-wire defenses (3 rows deep). In less than a week, in October, 12,000 Moscow workers were formed into units which went to the front, another 100,000 became paramilitary reservists and 17,000 were medics. The key industrial town of Tula on October 30 stood between Guderian's crack tank army and Moscow. Only 3000 exhausted troops with little or no equipment defended the area. The Party at Tula organized a defense committee which repaired the guns, sewed uniforms, and armed a workers' regiment of 600. Against incredible odds Tula held out and was never captured.

The Nazi offensive was ground to a halt by December 9; in the last 20 days alone they lost 155,000 dead, 800 tanks, 300 guns and 1500 planes destroyed. A Soviet counter-offensive lasted until April; the Nazis lost 500,000 men, 1300 tanks, 2500 guns, 15,000 trucks and more in the period between December and April. All told in the period November 1 to April 1 the Nazis lost 900,000 men, 2300 tanks, 74,000 motor vehicles.

##### Battle of Stalingrad (August 1942—February 1943):

The Battle of Stalingrad was the turning point of the war. The Nazis and their fascist allies from Italy, Rumania and Hungary lost one and one-half million men, 3500 tanks, 12,000 guns, 3000 planes. This compares with the loss of 40,000 at the concurrent Battle at El Aleman which bourgeois historians like to depict as the turning point. Only twelve divisions were involved in El Aleman; some 217 divisions were arrayed at the Russian front.

At the beginning of the battle the opposing forces compared as follows:

Men	—6,198,000 Nazi	5,534,000 Soviet
Tanks	— 3,230 Nazi	4,959 Soviet
Guns	— 56,940 Nazi	40,798 Soviet
Planes	— 3,395 Nazi	2,840 Soviet

In the Stalingrad battle itself the Nazis maintained a bigger advantage: 1.3:1 in manpower; 1:1 in guns, 2:1 in tanks, 3.6:1 in planes. What defeated the Nazis was the tremendous spirit and self-sacrifice of the Red Army; the thousands of workers—men and women who fought side-by-side in the street fighting; the guerrilla bands in the rear that made a mess of Nazi supply operations; and the bold strategic plan for a counter-offensive devised by Stalin. When Field Marshall Paulus and his 300,000-man army were encircled and destroyed (eventually 91,000 were taken prisoner including Paulus), the whole world knew the tide had been turned.

##### Battle of Kursk (July—August 1943):

The Battle of Kursk vies with Stalingrad as the bloodiest in the war. Two million men and 6000 tanks were involved. Some 200 German divisions and 32 other Fascist divisions were in Russia at the time. (At the same time the British/U.S. invasion of Italy faced only seven German divisions.)

But by now Soviet strength equaled the Nazis and, moreover more than 200,000 guerrillas operated behind the lines. These were directed by the Central Headquarters of the Guerrilla Movement and by underground committees in cities, districts and provinces. In the Kursk battle, they proved decisive with their famous rail road war that prevented supplies from reaching the Nazi front. Also by 1943 2.7 million soldiers had joined the Party, which helped strengthen the political conviction in the Army. The working class of the USSR had by that time driven production up so that more war material was reaching the Soviet side than the Nazi. The general political and day-to-day military leadership of Stalin in this period was also an important ingredient in the victory. These growing strengths of the Soviets, coupled with the deteriorating political situations in the Nazi camp, made the Nazi offensive in the Battle of Kursk nothing but a desperate gamble. Over one-half million Nazi troops were wiped out in the battle. From July to October a million Nazi troops were wiped out.

### **Battle of Belorussia (June-August 1944):**

From the Battles of Kursk to Belorussia were a year of military victories unmatched in the annals of war: Taman Peninsula, Leningrad, Crimea, Cherkasy, Kiev, Lvov and a number of other Soviet victories. Each alone involved a more significant defeat for the Nazis than did any battle on the Western Front. The complete destruction of the Army Group Center in Belorussia in June, 1944, is the most important victory of that year. Another one-half million Nazi forces were wiped out in this battle. Once again the partisans played their significant role, blowing up 147 Nazi trains in a three-day period. The Soviet offensive after the victory in Belorussia didn't stop until it reached Warsaw in Poland some hundreds of miles away.

While this was happening, another Soviet Front entered fascist Rumania. In a lightening nine-day

campaign, they wiped out 300,000 German troops, forced the capitulation of the Nazi governments in Rumania and adjoining Bulgaria. Even after the Soviets wiped out the Army Group Center and the Rumanian Front, there were some 150 German divisions left in Russia compared with only 70 in Italy, France, Germany and the Low Countries. (This was after the Normandy invasion.) In addition to German troops, the Red Army had faced during the greater part of the war the entire armed might of Rumania, Hungary and Finland plus big fascist armies from Italy and Slovakia and well-armed Fascist volunteer divisions from France, Sweden, Spain and Belgium, as well as puppet Fascist forces recruited from Soviet prisoners of war.

Total German casualties on the Russian Front amounted to 6,000,000.

Soviet casualties were about 20,000,000.

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