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The True Face of Neo-Trotskyism

*How It Is Working to Undermine Socialism and
Peace and the World Revolutionary Movement*

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Revolution, war and peace are the most vital of all issues for the world's peoples. With each year the present struggle taking place for the revolutionary restructuring of society and for universal peace and security is gaining in scope, involving more millions of people.

In the world's history there have been a number of revolutions which have played a big part in shaping the destinies of nations and their social development. But all pale into relative insignificance beside the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 which ushered in a new era—the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism. The revolution in Russia did not merely usher in the era of the emancipation of the working peoples of the world from capitalist oppression but also demonstrated in practice the humanistic ideology of socialism by showing that the proletarian revolution seeks to give practical expression to its high ideas, to promote the vital interests of the people, to bring them happiness, material well-being, freedom and social justice.

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution imparted a new, distinctive character to the struggle between the working class and the

imperialist bourgeoisie, making the confrontation of two diametrically opposite socio-economic systems—capitalism and socialism—its pivotal point.

The emergence of the Soviet state and the subsequent formation of the world socialist system radically changed the very pattern of the world and the alignment of world forces. Today one-third of mankind has already taken the path of socialism, having for ever put an end to the domination of capitalism with its exploitation of man by man. The break-up of the system of colonial slavery is nearly completed: numbers of new states have arisen on the ruins of one-time colonial empires, states whose peoples are vigorously opposed to imperialism and seek independent development. The organized working-class movement in the capitalist countries has become an immense force which is exerting a growing influence on the social and political life of these countries. As a result of all these changes imperialism has for ever lost its power over the greater part of mankind. It is no longer imperialism, but socialism and the forces fighting against imperialism that now determine the main content and the main trend of the world's social development.

The emergence of socialism as a world force has brought into being new, hitherto unknown principles and standards of international relations which are powerfully influencing people in all countries, thwarting the aggressive designs of imperialism and preventing the rules of imperialist countries from unleashing new world wars.

The spectacular achievements of socialism have made it still more obvious that capitalism is incapable of resolving the fundamental problems facing mankind. Capitalism alone is to blame for the suffering that is the lot of enormous numbers of people in the world. Imperialism engineers aggressive wars and holds out the threat of the mass extermination of human beings, the threat of a world thermonuclear conflict. Socialism, on the other hand, abhors the very idea of war. The whole history of the Soviet state and of the world socialist system is a record of undeviating struggle against imperialism's policy of aggression, of struggle to deliver man from the horrors of war. The word "peace" is sacred for the builders of the new society. It was proclaimed as one of the fundamental aims of the Great October Socialist Revolution, an aim which was clearly set out in Lenin's Decree on Peace addressed to the governments and peoples of all countries by Russia's new worker and peasant government shortly after the victory of the revolution.

The socialist countries have been consistent and faithful champions of the cause of peace and international security, they have invariably followed a policy of peace in the interests of defending the victorious revolutions and the common cause of the working people of other countries. Following the course indicated by Lenin, the socialist countries proposed the peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems, which has now, after persistent effort, become a cardinal principle of international development. On the initiative of the socialist countries the world-wide struggle for the relaxation of tension

between nations, for the promotion of universal peace and security, and for disarmament is steadily growing in strength and scope. All this constitutes an important source of the strength of the socialist countries and the international authority that they command.

Imperialism is no longer in a position to stem the tide of history. Nothing can prevent the ideas of socialism from triumphing on a world-wide scale. But this should not be taken to mean that the capitalist system will collapse of its own accord, that it will depart from the scene without offering any resistance. On the contrary, imperialism still has at its disposal vast resources, a huge production potential, and monopolies plundering the national wealth and exploiting the labour of millions of people; it pursues a policy of militarization, and interference in the affairs of other countries and peoples. The achievements of science and technology are used by imperialism to prepare for and prosecute aggressive wars, and to enslave peoples who refuse to bow to its will.

All this gives added urgency to the task of strengthening the militant cooperation, cohesion and coordinated action of the socialist countries, the international working class and the national-liberation movement, and of promoting closer united action by communist and workers' parties in all parts of the world.

Today, it is particularly important that there be the utmost intensification of the struggle against the policy and ideology of imperialism. In its efforts to check the spread of the liberation movement, imperialism is engaging in ever new sallies and provocations against the forces

of socialism and is trying to upset the friendly relations existing between different socialist countries to drive a wedge between them.

"...The present-day socialist world, with its successes and prospects, with all its problems," CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev said in this connection, "is still a young and growing social organism, where not everything has settled and where much still bears the marks of earlier historical epochs. The socialist world is forging ahead and is continuously improving. Its development naturally runs through struggle between the new and the old, through the resolution of internal contradictions" (*24th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 18-19).

The contradictions arising within the socialist community are of a transient nature and are manifested primarily in the different approaches of individual countries to the solution of diverse political and economic problems, and in their differing assessments of international developments. Experience shows that contradictions and difficulties of this kind in the development of the socialist system are surmounted by fraternal parties through the joint elaboration of scientifically substantiated policies based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Such cooperation, however, is counteracted by the splitting policy of the Chinese leadership which put forward its own ideological and political platform for providing the answers to the key problems of world development and the revolutionary movement. As is generally known, the Chinese leaders drastically revised the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism concerning

the principles of socialist construction and adopted a foreign policy aimed solely at establishing Chinese world hegemony.

The imperialist world was only too eager to take advantage of the splitting activity of the Chinese leaders in order to undermine the position of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries closely cooperating with it. Hence, it should be clear that success in the struggle against imperialism largely depends on the unity of the anti-imperialist forces, and first and foremost of their vanguard—the world communist movement—and that the struggle itself must be directed not only against the ideology of the capitalist world, but also against Right and “Left” revisionism and other anti-revolutionary trends.

The vital importance of unity in the struggle for the ideas of socialism was repeatedly stressed by Lenin. “. . . Faced by a huge front of imperialist powers,” he said, “we, who are fighting imperialism, represent an alliance that requires close military unity, and any attempt to violate this unity we regard as absolutely impermissible, as a betrayal of the struggle against international imperialism” (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 325).

Lenin also disclosed the factors which enable opportunists to heighten their activity in a given historical period, and showed, in particular, the motives behind imperialism’s interest in the development of “Left” revisionism. He enjoined the international communist movement always to bear in mind that the growth of revisionism in the working-class movement at certain periods was caused above all by “the zigzags of bourgeois tactics” (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 351). Imperialism, Lenin pointed out, devotes particular

attention to the development of petty-bourgeois "Left" adventurism and sectarianism because it appears "very revolutionary in words, but not in the least revolutionary as far as its real views are concerned" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 288).

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union likewise drew the attention of Communists and working people of all countries to imperialism's special interest in fostering revisionist and nationalist trends of different types. In their struggle against socialism and the communist movement, the ideologists of capitalism and its propaganda are always ready to capitalize on revisionist tendencies, especially those which assume the form of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Lenin and the Communist Party he founded had to wage an irreconcilable struggle against numerous enemies in the revolutionary movement. The Narodniks, "Legal Marxists," "Economists," Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Anarchists, Trotskyites, Right-wing opportunists, nationalist deviators, revisionists of all shades and colours—such is the far from complete list of the ideological and political opponents of the revolutionary teaching who were constantly fought by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in order to uphold the principles of Marxism in their own country and all over the world. Other communist parties, too, were forced on more than one occasion to repel attacks launched by sundry renegades from the labour movement.

Now, also, when we have the global confrontation of the socialist and capitalist ideologies,

we see the attempts of the reactionary imperialist forces to further their interests by employing the services of diverse defectors from Marxism-Leninism. Imperialism's ideologists have again focussed attention on the Trotskyite brand of renegades, regarding them as a useful force for attacks on the communist and workers' parties from "Left" positions and in this way achieving the results sought by the reactionary elements. Duly appreciating Trotskyism's propensity for adventuristic actions and its hostility to Marxism-Leninism, bourgeois propaganda has renewed its efforts to glorify it and encourage its attacks against the communist movement.

Trotskyism has always been and continues to be a petty-bourgeois reactionary trend which resorts to ultra-Left phraseology to camouflage its anti-revolutionary essence. Marxist-Leninists have long since exposed it as an inveterate enemy of communism, as an accomplice of international reaction. A lucid appraisal of the political complexion of Trotskyism, a comprehensive characterization of this pseudo-revolutionary brand of opportunism can be found in many of Lenin's works and in numerous documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties. They expose the splitting activities of Trotsky and his followers at different stages in the history of the CPSU and the world communist movement, the Trotskyites' attempts to revise Marxism-Leninism, to substitute the petty-bourgeois ideology for the revolutionary teaching on the paths of development of human society.

Political adventurism, unscrupulousness, double-dealing, hypocrisy and self-righteousness

have always been intrinsic to Trotskyism. Lenin described Trotsky as a "Judas" for his constant defection from the Bolsheviks to the Mensheviks, Constitutional Democrats and other enemies of communism. Exposing his utter hypocrisy, Lenin wrote in 1914: "Trotsky has never yet held a firm opinion on any important question of Marxism. He always contrives to worm his way into the cracks of any given difference of opinion, and desert one side for the other" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 447-48).

Prior to the October Revolution the Trotskyites tried to capitalize on the struggle which was then in progress within the Bolshevik Party. Following the victory of the revolution, they counterposed a system of Left opportunist views to the Party's Leninist line. In tactical questions they urged the Party to dangerous and foolhardy ventures and in the sphere of inner-Party life they encroached on Lenin's principles of Party organization in an effort to undermine the Party from within.

Trotsky and his confederates combined their "Left revolutionarism" with outright capitulation to the forces of the old world, with surrender to imperialism. They completely ignored the law of uneven development of capitalism formulated by Lenin and the preconditions indispensable for the victory of socialism, denied the imperative need of strictly considering the concrete conditions in each particular country striving to deliver itself from capitalist oppression and whether there existed a revolutionary situation, and insisted on pressing for revolutions in all countries. They made the triumph of socialism in the USSR dependent on the victory of the

proletarian revolutions in other, notably the most developed, capitalist countries. Their actions were tantamount to completely renouncing the lofty ideas of communism and betraying the cause of the working people.

Like its predecessor in the twenties and thirties, present-day Trotskyism directs its main efforts towards revising the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and towards disrupting the revolutionary struggle and the entire liberation movement. It is distinguished by its hatred for everything that is genuinely progressive, by its hostility to the forces of communism and the socialist world system. Its attention is focussed on organizing subversive activities against the Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist countries which are inspiring and guiding the world-wide movement for peace, democracy and socialism.

Trotskyism has never enjoyed any tangible influence among the people or support in the working-class, democratic and national-liberation movement. It has appeared on the surface only at significant turns of history, when large non-proletarian groups have been awakened to the political activity carried on by the working class and its communist vanguard, and when the proletarian ideology has clashed with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views around acute political problems. These conditions fully applied in the period of the founding of the Bolshevik Party in Russia and in the years when the young Soviet Republic was choosing the road of its future development.

The marked activization of Trotskyism that we have witnessed in the last few years is chiefly attributable to an outburst of extremist ma-

nifestations from certain petty-bourgeois sections of the population in a number of capitalist countries, notably the rowdy demonstrations and disturbances staged by the Leftist-minded segment of the urban intelligentsia, the student youth and other politically unstable elements. The latter-day Trotskyites took advantage of the situation and the behaviour of petty-bourgeois elements who constantly waver and rush from one extreme to another, swinging from "ultra-revolutionism" to capitulation before the ruling classes. Another factor contributing to the revival of Trotskyism, as we have pointed out above, was the favour with which the movement was received by the imperialists. Monopoly capital encourages the provocative actions of the Trotskyites because they present no danger to capitalism but seriously harm the cause of peace, freedom and social progress and play into the hands of the enemies of communism.

Another reason why Trotskyism attracts the attention of imperialism's ideologists is that it has now considerably extended the scope of its subversive operations compared with the past. Whereas in the pre-war period the Trotskyites posed as a sort of opposition to Marxist-Leninists and directed their struggle chiefly against the communist movement, today their stand is not only against the communist and workers' parties but against all progressive forces acting jointly with these parties in the struggle against imperialism. As well as seeking to undermine the position of the communist forces they set out to weaken the ranks of the working people united in mass democratic organizations.

Capitalism has a vested interest in the exist-

ence of Trotskyism, for its ideology and practical activity objectively serve the interests of international reaction. Indeed, the Trotskyite conceptions of world development and revolutionary movement come into direct conflict with the actual process of socio-political and economic development, with objective reality. They ignore the laws of the revolutionary remarking of society discovered by Marxism-Leninism, omit certain stages of history, and interpret the aims and tasks of the working-class struggle against capitalism from opportunist positions, from the viewpoint of the enemies of social progress.

Trotskyism's only *raison d'être* is its subversive, splitting activities carried on for the benefit of imperialism and to the detriment of the communist and working-class movement, the peoples' struggle for national liberation, and the cause of peace, freedom and socialism. Its adventurist "Leftism" is nothing but the reverse side of the petty-bourgeois ideology, a reflection of the views of international reaction. Just as imperialism is seeking to impede by political, economic and military means the inexorable process of the revolutionary restructuring of society, so Trotskyism is trying to unite dissentient forces with a view to undermining the unity of the world revolutionary movement.

The present-day Trotskyites have far surpassed their predecessors in the methods and means of struggle employed against Marxist-Leninists, against people devoted to the ideas of communism. They display more skill and ingenuity in disguising their reactionary views behind a smokescreen of demagogy and slander against Communists and other active opponents of capi-

talism and imperialism. Combining its call for "ultra-revolutionary" measures with outright capitulation to the forces of the world, and uniting, as Lenin aptly put it, ". . . all philistines who do not understand the reasons for the struggle" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 17, p. 21), Trotskyism strives to win over to its side primarily those who have lost their bearings in the maze of political struggle. The Trotskyites of today have also become even more adept in the art of manoeuvring between different sections of the petty bourgeoisie, lumpen-proletarians and other politically unstable elements, more adept at deception in general.

All this naturally plays into the hands of reaction. The rulers of the capitalist world are well aware that the Trotskyites have more experience in subversive work than many other renegades and turncoats, that they have at their disposal numerous agents who are past masters at provocations against Communists and communist-influenced mass working-class organizations. They operate secret groups and cells, many of which were formed in the pre-war period. Most of these clandestine groups are headed by seasoned opportunists with much experience in divisive tactics. Lastly, the Trotskyites have their own "international association" in the shape of the "Fourth International" founded in 1938 and serving as an operational centre for engineering acts of subversion and provocation against communist and progressive forces. Although this "International" has long been lacking in unity and is split into hostile and mutually contending factions, the latter continue to act jointly in pursuance of their main objec-

tive—to destroy the communist movement.

Needless to say, Trotskyism is not in a position to check the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas or to halt the historical advance of the communist movement and the revolutionary struggle of the masses, let alone divert the working class and other sections of the working population from the road charted by Communists and other fighters for a better future. All the more is this so since the ideas of Trotskyism, reflecting as they do the despair of the petty-bourgeois sections of the population in the capitalist countries, who are the victims of pernicious social ills and resort to unreasoning actions in a blind attempt to find a way out of their impasse, are rejected by working people the world over as utterly alien to the spirit of the working class.

Nevertheless, Trotskyism cannot be discounted altogether, for although it has fully exposed itself ideologically and politically as a petty-bourgeois trend that is alien to Marxism-Leninism but that pretends to subscribe to the principles of scientific socialism, its hostile actions, unless resolutely combated, can inflict no little harm on the communist and working-class movement. Also, as we have pointed out, in its struggle with Marxism-Leninism, the communist movement and the socialist community, present-day Trotskyism makes common cause with the imperialists, revisionists, reformists and any other political forces hostile to socialism.

The Trotskyites' subversive activity against the communist movement, the socialist community and the peoples' liberation struggle is carried on in many capitalist countries, notably in France, Italy, Britain, Belgium, Denmark, Swit-

zerland, West Germany, Japan, India, Australia, Ceylon, in many parts of Latin America and in Africa. It is a phenomenon with which all champions of peace, freedom and social progress are forced to reckon.

* * *

Lenin wrote that the world socialist revolution "will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 159). The development of this revolution, Lenin stressed, would not be an even "maturing" of socialism in the leading capitalist countries but would proceed in a much more complicated way, taking into account the contradictions within the capitalist world and the latter's relations with the colonies it exploits.

History has confirmed the accuracy of Lenin's socio-political analysis and his forecasts concerning the development of the socialist revolution based on this analysis. The transition of different countries to the path of socialism effected since the victory of the October Revolution has been marked, apart from features specific to each individual country, by such generally applicable objective laws as the accomplishing of a socialist revolution in one form or another; the establishment in one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the elimination of exploiting classes; the socialization of the means of production and the triumph of socialist-type

production and other social relations in town and country; enlistment of the working people in the work of state administration, etc. Experience has also demonstrated the imperative need for a militant working-class party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and capable of assuming popular leadership in order to ensure the triumph of the revolution and to build a new society.

Another indispensable condition for the successful transition of countries from capitalism to socialism is unceasing struggle both against the ideology of imperialism and its politics aimed at preventing the revolutionary transformation of society, and against all distortions by opportunists and other supporters of imperialist reaction of the ways indicated by Marxism for the development of the world revolution.

“...The fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism,” Lenin stressed (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 302). Opportunist conceptions must be resolutely rebuffed because they revise the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism on the socialist revolution, distort the idea of social progress as a replacement of one economic formation by another and higher one from the viewpoint of development of the productive forces and relations of production, undermine the unity of the world revolutionary process and counterpose some of its constituent parts to others.

Trotskyism represents a type of international opportunism which tries with particular zeal to substitute adventurism for the scientifically substantiated Marxist-Leninist line of the revo-

lutionary movement. The anti-revolutionary essence of Trotskyism finds its most vivid manifestation in its attitude to the cardinal problems of revolution.

The present-day Trotskyites still continue to press the "permanent revolution" theory put forward by Trotsky in 1905-06, proclaiming it the most revolutionary teaching of our time. Although this ill-starred "theory" has long been refuted by Marxist-Leninists and rejected by the working people, the Trotskyites stubbornly continue to cling to it. Moreover, in their efforts to falsify history the Trotskyites maintain that this "theory" is of "decisive significance" for the development of the world revolutionary process.

It will be recalled that the "permanent revolution" theory was directed against the teaching regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasantry. Its chief purpose was to cast doubt on the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry and the ability of the Russian working class to win over the peasants and form an alliance with them in the revolutionary struggle.

Trotskyism claims that the revolution in any Western or Eastern country will either assume a "genuinely proletarian" character from the very start or will not take place at all.

The "permanent revolution" theory lays particular emphasis not on the internal motive forces but on the dependence of the revolution in a given country on external factors, claiming that the force of the revolution must come from without.

Trotskyism rejects the Leninist policy of the

peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Denying the possibility of socialism emerging victorious in any one country taken singly, Trotskyism gives the international communist movement only the following spurious alternative: either complete surrender or reckless adventurism.

The founders of scientific socialism emphasized that the revolutionary restructuring of society must be effected on the basis of new social principles. Marx foresaw that the transition from capitalism to communism would be effected through three objectively predetermined and historically law-governed stages: a period of transition, a socialist phase, and then communism. He stressed that the transition from one phase to another was primarily determined by the development of the productive forces and the advancement of production relations to a higher stage. Marx convincingly demonstrated the theoretical and practical insolvency of any attempts to hasten artificially the historical process, to skip over historically necessary stages and violate the objective laws of social development.

Highly evaluating Marx's theoretical propositions concerning the period of transition to communism and its development phases, Lenin, developing Marx's ideas and drawing on the practical experience of the Soviet state, formulated new theoretical conclusions and elaborated strategic and tactical guidelines on cardinal aspects of the socialist revolution.

Generalizing the experience obtained in fighting capitalism, notably the experience of the

working class of Russia, Lenin indicated the way in which the bourgeois-democratic revolution could develop into a socialist revolution in the conditions of imperialism. Leadership in this revolution, Lenin stressed, can and must be exercised by the working class insofar as it is the only class capable of rallying wide support from among the non-proletarian classes of society. By assuming the leading role in the bourgeois-democratic revolution the proletariat extends the bounds of the democratic transformations and, upholding its class interests, paves the way for transition to the next stage—the socialist revolution.

The revolutionary struggles waged by the Russian working class in 1905 and 1917 convincingly demonstrated to the world that the bourgeois-democratic revolution was not sealed off from the socialist revolution by an insurmountable barrier, that the transition of the former to the latter depended on the level of organization and consciousness of the working class and its ability to assume leadership of the people. The transition to the socialist revolution in Russia was made possible thanks to the leading role of the Bolshevik Party which adhered unswervingly to the policies and course of action laid down by Lenin.

Trotsky denied the necessity of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, maintaining that it was necessary immediately to carry out a socialist revolution in Russia. His "theory" lacked precisely that which it claimed to possess, namely, a clear understanding of the essence of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the class content of the development and deepening of the

process. Advocating a "leap" over historically indispensable stages, Trotsky would have had the working class doomed to isolation and the revolution to inevitable defeat.

The present-day Trotskyites are also pursuing a policy of ignoring the laws governing the development of a revolution. The "programme declaration" adopted by the "Fourth International" at one of its congresses and constituting the political platform of Trotskyism denies almost totally the radical changes that have taken place in the world as a result of the formation of the world socialist system. The basic inference to be drawn from its abstract propositions is that our planet is still entirely dominated by the bourgeoisie, that there are still no countries in the world that have broken free from capitalism and taken the path of building a new society, and that the struggle for socialism is just commencing. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are regarded by Trotskyism as "worker states" which allegedly have not yet reached a stage of development based on socialist principles.

Trotskyism appraises the course of world history purely subjectively, characterizing our epoch merely as an era of imperialism, wars and proletarian revolutions. It completely glosses over such a fundamental feature of our epoch as the struggle of the two diametrically opposed world social systems, and denies the revolutionizing role of the world socialist system in the anti-imperialist struggle and in promoting the international working-class and liberation movements.

Formally the Trotskyites regard the contemporary epoch as a period of transition from capi-

talism to socialism. Their practical activity, however, is anti-socialist and anti-Leninist. The Trotskyites hold that the radical restructuring of society is possible only in the distant future, following the victory of proletarian revolutions all over the world or in the vast majority of countries. The revolution itself is depicted by them as something in the nature of a military coup carried out by outstanding individuals or exclusive groups standing above the masses and issuing "directives" to the latter. The world revolutionary process as a whole is conceived by Trotskyism's ideologists as a succession of marches and campaigns similar to those undertaken by Napoleon and similar conquerors of the past.

One can only marvel at the light-mindedness with which the Trotskyites propose to fight for the immediate establishment of a "United States of Europe," an "Integrated Socialist Republic of the Arab East," a "Socialist United States of Latin America" and a "Socialist United States of the Islands of the South Pacific," without even stopping to consider whether the appropriate conditions for such an undertaking existed in general, and in those specific regions of the world in particular.

By giving undue prominence to the objectives that cannot be attained at the present stage of world development, they divert attention away from the concrete tasks posed by the contemporary period.

The Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics for the socialist revolution of our time are based on the premise that the main decisive feature of the present-day world is the conflict between socialism and imperialism. The victory of socialism

on a world-wide scale—the cherished goal of the forces fighting against imperialism—can be attained only through the closest integration of the activities of the peoples of the socialist countries, the working people of developed capitalist countries and the forces of the national-liberation movement directed against imperialism.

Opposing this scientifically substantiated thesis, the Trotskyites assert that the real character of our epoch is determined not by the alignment of world forces, not by the struggle between socialism and capitalism, not by the existence of other major determinative factors of world development, but primarily and predominantly by “military crises.” In order to change the existing world situation and to do away with capitalism, the ideologists of Trotskyism assert, it is necessary to create, whether artificially or in any other way, “the acutest situation of a revolutionary crisis” on a global scale and unexpectedly to resort to violence with the aim of overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie. In other words, they advocate engineering conspiracies which are incompatible with the aims of the revolution.

Marxist-Leninists have always emphasized that the socialist revolution is not a conspiracy hatched by a group of heroes but a movement of the broadest sections of the working people. The experience gained by the USSR and other socialist countries has clearly shown that a revolution can triumph only if favourable objective conditions for it exist and that the task of overthrowing the old, obsolescent system requires, in addition to these favourable conditions, considerable effort to prepare and organize the

working people for decisive battles against the class enemy.

The Trotskyites, on the contrary, flatly reject these fundamental preconditions for the socialist revolution and interpret the process of the peoples' liberation from the fetters of capitalist oppression in a formal, completely unrealistic way. The revolution is viewed by them as an instantaneous phenomenon, the result of precipitate actions carried out on orders from certain individuals. The Trotskyite leaders rely on spontaneity in everything, completely disregarding existing conditions, public opinion and the interests of the working people. For example, the Latin American Bureau of the "Fourth International" calls on the peoples of Latin America to act precipitously, to fight for power without any preliminary preparation.

Lenin taught the Communists that at every turn of social development it was of exceptional importance to find and correctly define the specific path that can lead the working people to an understanding of the need to wage a decisive struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system. At the same time Lenin mercilessly fought the proponents of ultra-revolutionary ideas who spurned the painstaking day-to-day work of organizing and mobilizing the working people, and who treated the masses with contempt. Exposing Trotsky's Leftist prattle about the need to "accelerate" developments and to skip over certain stages of the revolution, Lenin stressed that it was a reflection of anarchist and adventuristic tendencies.

The present-day Trotskyites also disregard such an important prerequisite of the socialist

revolution as the attainment of a high level of revolutionary consciousness and organization by the working class and working people generally. Irrespective of the conditions obtaining in capitalist countries, regardless of the obstacles that objectively prevent the working people from ensuring the necessary scope of the class struggle indispensable for the victory of the revolution in any part of the world at a given moment, the Trotskyites invariably urge the workers to take immediate action to wrest the power from the bourgeoisie. They reject all peaceful forms and methods of political struggle, considering armed uprising the only possible means of effecting the socialist revolution.

Needless to say, the use of violent forms of struggle by the working people for the overthrow of the capitalist system cannot be avoided when the ruling elements in any country offer resistance to the will of the people in an effort to perpetuate the domination of the capitalist class and themselves resort to violence against the opponents of capitalism. But it would be wrong to rely exclusively on armed uprising as the only possible means, for historical experience shows that in formulating the tactics of the socialist revolution one must never confine oneself to any particular form of struggle and deny that new forms of struggle may be necessary in conformity with the changing situation.

Events make their own corrections to the plans of struggle for the revolution, which have been drawn up in advance, in the initial stages of its development. This is particularly obvious at the present time when new sections of the population in capitalist countries are constantly being drawn

into the political struggle. One must also bear in mind the possibility of unexpected turns in the development of events. It is precisely this aspect that lends particular urgency today to what Lenin said about the importance of the champions of the socialist revolution being prepared for any possible changes in the existing situation, and of resorting to different forms of struggle—peaceful and non-peaceful, legal and illegal.

Trotskyism would like to appear “more revolutionary” and “more to the Left” than all the other political parties of the working class, including the communist vanguard of the working people. It tries to persuade the working people that the exponents of its ideas are striving more than anyone else in the world for the swiftest possible reorganization of social life everywhere on new principles.

Criticizing Trotsky's views on accelerating the revolutionary transformation of society, Lenin pointed out in his article *The Aim of the Proletarian Struggle in Our Revolution*, that their main defect lay in their complete disregard for the laws and objective conditions of the revolution, and in their lack of clarity on questions concerning the country's transition to socialism. Indeed, it will be pertinent to ask how the Trotskyite leaders of today can expedite the development of the revolution in the capitalist world if they themselves regard the present position of capitalism everywhere and especially in Western Europe as well-nigh unshakable. How can the leaders of the “Fourth International” speed up the overthrow of the power of the monopolies when they themselves declare in their programme document—the “International's” resolution of July

30, 1963—that there is no force capable of paralyzing the capitalist system? On what forces can the Trotskyites rely in carrying out their “permanent revolution” if all that they are able to see around them is an amorphous mass of politically backward people divorced from the working class and the other sections of the working population?

Along with demagogic appeals to put their dogmas into practical effect throughout the capitalist world, the “Fourth International” insists on the “need” of applying them in the socialist countries.

What is it that impels Trotskyism to display bitter hostility to the countries which have blazed the trail to a better future for the whole of mankind? What is the root cause of the fierce hatred of the Trotskyites towards the countries belonging to the world socialist system, whose spectacular achievements in all spheres hold out hope for the future of the world to all progressive people?

Their hatred is attributable to the following factors:

First, the “Fourth International” refuses to recognize the socialist nature of these countries, preferring to give them false labels and call them bad names. At one time it accused them of being “bureaucratic,” “degenerate” countries but nowadays it prefers to call them “worker countries” which, it alleges, have not yet emerged from the stage of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. The Trotskyite leaders still continue to claim that the Soviet working class and working people generally do not yet enjoy full power in their state, are deprived of essenti-

al democratic rights and are reduced to a state of dependence on some sort of "bureaucracy."

Second, the "Fourth International" has no time for the political system of the socialist countries—the system which legislatively consolidated the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the shape of the power wielded by the working class and all working people, especially the recognition in society of the leading role exercised by the communist and workers' parties which the Trotskyites consider their chief enemies.

Third, the "Fourth International" is infuriated by the irreconcilable attitude of the Communists and all working people in the socialist countries to Trotskyism as a political trend alien to Marxism-Leninism and to the forces of social progress.

Lastly, the Trotskyite leaders regard the Soviet Union, the policy of the Soviet Communist Party, and the successes of the world socialist system, as the main obstacle to the achievement of their adventuristic aims in the international arena. That is why, in working out their "scheme" for a "world revolution," they cynically declared that not only must the working class in the capitalist countries fight for the overthrow of capitalist rule, but that the working people in the socialist countries must also fight for the accomplishment of a "political revolution," for the overthrow, along the line charted by Trotskyism, or the social and political system prevailing in these countries.

Moreover, the supporters of the "Fourth International" gave it to be understood that it would be most appropriate to start putting their

“world revolution scheme” into operation by making a powerful assault on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and only after this launching an attack on the positions of the imperialist powers.

This makes it perfectly clear why the theoretical ideas of Trotskyism, particularly Trotsky's slogan about the “export of revolution” in most diverse forms, are still popular with Left extremists of all types, and why they continue to attract the attention of the ruling circles in many imperialist countries. These ideas appeal strongly to the reactionary forces because they present no real danger to the capitalist system; on the other hand, they cause serious damage to the development of the working-class movement and the world revolutionary process as a whole.

The democratic anti-imperialist movement helps to draw broad sections of the population into the active struggle against monopoly capital and reaction, and to lead them in the direction of the socialist revolution. This explains why Trotskyism is so anxious to sever this movement from the world revolutionary process. Now, as in the past, it is trying to sow distrust in the struggle of the working people for democratic freedoms, for the introduction of radical measures limiting the power of the monopolies and undermining the political foundations of capitalist society.

Acting in opposition to Marxist-Leninist premises on the dialectical connection of the movement for democracy with the struggle for socialism, the Trotskyites ignore the following basic thesis formulated by Lenin: “It would be a radical mistake to think that the struggle for de-

mocracy was capable of diverting the proletariat from the socialist revolution or of hiding, overshadowing it, etc. On the contrary, in the same way as there can be no victorious socialism that does not practise full democracy, so the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy" (*Coll. Works*, Vol 22, p, 144).

The objective role played by Trotskyism as a servitor of imperialist reaction is also apparent in its attempts to discredit the idea of establishing a single anti-monopoly front. Its present leaders reject unity of the anti-monopoly forces just as vehemently as Trotsky rejected the formation of the Popular Front in Spain and France before the war, and, together with followers, flaminated against the anti-fascist front during the Second World War, denying the emancipatory character of the struggle being waged by the peoples of the USSR and other countries against nazi Germany and its allies.

To justify their anti-socialist stand, the Trotskyite elements have put forward the reactionary thesis that the formation of a single anti-imperialist front does not correspond to the situation now obtaining in the world and can only "hurl" the revolutionary movement far back from its hard-won positions. They not only question the possibility of the working class recruiting allies among non-proletarian sections of the population in the capitalist countries but strive to perpetuate the division in the ranks of the working class itself.

The leaders of the "Fourth International" vigorously oppose every effort of the communist

and workers' parties to achieve unity of the working-class movement. Any steps made by the Communists to promote cooperation with other workers' parties, and with progressive-minded Social-Democratic leaders, are denounced by the Trotskyites as harmful, as an act of "betrayal," as a "concession to capitalism." Yet it is no secret that the men standing at the head of the Trotskyite organizations in a number of countries maintain open or clandestine contacts with ultra-reactionary Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders and join forces with them in combating the communist vanguard of the working class and the mass labour organizations functioning under its leadership.

A particularly graphic example of this kind of fraternization of opportunists was provided by the 1968 general strike and the 1969 presidential election campaign in France. On these occasions the Trotskyites, acting in collusion with the United Socialist Party, displayed too much zeal in their desire to pose as "exponents of revolutionary ideas" and "the makers of history," and compromised themselves in the eyes of the working people to such an extent that even the few groups of confused and befogged people who had formerly displayed a sympathetic attitude to Trotskyism, turned their backs on it and severed all ties with this reactionary trend.

Nor is there any justification for the Trotskyites' nihilist approach to defining the role of the working class in the life and revolutionary transformation of society, and for their attitude to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Among the most recent reactionary ideas of Trotskyism is the allegation that the working

class in the developed capitalist countries has already exhausted its revolutionary potentialities and has become "integrated" into capitalist society, that it is no longer able to act as the motive force in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and for the victory of socialism. Proceeding from this "doctrine," the ideologists of Trotskyism insist that the leadership of the developing world revolution should be handed over to the intellectuals, and that the extremist-minded section of the youth, primarily the student youth, should be recognized as the prime mover of the revolution.

This is a glaring manifestation of a pseudo-scientific, anti-Marxist approach to society and to social phenomena, of complete renunciation of the class struggle and of the objective laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism. Trotskyism's attempts to counterpose to the working class the intellectuals and the youth as the chief motive force of the revolution are tantamount to renunciation of political, class struggle.

Renunciation of a class approach to contemporary social problems inevitably entails a revision of the fundamental proposition of Marxism-Leninism—recognition of the historic mission devolving on the working class as the only force capable, in alliance with the broadest sections of the working people, of getting rid of capitalism and replacing it with a new, socialist society.

Today the working class continues to serve as the focal point for all sections of the working population, the force which under the leadership of communist parties and in alliance with the

working people as a whole, is capable of overthrowing capitalism and establishing a socialist society. Far from weakening its attacks on imperialism, as the Trotskyites claim, the working class is steadily intensifying them, delivering increasingly telling blows against the positions of monopoly capital.

As far as the intelligentsia is concerned, Marxism-Leninism has always highly appreciated its role in the process of social development. This role is increasing greatly in the course of the scientific and technological revolution. Nevertheless, Marxism-Leninism has never regarded the intelligentsia as an independent political force, but sees its social role as being directly dependent on which basic social class it appears to be in alliance with. To speak of the intelligentsia "in general," avoiding class categories and criteria, is to deny the class approach to social life, and to distort the laws of its development.

It would be just as wrong to take a similar view with regard to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to ignore its basic principle—the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry—as Trotsky did in the past and as his latter-day followers are doing now.

The founders of scientific communism stressed the tremendous importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat for consolidating the victory of the socialist revolution and for accomplishing the aims for the sake of which the revolution is carried out. Lenin comprehensively elaborated the character and tasks of this dictatorship which manifests itself in different forms, pointing out that its main content consists in effecting deep-going changes in the political and eco-

conomic life of society. The revolution is performed not only, and not so much, to destroy the old as to create a new world. The principal objective of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to deprive the exploiting classes of the "freedom" to exploit the working people and to fight for the reestablishment of capitalist rule, as well as to further extend and improve socialist democracy, and to convert the state into a political organization of the whole people headed by the working class.

And what kind of orientation is offered to the working people by the Trotskyite ideologists?

They regard the takeover of power from the bourgeoisie as an end in itself. They are not in the least concerned with problems involved in carrying forward the cause of the revolution after this take-over has been accomplished. Advocating the forcible overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie in developed capitalist countries, they underestimate the role of the working class and completely disregard the peasant millions.

The line of the "Fourth International" in backward capitalist countries and in areas that are still directly dependent on imperialism and the colonial powers is equally lacking any class approach to the aims of the revolution.

The contemporary Trotskyite leaders have introduced important amendments in their traditional evaluation of the political role of the peasantry. Having discarded Trotsky's guidelines which expressed a contemptuous attitude towards the peasantry they suddenly began to extol the peasantry in the principal zones of the national-liberation movement as the "leading revolutionary force" of our time. Not content

with this, the leaders of the "Fourth International" accused the working class in the capitalist countries of being "demoralized" and the proletariat in underdeveloped countries of being "backward," at the same time proclaiming the anti-imperialist manifestations of the peasantry in colonial and dependent countries as "the most important factor of the world-wide revolutionary struggle."

But what form of the dictatorship of the proletariat—or any similar instrument of state power capable of bringing the workers' struggle for socialism in the underdeveloped countries to a victorious conclusion—is implied in this case if Trotskyism regards the peasantry as the only prime mover of the revolution, and one, moreover, completely isolated from the proletariat of its own country and divorced from the world socialist system and the international communist movement?

Proceeding from their opportunist conception of the alignment of class forces and the role of the peasantry in underdeveloped and colonial countries, the Trotskyite ideologists further developed the anti-Leninist views on the national-liberation movement as a whole.

Regarding the colonial system as an inevitable concomitant of capitalism, Marx emphasized the close connection between the revolutionary emancipation of the working people in developed countries and the final abolition of colonialism. This question was further elaborated by Lenin in the new conditions when capitalism entered its final, imperialist stage. He clearly outlined the prospects of development of the world revolutionary process, noting the indissoluble

connection between its main currents, and predicted the inevitable rise and anti-imperialist direction of the movement for national liberation.

Lenin's prediction has come true. All the subjugated peoples have risen to fight imperialism. The national-liberation movement has now become an integral part of the world revolutionary process which is led by the socialist world community and the organized working class of all countries.

In their struggle for national independence, the people in backward and dependent countries are increasingly turning their gaze to socialism as the only system capable of delivering men from poverty, ignorance, exploitation and inequality. Socialism offers these countries the all-round political and economic support of the world socialist system.

The Trotskyite elements are endeavouring to set one part of the world revolutionary process against another, and to sever from it the national-liberation movement. They declare that the epicentre of the world socialist revolution has now shifted to the zone of the countries whose peoples are fighting for national liberation, alleging that these countries constitute the principal force of the revolution.

This abrupt swing from underestimating the role of the peoples' struggle for national liberation to extolling it beyond all measure is typical of Trotskyism which has always been notorious for its unscrupulous political gambling, double-dealing and unprincipled opportunism. The Trotskyites also tried to further their own ends by drawing into the world revo-

lutionary process new social strata which were still steeped in petty-bourgeois prejudices and, as a consequence, often displayed wavering and instability in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. However, this attempt failed.

The participants in the Trotskyites' conference held in Brussels in January, 1968, discussing the situation in the national-liberation zones, expressed their disappointment at the paltry results yielded by the efforts to disseminate the Trotskyist doctrines on the revolution in these areas and, in effect, admitted their untenability.

The Trotskyist policy of rabid anti-Sovietism, of fostering hatred for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, remains unchanged. During the well-known events in Czechoslovakia, when the counter-revolutionary elements tried to strangle the forces of socialism in that country, the Trotskyites immediately joined in with the international reactionary forces and themselves took an active part in engineering provocations in Czechoslovakia itself. Their main efforts were directed towards wresting Czechoslovakia from the socialist community and denigrating the actions taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to help the fraternal Czechoslovak people. In March, 1968, a prominent Trotskyite leader by the name of Frank came to Prague especially for this purpose; another Trotskyite, E. Mandel, was busy dispatching special emissaries to Czechoslovakia to organize acts of subversion there. The same thing was done by the "Fourth International" during the 1956 counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary and during the disturbances in Poland staged by extremist elements from among the

youth in March, 1968.

Another permanent feature of Trotskyism is its policy of anti-communism, of inciting fierce hatred for the international communist movement. In recent years the Trotskyites have still further intensified their attacks on the Marxist-Leninist parties and carried out a series of brazen provocations against the Communists and their working-class supporters in a number of capitalist countries with the object of preventing the successful development of the class struggle and giving the reactionary forces a pretext for ruthlessly suppressing the labour movement.

One of the favourite methods often resorted to by the Trotskyites and other "Leftists" is to distribute leaflets urging the workers to wreck factories and mills, to destroy machine tools and other equipment, to commit acts of violence against the management and the "conservative labour aristocracy" (in which category they place the majority of the working class) but, primarily, to manhandle the Communists standing at the head of trade unions and their local organizations at industrial enterprises. Arming themselves with anything they can lay hold of, the Trotskyite hooligans, by order of their leaders, proceed in small groups to the place chosen in advance for their disturbances, and commit acts of physical violence against all those who are branded as the "servants of capital," including rank-and-file workers who condemn the provocations of the Leftists.

In most cases the extremist elements who are instigated by the Trotskyites to perpetrate acts of terror and violence do not even have the slightest idea of the aim their actions are disign-

ed to achieve. They do not know that the leaflets they distribute contain the anarchist theses expounded by Bakunin a hundred years ago and now slightly refurbished to appear more "revolutionary," and not the ideas of Marx and Engels, as the Trotskyite leaders demagogically claim. It is not surprising therefore that the ideological kinship of the Trotskyites with anarchists and terrorists is growing stronger, and that the number of assassinations, acts of violence, arson and other crimes committed by them is mounting.

We shall cite a few examples illustrating the subversive content of recent ultra-Leftist actions organized by present-day Trotskyism.

In May, 1968, during the powerful strikes and political battles fought by millions of French workers against monopoly capital, the Trotskyite elements put forward an anarchist "programme of action" calling for a removal of the French Communist Party from the leadership of the workers' class struggle and for the immediate organization of "offensive guerilla warfare in the cities." They also tried to set the youth against the working class, to sap the strength of the working people by disuniting their forces, and to impel the masses onto the path of adventurist actions doomed to certain defeat. Their provocative actions did much harm to the labour movement in France.

In March, 1972, the French Trotskyites, acting in conjunction with the Maoists, engineered a repetition of their May-1968 venture. They provoked violent disturbances in Paris, smashed windows in public buildings and set motor vehicles on fire. In a number of places they even threw up barricades and called on the residents

to join them in "defence of the revolution." Armed with iron bars, a group of Trotskyite-Maoist extremists forced their way into the Renault plant, one of the country's biggest enterprises, with the aim of provoking disorders absolutely alien to the struggle being waged by the French workers for their rights and interests. They again incited the workers to destroy factory equipment and to commit acts of violence against the management and representatives of the "labour aristocracy," primarily against the Communists.

Finding no support among the Renault workers and other employees, the extremists began to distribute leaflets threatening to cause bloodshed at the Renault plant. And indeed, one of the Leftist extremists was shot and killed in the ensuing clash with factory guards.

By their provocation, committed under the guise of revolutionary action, the Trotskyites attempted, first and foremost, to bring the truly revolutionary, democratic movement of the working people into disrepute, and to deliver a blow at the French Communist Party. But once again they badly miscalculated.

During the general strike of 20 million workers in Italy in November, 1969, the Trotskyites openly sabotaged the struggle of the working people for the satisfaction of their specific demands and their appeal for a curb on the monopolies. They provoked clashes between strikers and the police and called for the "immediate" seizure of enterprises by the workers and of state power by the people. The 13th Congress of the Italian Communist Party (March 1972) pointed out that the Trotskyite and other extremist groups had ceased to be merely the vehicles of

spontaneous youth protest and had become an instrument of the sinister reactionary intrigues against the labour movement and its organizations, and against Italian youth as a whole.

In Japan, the Trotskyite elements have repeatedly advocated the need to skip over important stages of the class struggle and revolutionary movement. Contrary to the efforts of the working people of Japan to eliminate their country's dependence on US imperialism and to improve their standard of living—labour's paramount objectives in present-day conditions—the Trotskyites are trying to impel the masses on to the adventurist path of “carrying out a revolution.” Time and again their provocative actions have been used by the reactionary forces as a pretext for savage reprisals against the working people, as was the case during the mass anti-imperialist demonstrations staged in Yokosuka (January 1969), and in Tokyo's Sinjuku District (October 1968).

In the Lebanon the Trotskyite groups have been trying to provoke and justify armed clashes between the popular mass movement and the Palestinian Resistance movement, on the one hand, and the authorities, on the other, thereby playing into the hands of reaction and imperialism.

In Latin America the Trotskyites have been working for years to counterpose their anti-revolutionary line to the policy consistently followed by the Communists and other fighters for national liberation. All their efforts are directed towards “prodding” the people into revolutionary action and fanning the flames of “guerilla warfare” in both town and country. In Argenti-

na and Uruguay, Bolivia and Guatemala, Paraguay, Brazil and other countries, the Trotskyite renegades are advancing one and the same reckless slogan, exhorting the people "to fight to the last drop of blood, regardless of the sacrifices." They entertain the illusory hope of removing the Communist Party and other democratic parties from the leadership of the peoples' struggle for national liberation, seeking to establish their special "revolutionary front" as a counterweight to the mass popular fronts with the aim of splitting the forces of progress.

Despite the high-pressure propaganda campaign to extol their own "path of development of the revolution," the Trotskyites have signally failed to achieve any tangible results in any part of the world. On the contrary, their "permanent revolution theory" has been rejected as utterly untenable everywhere and their adventurist methods of attaining its "aims" have failed completely.

It is also important to note that, in committing their acts of betrayal, the Trotskyite leaders, far from attempting to conceal them, as a rule shamelessly boast of them as if they were feats of valour. This is confirmed by the following examples illustrative of the unseemly methods used by the "Fourth International."

It is generally known that in the twenties and thirties Trotsky and his followers did their utmost to prevent the international proletariat and its vanguard detachments—the communist and workers' parties—from consolidating their forces, hampering the development of their struggle to strengthen socialism in the USSR and to ensure the victory of the socialist revolution in

other countries, primarily in Western Europe. Authentic historical records, for instance, point to the treacherous conduct of the Trotskyites in Germany (1918-20), in Italy (1919-21), in France and Spain (1935-37), when, together with other hostile forces, they prevented the progressive forces from bringing to an end the domination of capital in those countries. And now the "Fourth International" is trying to persuade the world that in those years the Trotskyites in Germany and other West-European countries faithfully adhered to the principles of internationalism.

Furthermore, during the Spanish people's revolutionary war against General Franco's insurgent forces supported by nazi Germany and fascist Italy (1936-39), the Trotskyite elements operating in Spain chose the most critical moment of this war to engineer an uprising in Catalonia against the Spanish Republic on the slanderous pretext that the republic did not want socialism and was fighting merely for the triumph of bourgeois democracy. And the latter-day "historians" of Trotskyism claim that their Spanish pseudo-revolutionaries were among the leading ranks of the republican forces and ruthlessly fought against all who denied the revolutionary content of the republic.

In the years of the Second World War, the Trotskyite "International" and its supporters in the capitalist countries objectively helped the nazi aggressors to fight the forces of progress, democracy and socialism. And now this "International" is trying to prove the opposite, and to depict the Trotskyites as consistent fighters against the fascist tyranny. The Trotskyites ope-

rating in the major national-liberation zones try to make capital out of the refusal of the Communists—and of all the other genuine fighters against imperialism and colonialism—to support the adventuristic plans of the ultra-Leftists for a premature “guerilla war.”

It will thus be seen that while paying lip-service to the aims of the revolution, the Trotskyites in their actions undermine the struggle for the revolution. Their demagogic appeals “to hasten the advent of the revolution,” which prompt politically inexperienced people to renounce their class positions in favour of anarchism, produce certain results at times, but in the long run they are bound to boomerang against Trotskyism itself. Suffering one defeat after another, the Trotskyites plunge into all kind of ventures, and drift into “ultra-Left” self-deception and pseudo-revolutionism.

The struggle against the threat of a thermo-nuclear war is of paramount importance at the present time.

The Communists and all other progressive people are anxious to deliver future generations from the horrors of war. Together with peace-loving forces all over the world they are fighting tirelessly against the imperialist warmongers.

As distinct from imperialism which gives rise to aggressive wars, socialism is a profoundly humane system which renounces the solution of international problems by means of war. Shortly after the October Revolution, Lenin declared that one of the key tasks facing the socialist state was to pave the way to a lasting peace, to banish war from the life of society.

Unflinching concern for the interests of the

peoples is the supreme goal of socialism. And this presupposes first of all a consistent and un-deviating struggle against war.

The struggle against war follows from the very essence of socialism, and the desire for peace is not a manifestation of weakness on the part of the states advancing to socialism; on the contrary, it is an expression of their strength. The crushing defeat inflicted on nazi Germany and its European and Asian allies who tried to ignore this indisputable truth has clearly shown to the whole world that it is impossible to defeat a nation which has broken free from capitalist oppression, and impossible to destroy the new social and state system established by the people of such a country.

The Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War was of truly epoch-making importance. It convincingly proved to millions upon millions of people throughout the world that the forces of socialism are invincible and that the new social system created by the Great October Revolution is here to stay. But it is well known that this victory was achieved at the cost of immense sacrifices and untold human suffering which cannot be forgotten. Mankind cannot and must not permit a repetition of such a catastrophe; everything possible must be done to avert the danger of another world war.

At their 1969 International Meeting in Moscow, the communist and workers' parties adopted a broad programme of action for all the anti-imperialist forces, providing for heightened vigilance by the working people to thwart the machinations of imperialism. It provided for the closest unity of people of different social back-

ground and diverse political convictions in the world-wide struggle for peace, and for a merging of their forces with the combined might of the world socialist system, the international working class and the national-liberation movement.

The Communists are fully aware that as long as imperialism exists its reactionary forces will try to bring humanity to the brink of world war by means of dangerous provocations and military ventures. But these forces are no longer in a position to settle matters in the world exactly as they see fit, for in our time imperialism has finally and completely lost its dominant position, and its aggressive designs are now being effectively countered by the economic and military might of the socialist countries. The existence of the world socialist community compels the aggressors to reckon with the possibility of the capitalist system perishing in the flames of a global war of their own making.

Proceeding from the existing alignment of forces in the two opposite world systems, the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties declared:

"The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war for world peace, against the menace of a thermonuclear world war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind. A new world war can be averted by the combined efforts of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, and peace-loving countries, public organisations and mass movements" (*International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969, p. 31*).

This conclusion addressed by the Communists of the world to the broadest sections of the working people, and to the peace-loving forces of every country, rallies the people and encourages them to take the most radical action against the war danger, and fills them with confidence that the goal they have set themselves will be achieved. War can be averted if the struggle against the aggressive ambitions of imperialism is joined by all the peoples, and all the peace-loving forces opposed to imperialism.

The Trotskyites are trying to counterpose to this clear-cut communist programme their own platform of Leftist, essentially capitulatory, views.

They turned down the conclusions formulated by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by the international meetings of communist and workers' parties concerning the ability of the world socialist system and the world-wide anti-imperialist forces to paralyze the attempts of the aggressive circles of the imperialist powers to embroil mankind in a thermonuclear war, and their ability to compel these circles to abandon their monstrous plans. Maintaining that the fate of peace completely depends on the imperialist powers, primarily on the USA, the Trotskyites would like to persuade the peoples that their efforts to achieve peace are futile.

"War is inevitable and cannot be averted," the Trotskyite elements from the Latin-American Bureau of the "Fourth International" proclaimed in 1967. "There is no force capable of preventing imperialism from preparing and unleashing another war except the world proleta-

rian revolution resulting in the abolition of capitalism and in the conquest of power on a global scale," declared the leaders of the "Fourth International" at their rally in July, 1963. "It is utterly absurd to think that a world without wars can be ensured through the policy of peaceful coexistence," wrote L. Maitan, a prominent Trotskyite, in March, 1963. And two years earlier, in 1961, the Secretariat of the "Fourth International" affirmed that if American imperialism were confronted with the dilemma of either surrendering without a struggle or attempting to play its last card, it would most certainly prefer to submerge the whole of mankind in a nuclear war.

It is thus clear that the basic aim of the ideas preached by present-day Trotskyism is to disarm the working people of the world in the face of the imperialist threat to unleash a thermonuclear war. Some of Trotskyism's most reactionary leaders are even trying to depict war as a phenomenon which not only has a destructive effect but also a "revolutionizing" content. At one of their conferences, the Trotskyites declared that the more destructive the wars, the greater their revolutionizing role in the development of human society. "A 'communist society'," said J. Posadas, a Trotskyite leader, "could rapidly be constructed on the wreckage."

The Second World War, in which tens of millions of people lost their lives, made it abundantly clear that, for the ordinary people, war means nothing but misery. The grief and losses inflicted by the Second World War on the peoples of many countries will never be forgotten by millions of mothers, widows and orphans. Only

those who have lost all sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind can leave out of account the catastrophic results of the last war and ignore the determination of the people of the world to avert a nuclear-missile war.

The Trotskyites have always linked the questions of war and peace with the problem of revolution, moving, in their treatment of these questions, in a kind of closed circle. The basic premise of their assertions of the inevitability of war is the notorious slogan "War is the mother of revolution," put forward by the Trotskyite ideologists in 1940.

The essence of this ultra-Leftist slogan is the thesis that war and revolution, as diametrically opposite phenomena of human society, are indissolubly connected. When they declare that only the revolution can prevent the outbreak of a world war, the Trotskyites, who have no clear idea about the development of the revolution, at the same time depict war as the best means of accelerating social progress.

According to an appeal issued by the Secretariat of the "Fourth International" in July, 1963, the working people in all countries must continue their struggle and lay their plans for the seizure of power in each country, get ready for a nuclear war and use it, to carry out a world proletarian revolution. This is meant to imply that the struggle for the conquest of power in each country is the only possible way of minimizing the disaster which a nuclear war would mean for mankind.

The irresponsible views of the Trotskyites on the subject of war, which betray utter indifference and contempt for the vital interests of the

people of the world, are a reflection of Trotskyism's old thesis which denied the possibility that socialism could be established in any individual country pending the triumph of the world revolution. At the same time, the victory of the world revolution is made dependent on the "inevitability" of war and special emphasis is laid on the need to prepare for this war.

J. Posadas, of the Latin-American Bureau of the "Fourth International," cynically declared that "when viewed in historical perspective, the nuclear-missile war will not present such a great evil for mankind." The more outspoken militarists among the Trotskyites even maintain that the anti-imperialist forces must take the initiative and mount an offensive before imperialism itself starts an atomic war. Accordingly, the Latin-American Bureau advised the socialist countries immediately to launch a "preventive war" against the imperialist powers. The *Red Flag*, a newspaper published by the British Trotskyites, made an attempt to justify the "importance" of this provocative recommendation. The preventive war, it wrote, will enable us to deliver the first shattering blow and thus to forestall the imperialist-engineered attack.

Posadas openly expressed himself in favour of launching a "preventive nuclear war" in Indo-China. "The Marxism of our era," he wrote, "consists in a clear realization of the fact that the preventive war is just as inevitable as is the atomic war. And the war in Vietnam is precisely such a preventive war."

It is not at all surprising therefore that the Trotskyites were dead set against ending the Vietnam war on the basis of the Vietnamese people's

legitimate demands. Not in the least concerned with the sacrifices and hardships suffered by the Vietnamese people, they urged that the struggle be continued until "US imperialism is brought to the verge of attrition," that "new fronts" be opened against the USA, and that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries be drawn into the Vietnam war.

The longer the war in Vietnam lasted, the greater would the prospects for the development of the world revolution become, the Trotskyites asserted. The only possible way of supporting the Vietnamese revolution, they maintained, was to expedite the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist governments in every country. "All or nothing" is the Trotskyite motto which categorically rejects any negotiations to end the war. Posing as friends of the people of Vietnam, the Trotskyites were actually playing into the hands of their enemies, doing great harm to the long-suffering people of that country and to all people throughout the world who are working for the cause of peace, socialism and human progress.

Advocating a "preventive atomic war" as a means of quickly accomplishing the world revolution, the Trotskyites cannot fail to realize that their appeals are bound to evoke the anger of the working people. But they do not care about this, for their entire policy is aimed at aggravating international tension and fanning military conflicts between countries and peoples. Their provocative recommendations to use the might of the socialist countries in a "preventive war" can only be regarded as an attempt to hasten the realization of their own adventuristic plans.

It might be recalled that half a century ago, in

the early period of the Soviet state, Trotsky regarded Soviet power merely as a spark for kindling a revolution in Europe, assessing the entire internal situation in the Soviet Union primarily from the viewpoint of preparing the country for a global revolutionary war.

The present-day Trotskyites likewise hold that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries must spread the flames of the "world revolution" or, more precisely, the flames of world war, by resorting to force. Contrary to the policy of the communist movement which tries to enlist the efforts of the peoples of all countries to expose the aggressive designs of the imperialists, to avert a thermonuclear war and achieve universal security, the Trotskyite advocates of "preventive war" are pursuing a policy that plays right into the hands of the imperialists.

It is interesting to note that the present-day Trotskyites, while posing as champions of the ideas of socialism, completely gloss over the acts of aggression and armed conflicts engineered by the imperialist powers in different parts of the world, and concentrate their attacks on the policy of the socialist countries aimed at curbing the aggressor and supporting the peoples fighting against imperialist encroachments on their freedom and independence. Moreover, their heaviest fire is directed against the Soviet Union and the world socialist system as the main obstacle to the realization of their sinister aims.

The Trotskyites slanderously assert that the social and political system prevailing in the socialist countries prevents the working people in the capitalist world from upholding revolutionary ideas. Every measure taken by the socialist

states to protect the interests of the working people of the whole world is invariably denounced and subjected to trenchant criticism by the Trotskyites. In West Germany, for instance, the Trotskyites level their bitterest attacks on the Communists and the democratic forces generally, calling not so much for the liquidation of capitalism in the Federal Republic of Germany as for the abolition of socialism in the German Democratic Republic. In other capitalist countries the Trotskyite elements are chiefly concerned, not with assailing the position of the bourgeoisie or exposing the sinister designs of the imperialist aggressors, but with organizing anti-Soviet and anti-socialist propaganda, engineering provocations against the USSR and the other socialist countries, and against the communist parties and democratic organizations which are defending the gains and ideas of socialism.

Trotskyism scurrilously equates the peaceful policy of the socialist countries with the imperialist policy of engineering new wars. According to the Trotskyites, the danger of a thermonuclear war emanates both from the acts of aggression committed by imperialism and from the steps taken by the socialist countries to thwart the designs of the aggressors and to extinguish the flames of war.

The main feature of Trotskyism is its open hostility to the communist parties, the socialist states and the other forces opposed to war. It depicts the policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems—which is consistently pursued by the socialist community and firmly supported by all peace-loving countries—as a striving to avoid the risk of a proleta-

rian revolution, to evade revolutionary upheavals at all costs.

Peaceful coexistence, we read in the *Manifesto* adopted by the Fifth Congress of the "Fourth International" in 1957, is both impossible and harmful for the working class of all countries, for it tends to strengthen the position of capitalism and weaken the position of socialism. The policy of the socialist countries aimed at winning in the economic competition between the two world systems is regarded by the Trotskyites as a policy which tends to "demoralize" the international revolutionary movement.

Proceeding from this premise, the Trotskyites use one and the same yardstick for appraising the activity of NATO—the aggressive bloc of the Western powers—and that of the Warsaw Treaty Organization—the defensive alliance of the socialist states—branding both of them as a "weapon of counter-revolution."

The vehement opposition of the Trotskyites to every action taken by the socialist countries in defence of peace and international security is a direct continuation of Trotskyism's old policy towards all champions of peace—the policy which it consistently pursued in the pre-war years, on the eve of the Second World War and during the grim battles fought by the freedom-loving peoples against the fascist aggressor.

It is appropriate at this juncture to recall that, early in 1918, Trotsky and his followers, acting in conjunction with "Left Communists," bitterly opposed the conclusion by the Soviet Republic of peace with Germany. The Trotskyites thus jeopardized the very existence of the young socialist state. Their actions were described by Lenin

as an attempt to make the Soviet state encourage a world-wide proletarian revolution, and to put into practice the adventurist theory of socialism's armed conflict with imperialism. "Such a 'theory,'" Lenin stressed, "would be completely at variance with Marxism, for Marxism has always been opposed to 'pushing' revolutions, which develop with the growing acuteness of the class antagonisms that engender revolutions" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 71-72).

Contrary to the adventurist recommendations made by the Trotskyites and other Leftist elements, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party formulated entirely new principles of international relations, putting forward a policy of peaceful co-existence.

The world's progressive forces have not forgotten that, in the years preceding the Second World War, the Trotskyites fought against the Soviet Union with much more zeal and determination than they did against fascism. Following Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet state, they sabotaged all measures to extend the peoples' anti-fascist struggle and denied the liberating character of this struggle. The "Fourth International" decried every manifestation of labour's international solidarity and openly opposed the opening of a second front in Europe.

In the post-war period, the attacks of the Trotskyite leaders on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries became still more barefaced. They displayed particular assiduity in slandering the USSR and accusing it of furthering a "policy of lost opportunities." It did not suit their plans that the Soviet Union terminated the war against Nazi Germany "too early" and

“did not take advantage of its victory” to “stimulate the world revolution.” This line of reasoning could have only one implication—namely, that after the defeat of nazism the USSR ought to have turned its weapons against the other leading imperialist powers of the West, or, in other words, to have prolonged the world war.

The Trotskyites do not even shrink from slanderous fabrications against the socialist countries. For instance, they declared that, by adopting the policy of peaceful coexistence, the socialist countries established class peace with imperialism and wound up their struggle against the monopolies and the reactionary forces. By allegations such as this the Trotskyites tried to sow among the working people the poisonous seed of doubt about the correctness of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

The Communists and all other progressive people are fully aware that imperialism has not changed its nature, that it is still bent on defending its pillars and its profits by every means at its disposal, even at the risk of another war. However, imperialism is no longer able to dictate its will to the world. Gone are the days when it could decide all questions at the whim of the governments of the leading capitalist powers. The decisive influence on the course of social development today is exerted by the world socialist system with which imperialism has to reckon. The aggressive groupings in the imperialist countries are being forced to retreat under the threat of imminent defeat by the socialist forces.

Faced with the growing economic and military strength of the socialist countries, the more farsighted among the ruling element in many

capitalist countries are inclined to be realistic about the world situation and display a readiness to achieve agreements with the socialist countries. There is a growing awareness that at the present stage of world development the best course is to apply the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems to the solution of outstanding international problems.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is the only reliable means of safeguarding peace and averting a thermonuclear war. It is conducive to the establishment of normal relations between countries and peoples, to the promotion of international trade, cultural cooperation, etc. But this does not imply, of course, that peaceful coexistence puts an end to the ideological and political struggle between socialism and capitalism. On the contrary, this struggle is bound to become more acute because the aims of the working class and those of the capitalist class are irreconcilable.

This conclusion is confirmed by the acute class conflicts between labour and capital. Notwithstanding a certain relaxation of international tension in different parts of the world, particularly in Western Europe, which became possible primarily as a result of the triumph of the principle of peaceful coexistence, the class struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist class, far from subsiding, has actually become more acute in recent years. This convincingly refutes the theoretical dogmas and forecasts of the ideological pundits of the "Fourth International."

Equally unfounded are the Trotskyite claims

that the policy of peaceful coexistence adversely affects the national-liberation movement and the struggle waged by the peoples of underdeveloped and dependent countries against imperialism and neo-colonialism. Unwilling to grasp the essence of the policy of peaceful coexistence, and to recognize the beneficent results it has already yielded and is continuing to yield, the leaders of the "Fourth International" recently declared that, as a result of their policy, the socialist countries have lost practically all their influence among the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and that American imperialism has fully taken over the initiative in influencing the course of social development on these continents!

Fabrications such as this grossly distort the actual state of affairs, for what the Trotskyites depict as the growing influence of the imperialist powers is nothing but the acts of aggression and blackmail committed by those powers, the pressure they exert on the ruling element of certain countries, and their efforts to spread the policy of anti-communism, which, of course, cannot but hamper the progress of the liberation struggle carried on by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. As to the real influence of external forces on the social life of the emergent national states, it is characterized by the steady and ever closer friendship and all-round cooperation of these nations with the peoples of the socialist countries and by the equally steady weakening of their ties with the developed capitalist countries.

There is ample evidence to show that the national-liberation movement is increasingly gra-

vitating towards socialism. A number of Afro-Asian, and now also of Latin-American countries, have made their choice in favour of the socialist orientation and are taking the road of non-capitalist development. Faced with the need to eliminate the pernicious consequences of the colonial past, many leaders of the national-liberation movement are manifesting a growing desire to benefit from the experience of the socialist states and to promote multilateral ties with them, becoming increasingly aware of the great importance of their alliance with the world socialist system. This completely demolishes the Trotskyite assertions denying the positive influence of the peaceful coexistence policy on the progress of the national-liberation movement, which are based entirely on demagogic propaganda borrowed from the arsenal of the capitalist ideologists.

Turning pale at every attempt by the aggressive imperialist forces to suppress the struggle for freedom and independence in this country or that, and regarding every temporary success scored by the aggressors as a victory fraught with dire consequences for the peoples, the Trotskyites do their utmost to prove that any policy which fails to declare a "revolutionary war" on imperialism means a "concession" to it, a "collusion" with it, and a "betrayal" of the interests of the revolution.

This is an obvious attempt to twist things, for it is well known that imperialism's crimes and atrocities are not going unpunished, that they are meeting with firm rebuff from the exploited peoples and are being resolutely countered by the socialist states. An example of this is provi-

ded by Indo-China, where the extensive and all-round support rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries multiplied the strength of the heroic Vietnamese people, inspired the patriotic forces in Laos and Cambodia and helped them in the struggle against the American interventionists. Another example is the Middle East, where the policy of the USSR and other socialist countries is helping the Arab peoples to build up their economic and military strength, to fortify their independence and carry on their struggle to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression and establish peace in that part of the world.

The efforts of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving forces to achieve a political settlement of the military conflict in the Middle East—which was stirred up by the aggressive elements of the Israeli capitalist class with the connivance and support of the American imperialists—were greeted by the Trotskyites with unconcealed irritation. The leaders of the “Fourth International” vehemently attacked the USSR for its refusal to heed their “advice” and employ nuclear weapons in the Middle East. In their anxiety to see developments take such a turn, the more extremist among the Trotskyite leaders even made wild calls for a nuclear war.

Much the same stand is taken by the Trotskyites on many other issues. The leaders of the “Fourth International” dismiss as a “daydream” the idea of general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union, and backed by all the peace-loving forces of the world, in an obvious attempt to discredit the movement for universal disarmament. They stubbornly cling to

the same ultra-Leftist point of view which runs counter to the opinions shared by progressive-minded people everywhere on such crucial issues as the elimination of military blocs and the closure of military bases on the territory of other countries, the banning of the production and testing of nuclear weapons, a reduction of armaments and armed forces, and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. All topical problems of world development and international relations are approached by Trotskyism from positions of ultra-revolutionism.

The Trotskyites vociferously oppose any relaxation of international tension, all efforts to create favourable conditions for the free and independent development of the peoples of the world, and the observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence by all states. They have a predilection for an explosive international situation, for acute conflicts and hostile relations between countries, because an atmosphere of heightened tension makes it easier for them to poison the minds of the working people with their anti-Marxist ideas on various aspects of the labour movement and class struggle and to engineer provocations against the communist movement and the forces of socialism. Any improvement of the world political climate, the development of peaceful relations between countries and peoples, on the other hand, deprives Trotskyism of many ideological props from which it launches its reactionary propaganda.

The Trotskyites invariably take an openly hostile stand against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries because of their efforts to improve the international climate, strengthen

security and promote peaceful cooperation in Europe. They subjected to trenchant criticism the socialist countries' peaceful moves which resulted in the conclusion of the treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and Poland, on the other, in the signing of the quadri-partite agreement on West Berlin, and of the agreements between the two German states and between the German Democratic Republic and the West Berlin Senate.

The proponents of the so-called revolutionary war are dismayed by the prospect of the practical implementation of the peaceful coexistence policy on the European continent, which is in the interests of all the peoples of Europe, and of the whole world. They are doing their best to disrupt the working-class movement, to undermine the unity of the communist parties and all the revolutionary forces, and to provoke military conflicts between the two world systems.

The present-day followers of Trotsky's reactionary dogmas cannot bear to see the progressive strengthening of the socialist community and the steady growth of its influence on world developments. The close bonds of fraternal cooperation among the socialist countries in different spheres of state development, politics, economics, culture and other aspects of social life make the world socialist system an invincible force, the bulwark of all fighters for social progress.

The quarter-century since the establishment of the world socialist system has irrefutably proved that its international influence on the course of social development as a whole is deci-

sively determined not only by the achievements of each socialist country but by the closest cooperation of all its member countries, and by the strengthening of their fraternal unity. The socialist states owe their striking achievements to the fact that they closely coordinate their actions, concert their efforts in the sphere of foreign policy and are guided by a single programme.

The Trotskyites are no different from other enemies of the socialist forces. Like the imperialists, they are doing their utmost to divide the socialist community, to sow discord among the fraternal states by opposing one country to another, etc. Their adventuristic actions against the world socialist system cause serious damage to the common cause of peace, democracy and the revolutionary restructuring of society.

The socialist community is the bulwark of freedom-loving peoples, the epoch-making achievement of the progressive forces of our time. Its emergence was predicted by Lenin in his general outline of progress "to the future socialist unity of the whole world" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 46). Reviewing the situation within the socialist community, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, said in his Report to the 24th Party Congress: "We want to see every fraternal country a flourishing state, harmoniously combining rapid economic, scientific and technical growth with a flowering of socialist culture and rising living standards for the working people. We want the world socialist system to be a well-knit family of nations, building and defending the new society together, and mutually enriching each other with experience and know-

ledge, a family, strong and united, which the people of the world would regard as the prototype of the future world community of free nations" (*24th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1971, p. 19*).

Only the inveterate enemies of socialism and of progress in general can adopt a hostile attitude to the development of the world socialist system, as the Trotskyites are doing in collusion with the imperialists. The only thing that distinguishes them from the direct perpetrators of the imperialist-engineered acts of subversion against the socialist community is that in most cases they operate in disguise, and keep up the pretence of fighters for socialism.

The "Fourth International" rejects the idea of proletarian internationalism which has proved of inestimable value in uniting the working class and all working people at different stages of the world revolutionary movement, and which has now increased enormously in importance.

The communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time primarily and chiefly because the Communists and the broadest sections of the working people rallied behind them have remained true to the principle of international labour solidarity and proletarian internationalism. The working class can achieve its aims only by consistently applying the Leninist strategy and tactics, by closely uniting the world-wide anti-imperialist forces and coordinating their activity. But Trotskyism, by virtue of its opportunist nature, takes a distorted view of events and affairs. The Trotskyites, reluctant to face up to reality, tenaciously

cling to their anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist line in approaching the solution of the problems of world development and of the labour movement.

It is not difficult to see that, by their hostility towards the socialist community, towards the Communist Party and the entire liberation movement, and towards any relaxation of international tension and the practical measures taken by the peace-loving forces to safeguard and strengthen peace, the Trotskyites are the pawns of imperialism and act in unison with its aggressive forces. Undeterred by the fact that since the war the imperialists have unleashed more than 30 wars and armed conflicts in different parts of the world, most of which have been settled as a result of the efforts of the socialist countries and other peace-loving states, the Trotskyites continue to advocate the idea of military conflicts between countries and peoples, depicting these conflicts as mass manifestations against monopoly capital.

The Trotskyites operating in Latin America have for many years been pursuing a policy of fomenting "guerilla warfare," claiming that this is the only means of ending the domination of the oligarchies and establishing the rule of the working people. Nevertheless, none of the Latin-American countries has shown any signs of putting this policy into practice. And this is only to be expected, for the practical actions of the Trotskyites, just as their theoretical premises, completely ignore the laws of the class struggle and are purely anarchist in character.

The process of drawing into the world revolutionary movement widely differing social strata (especially the population of colonial and de-

pendent countries), a certain proportion of which are still, because of their backwardness, full of petty-bourgeois prejudices, is assessed by the Trotskyites from positions which can only be described as capitulatory and which further the interests of imperialism. They pay lip-service to the ideal of strengthening the world-wide anti-imperialist front, but in actual practice they leave no stone unturned to undermine any movement offering a real threat to imperialism.

In his ruthless struggle against opportunists of every persuasion, Lenin repeatedly stressed that the only reliable criterion of a theory or doctrine was its conformity to the objective processes of socio-political and economic development. Anyone who guides himself by this precept of Lenin's is bound to come to the conclusion that the Trotskyist ideas run directly counter to revolutionary teaching because they completely ignore the laws of social development and interpret the tasks and aims of labour's struggle against imperialism from positions that are absolutely alien to the cause of progress, socialism and peace.

Only the tried and tested teaching of the founders of scientific communism indicates the genuine road to socialism, universal peace and security. Only on the basis of this teaching is it possible for the people of the world to translate their dreams into reality by joining the efforts of the world socialist community, the international working class and the national liberation movement, by rallying all the revolutionary forces of our time and cementing the unity of the anti-imperialist front. This was emphatically stressed by the 1969 International Meeting of

Communist and Workers' Parties and reaffirmed in the historic decisions of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was an important event for the working people of the world who have their eyes fixed on the goal of socialism. The congress put forward an extensive Peace Programme, based on united action by all anti-imperialist forces, which clearly formulates the main objectives for the attainment of which the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the whole of progressive humanity have been working perseveringly for many years. As true internationalists, the Soviet people and their friends in other countries are firmly resolved to put an end to open acts of aggression and to the armed conflicts kindled by imperialism. They are determined radically to improve the entire international situation by ensuring the triumph of the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Firmly backed by the communist and workers' parties of other countries, by the socialist community and the progressive forces of the whole world, the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress have exerted a powerful influence on working people everywhere.

The growing might of the world socialist system and the steady growth of the anti-imperialist struggle are compelling the aggressive elements in the imperialist countries to enter into negotiations with the governments of the socialist countries.

Trotskyism's vain hopes to revive its arch-reactionary trend, to resurrect its "ultra-Leftist," essentially capitulatory conceptions with regard

to the fundamental problems of world development and class struggle are crumbling under the impact of the successes of the socialist countries in the sphere of foreign policy.

Nor will Trotskyism find salvation in its ideological kinship with the Mao Tse-tung group which is pursuing a chauvinistic, nationalist policy aimed at splitting the world communist movement and turning China into a force openly hostile to the socialist community and to the cause of international security. The "Fourth International" has failed to earn any political dividends from the fact that the Chinese leadership has, in effect, made an alliance with the Trotskyites in dividing the communist and the entire revolutionary-liberation movement, even going to the lengths of reviving the Trotskyist thesis denying the possibility of socialism emerging victorious in any country before the triumph of the world revolution, and regarding war as the "inevitable concomitant" of revolution.

Once again history has cogently confirmed that the defectors from Marxism-Leninism and those who seek to divide the forces of progress will never succeed in diverting the revolutionary movement from its true path, nor in halting the onward march of communism.

The truth of Lenin's prophetic words—that only a party which sets itself the task "not to serve the working-class movement passively at each of its separate stages, but to represent the interests of the movement as a whole, to point out to this movement its ultimate aim and its political tasks, and to safeguard its political and ideological independence" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 4,

p. 368), can count on success in the revolutionary struggle—is brilliantly confirmed in our time, when the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are gripping the minds of millions upon millions of working people all over the world.

The Communist Party, which unswervingly guides itself by the precepts of the founders of scientific socialism, has always strictly abided by these principles, being fully aware that any betrayal of Marxism-Leninism is bound to have disastrous consequences. And this is precisely the fate that awaits Trotskyism. Every Communist is in duty bound resolutely to expose the anti-revolutionary essence of this anarchist trend which is the sworn enemy of Marxism-Leninism.

С. ОГУРЦОВ
ПОДЛИННОЕ ЛИЦО НЕОТРОЦКИЗМА
на английском языке

Цена 18 коп.