

Archives of the Revolution The TESTAMENT OF LENIN

Lenin wrote what has come to be known as the Testament for transmission to the 12th congress of the Russian Communist party, the first one his illness would not permit him to attend. Hoping for his recovery, Krupskaya withheld the notes and presented them to the 13th congress only after Lenin's death. By a vote of 30 to 10, the leadership refused to have the document read to the congress, for it was just then engaged in a violent struggle to discredit Trotsky and "Trotskyism." The document, so keen and profound a product of Lenin's mature thought and concern about the party situation, was literally suppressed. Its authenticity, widely denied by the supporters of Stalin, was, however, confirmed by the latter, under pressure of the Opposition, in a speech in Moscow, reprinted in the International Press Correspondence of November 17, 1927: "It is said that in the 'Testament' in question Lenin suggested to the party congress that it should deliberate on the question of replacing Stalin and appointing another comrade in his place as General Secretary of the party. This is perfectly true. . . . Yes, comrades, I am rude towards those who are rudely and disloyally destroying and disintegrating the party. I have never made a secret of it and shall not do so now."

The allusion in the second clause of the first sentence is to a part of the notes dealing with economic organization.—Ed.

By the stability of the Central Committee, of which I spoke before, I mean measures to prevent a split, so far as such measures can be taken. For, of course, the White Guard in Russkaya Myst (I think it was S. E. Oldenburg) was right when, in the first place, in his play against Soviet Russia he split in our party, and when, in the second place, he banked for that split on serious disagreements in our party.

Our party rests upon two classes, and for that reason its instability is possible, and if there cannot exist an agreement between such classes its fall is inevitable. In such an event it would be useless to take any measures or in general to discuss the stability of our Central Committee. In such an event no measures would prove capable of preventing a split. But I trust that is too remote a future, and too improbable an event, to talk about.

I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the near future, and I intend to examine here a series of considerations of a purely personal character.

I think that the fundamental factor in the matter of stability—from this point of view—as such members of the Central Committee as Stalin and Trotsky. The relation between them constitutes, in my opinion, a big half of the danger of that split, which might be avoided, and the avoidance of which might be promoted in my opinion by raising the number of members of the Central Committee to fifty or one hundred.

Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand, comrade Trotsky, as was proved by his struggle against the Central Committee in connection with the question of the People's Commissariat of Ways and Communications, is distinguished not only by his exceptional ability—personally, he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee—but also by his too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be far too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.

These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split, and if our

party does not take measures to prevent it, a split might arise unexpectedly.

I will not further characterise the other members of the Central Committee as to their personal qualities. I will only remind you that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kamenev was not, of course, accidental, but that it ought as little to be used against them as the non-Bolshevism of Trotsky.

Of the younger members of the Central Committee, I want to say a few words about Piatakov and Bukharin. They are, in my opinion, the most able forces (among the youngest) and in regard to them it is necessary to bear in mind the following: Bukharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the party, but also may legitimately be considered the favourite of the whole party; but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxian, for there is something scholastic in him (he never has learned, and I think never fully understood the dialectic).

And then Piatakov—a man undoubtedly distinguished in will and ability, but too much given over to the administrative side of things to be relied on in a serious political question.

Of course, both these remarks are made by me merely with a view of the present time, or supposing that these two able and loyal workers may not find an occasion to supplement their knowledge and correct their onesidedness.

December 25, 1922.

Postscript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us communists, becomes unsupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky which I discussed above, it is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle as may acquire a decisive significance.

January 4, 1923. LENIN.

WORKERS' VICTORY AT HANDLEY-PAGE

(Continued from p.1)

party and resist the attack of the employers. In this connection it is significant that the management concerned is the same one which allowed Harry Pollitt and Ted Bramley to address the workers in the canteen quite recently which is an indication of how they regard the policy of the leadership of the Communist Party at the present time.

SHOP STEWARDS DEMAND IMMEDIATE SATISFACTION

Several mass meetings were held by the workers during the day, the workers taking over the canteen in order to have a meeting place. This was in defiance of one of the provisions of the infamous Essential Works Order.

The district organiser of the A.E.U. was informed and attended the delegate meeting of the shop stewards who were now negotiating with the management on behalf of the men. The management refused to discuss with the men till they had returned to work, as usual, demanding that the men "go through the customary procedure." This would have meant, as the workers have discovered by bitter experience, that negotiations would probably drag on for months till the original dispute had been completely forgotten. The workers overwhelmingly repudiated this suggestion.

A delegation was then sent by the men, together with the A.E.U. organiser to the responsible heads of the Ministry of Labour. They attempted to avoid responsibility, endeavouring to pass the buck back to the management of the factory. The delegation refused to accept this and were then referred to the Chief Conciliation Officer of the Ministry of Labour. Faced with the militant attitude of the

SHIPPING CO. Defrauds Gunner "Heroes"

CREWS JAILED

From a Scottish East Coast Port. To the Socialist Appeal, Dear Comrades,

The article which appeared in the September number of the Socialist Appeal on the imprisonment of a ship's crew was welcomed by all aboard our ship and has aroused a good deal of discussion in the fo'castle in the port. It exposes a practice which is taking place—that is the secret trial and imprisonment of merchant seamen for alleged delay of their ships, and unmasks the parliamentary and newspaper blab about the welfare and status of merchant seamen—after the war!

Within the last couple of months, two fo'castle crews that I know of, have been imprisoned from this port on the same frame-up as the one you reported: refusing to take the ship to sea without just and reasonable cause. In these cases the men refused to take vessels out because they were not fully manned. The companies claimed, as evidence against the men, that the gunners aboard—that is men who man the guns but do no work—were part of the ship's crew. A deliberate lie!

These frame-ups aroused a good deal of opposition and resentment at the time, but since we are mostly split up on different ships coming and going, it was difficult to do anything about it, particularly since the union officials sold out in these cases as well.

The widespread and numerous grievances of the merchant seamen demand immediate attention and action. But the difficulty of attending union branch meetings, makes it simple for the officials to avoid their responsibility to us, and sell



WHAT TO READ

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War and the World Revolution	2d.
Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay	1d.
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The U.S.S.R. in War	3d.
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In Duplicated form, 218 pages.	

out to the bosses. They make it almost impossible to keep a check on their actions by seeing to it that branches never meet.

One very important and legitimate demand among the fo'castle hands is for bonus on dangerous cargoes. Although the companies are paid exceptionally high freightage rates for such cargoes as high spirit or explosives, the men who do the dangerous work of getting the cargoes through, receive nothing at all.

Every sharp practice is used to increase profits and evade responsibility to the crews. Men from the crew who sign as gunners are paid 6d. a day extra. But there are never sufficient who have signed as gunners to fully man and operate the ship's guns. Many of us who have been trained as gunners and who, naturally, man the guns during raids, are paid no extra at all. In my own case, while the ship's gunners who man the heavier guns are fairly well protected from machine gun bullets and bomb splinters; the light gun I man is situated directly behind them and is completely unprotected. Yet when I demanded my extra 6d. a day the company clerks simply laugh. The companies rely on the instinct of self preservation in the men to evade their responsibilities to them. Knowing that in the final analysis the men will protect themselves with whatever weapons are at hand, they sign on and pay the absolute legal minimum of gunners.

The demand for workers' control was hotly debated and supported by the majority of men. In the shipping industry, more than any other, the men already control the processes of transport and the parasitic character of the owners is most easily seen.

Yours fraternally,
Stanley H. Able Seaman.

men he was compelled to admit that the workers had a genuine grievance.

COMPLETE VICTORY FOR WORKERS

The result of the negotiations was a complete victory for the workers. The management was ordered to reinstate all the men dismissed, who had not been found jobs by the Ministry of Labour. It was agreed that no further transfers of any men should take place until the men had been consulted through their representatives.

A conference is to be held between the management and the shop stewards to decide on the machinery for any further

J. P. CANNON FOR MAYOR of NEW YORK

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party of America, will be the Trotskyist anti-war candidate for Mayor of New York City. This is the reply of the Socialist Workers' Party to Roosevelt's attempt to silence the voices of the proletarian anti-war fighters of the United States by his frame-up charge against James P. Cannon and 28 other members of the Socialist Workers' Party and of Minneapolis Union leaders for "conspiring to overthrow the government by force."

ANTI-WAR PLATFORM

The platform of the party in their campaign will have three chief planks:

1. For class struggle opposition to the war and the capitalist system that breeds war.
2. For the defence of all workers' rights and civil liberties against the war-time repressions.
3. For the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union and against reactionary Stalinism which weakens the defence of the Soviet Union.

As part of the struggle against fascism the Socialist Workers' Party advocates Military Training of Workers, financed by the government, BUT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNIONS. For special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.

The campaign committee is confident that the quota of 7,500 signatures, the

minimum required, will be fulfilled. The New York comrades are working furiously getting the nomination petitions filed in the crowded working class section of New York.

ROOSEVELT'S FRAME-UP ATTACKED BY AMERICAN UNIONS

Labour's Non Partisan League, the C.I.O.'s (Industrial unions) political body, branded the frame-up against the Union and Trotskyist leaders as "a menace to fundamental civil liberties and to labour's basic rights." The following paragraphs are taken from the text:

"In St. Paul a few days ago a large number of C.I.O. Union members of Minneapolis were indicted for holding allegedly subversive opinions. The indictment went back to 1938 in strained efforts to find some incident on which to base its action. Not what these men did, but what they thought, formed the real crime against them."

A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

"The incident is regarded generally here as an attempt by the Justice Department to establish a precedent. If it is successful, many informed observers are expecting other indictments of labour figures who do not toe the mark in the way some bureaucrat would prefer that they do."

If Minneapolis teamsters can be jailed for their opinions, so can anybody. That is why the case is of national importance to civil liberties."

ONLY SOLUTION FOR DALMUIR WORKERS

Continued from page 1

Lithgow and the other engineering bosses are well known on Clydeside. They are not taking over this factory to manage it more efficiently, increase production and assure that "the war may be ended in favour of democracy." They are doing it in order to manage the factory in their own interests, increase their already gigantic profits and assure that the war will be ended in favour of British imperialism. Who will believe that the same Lithgow who said at a public meeting in Glasgow that if he had his way the Clydeside workers would be treated like "coolies" will take seriously Beaverbrook's empty promise to these very workers? Beaverbrook's own paper, the Daily Express, reflected the real attitude of the bosses when it said of the men who went on strike against the transfer: "Put them in khaki."

The official argument of the Government that this deal will assist in the elimination of chaos in production is smashed to the ground by an abundance of hard facts. Every workers knows that in factories controlled by private enterprise, nothing but red tape, bottlenecks and mismanagement exist. The cost-plus ten-per-cent-profit system ensures that the employers and shareholders draw their fat

share of the swag even if they, the more muddle there's shops chaos reigns. How often is it possible for the gentlemen of private enterprise to clean up the muddle at Dalmuir or elsewhere if they cannot do it in their own shops. It is well known to engineering workers that production figures are higher in State controlled factories than in the monopoly controlled enterprises.

It was the workers at Dalmuir who drew the attention of the Government to the state of muddle which existed within the R.O.F. Thousands of hours were being wasted owing to the hold-up of materials (controlled by Lithgow).

Repeated protests were followed by a deputation to see the Minister of Supply. Beaverbrook promised to attend to the men's demands personally. He did! Immediately following his trip to the Clyde the men were informed that their state employment with the R.O.F. was terminated and that they could apply for re-employment with Messrs. Beardmore's. This illegal action was taken without discussion with the men or their union representatives. The agreements won by years of hard and persistent struggle were cancelled over-night. The new agreement offered, proposed a substantial reduction in their status and conditions.

But the alternative before the Beardmore workers is not just to accept bureaucratic and incompetent Government control or the control of Sir James Lithgow. The real alternative is direct control by the workers themselves through shop-stewards' and factory committees. Such control, exercised by those who really do the producing and not by financiers and sharks, would cut through all the red tape and chaos which are inseparable from private ownership and control.

The Government has revealed itself as the agent of big business by this handing over of the Dalmuir factory to the arms profiteers. It is for this that the working class are making such terrible sacrifices. So that the end of the war will see the arms manufacturers and big combines with a complete stranglehold on the economic life of the nation. The Shop Stewards at a Midlands Ordnance Factory have passed a unanimous resolution of protest against the transfers and sent it to Lord Beaverbrook. The works committee of this factory have been instructed to take the initiative in calling a conference of Shop Steward delegates from all Ordnance Factories in order to discuss this anti-working-class move. The answer to the Dalmuir scandal is for the shop stewards at this forthcoming conference to demand the nationalisation without compensation of the whole armament industry and its operation under workers' control.



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East End, London	4	2	0
South London	14	0	0
Napiers workers	7	0	0
R.R. Girl Shop Steward	2	6	
Southall, Middlesex	10	0	
R.A.F. Comrade	1	0	0
Comrade Simpson, Member of the First International	1	0	0
Edinburgh	2	0	0
Glasgow	5	14	0
Birmingham	4	10	6
Northampton	10	0	
Nottingham	10	0	
Wales readers	7	0	
From a C.P.er, London	5	0	
	£54	1	0

transfers in future. Transfers when they take place will not be decided arbitrarily by the management. All future transfers will only take place after consultations with the shop stewards.

The attempt of the management to rid themselves of the most class-conscious workers was defeated by the solidarity of the workers. This victory shows that it will not be possible to treat the workers as human cattle or serfs, by laws such as the Essential Works Order, etc. so long as we resist such attempts by organised class action and solidarity.

Handley Page Worker.