

NEW MILITANT with which is merged THE MILITANT Published weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co., 55 East 11th Street, New York City Phone. ALgonquin 4-9058

Shame!

Through the Daily Worker we are informed that Litvinoff, representing the Soviet Union in the League of Nations' Council, voted for the resolution to dismember Ethiopia based on the 1906 robber treaty between Italy, Britain and France...

And how is the world to know, we might ask, that the Soviet Union—or more correctly, the dominant Stalin regime—does not approve of this treaty? Where would be the place to proclaim this fact if not exactly where the last of the independent African republics pleaded its case?

This closes the first chapter of the recent maneuvers for new imperialist conquests. It unfolded behind the scenes as well as at the front doors of the League of Nations characterized by Lenin as an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guarantee each other their prey.

Through the maneuvers making up this first chapter stands out most glaringly the shameful role played by Stalin's representative at Geneva, equalized only by the revolting hypocrisy of a MacDonald or a Henderson.

Litvinoff voted for the resolution based on the imperialist robber treaty at the Council meeting held in July. But did this resolution "set up an obstacle to the Fascist war plans?" Or was Stalin correct when he asserted that "if the League is even the tiniest bump somewhat to slow down the drive toward war and help peace then we are not against the League?"

As war approaches we sound the alarm once again. We emphasize: There can be no compromise between the policy of national defense and the position of struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by revolutionary assault.

This action of Litvinoff is not a mere incident for history to note and pass on to the order of the day. It must be understood as one link in a whole chain of policies pursued by the present day leaders of the Soviet Union.

the fact that the workers' republic and that alone championed the right of self-determination of small nations. Toward the brigands of imperialism the Soviet Union maintained an attitude of implacable hostility and it proclaimed this attitude in words and deeds.

From the very beginning of the chain of events that have characterized the Stalinist foreign policy of the Soviet Union we sounded the alarm. The reliance on pacts with the bourgeoisie and the entry into the League of Nations could only arouse false hopes in the working masses.

Now the war danger is advancing with seven league boots. This remains the life and death question for the masses of the people everywhere. It is the crucial test for all groupings and tendencies within the working class.

It is necessary to draw a line and draw it sharply. Between the treacherous policy of solidarity and unanimity with the League Council coupled with alliances for national defense on the one hand and the Marxist position on the other—no compromise is possible.

Of course the Soviet Union is threatened in this developing war situation. But it would be an idle dream to place any hopes for its defense on the diplomatic games at Geneva or on military alliances with bourgeois powers.

As war approaches we sound the alarm once again. We emphasize: There can be no compromise between the policy of national defense and the position of struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by revolutionary assault.

"LA VERITE" Organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group in French S.P. (formerly Communist League of France) Single copies, 5c each Subscriptions \$2.00 per year plus 2c postage.

They Have One Teacher

By HENRY THURMAN "We have a uniform program for socialism, the strategy and tactics of the world revolution: one fortress, the Soviet Union; one world party, the Communist International; one teacher, the great Stalin."

It is a strange batch of rookies that Stalin and Thorez have drafted to the service of their French allies; no less than Lenin, Marx and Engels are whipped into line under the tricolor to rally the communist proletariat in defense of Laval's brand of culture.

having got into the automobile, might use it and the firearms for new robberies. Our compromise with the bandits of German imperialism was such a compromise.

"But when the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in Russia, the Scheideggians (and, to a large extent, the Kautskysts) in Germany, Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler (left alone Renner and Co.) in Austria, the Renaudels and Lonquet ad Co. in France, the Fabians, the 'Independents' and the 'Labourites' in England, in 1914-1920, entered into compromises with the bandits of their own bourgeoisie, and sometimes with those of the bourgeoisie of the 'allies' against the revolutionary proletariat of their own country, all these gentlemen acted as 'accomplices-in-banditry.' (Left-Wing Communism.)

"We have a uniform program for socialism (in one country) . . . "One fortress, the Soviet Union (repeatedly two, until the very hour of Wan Min's address!) . . . "One teacher—STALIN!" Rally Support for the Eight-Page NEW MILITANT. JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

The Comintern Goes Back to Kautsky

Stalinist 7th Congress Throws Overboard All the Teachings of Marx and Lenin on the State and Internationalism

By JOHN WEST

In 1928, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International met to record the triumph of Stalin over the Marxist opposition, to consolidate the abandonment of internationalism, and to prepare for the utilization of the C.I. in the years ahead, more and more directly in the reactionary interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy and against the interests of the world proletariat.

When an instrument which the working class has forged in the heart of its struggles, to serve its needs, abandons its progressive function and turns against the class that formed it, the working class cannot merely cast it off as a snake casts off its old skin in the new spring. The instrument remains, and remains not as something dead and abandoned, but actively, as a weapon turned against its maker.

Now the war danger is advancing with seven league boots. This remains the life and death question for the masses of the people everywhere. It is the crucial test for all groupings and tendencies within the working class.

The key to the significance of the present Congress can be given in three quotations from the proceedings:

(1) "The victory of socialism on a world scale in a brief historic period is assured if peace is maintained, thus making possible new victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R." (Pieck, quoted N. Y. Times, July 29).

(2) ". . . Now the working masses are not choosing between the proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy but between bourgeois democracy and fascism" (Dimitroff, quoted Daily Worker, Aug. 15).

(3) "In the present situation how should the toiling masses of Czechoslovakia fight for peace against fascism? They must fight with all means at their disposal for the preservation and deepening of friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R., for the carrying into practice the mutual assistance pact between Czechoslovakia and the S. U." (Sverma, quoted Daily Worker, Aug. 19).

The political content of these quotations must be carefully understood. They are theoretical acknowledgments of progressive steps in the degeneration of the Comintern which have already been taken in practice. Launched on the tracks of "socialism in one country," the C.I. could not leave it at that. For the poisoning of one cardinal point of Marxism principle—in this case, revolutionary internationalism—meant that the poison would spread throughout the system.

theory of socialism in one country, the keystone of the arch of Stalinism. What follows? Peace must be preserved. What then follows? The sections of the C. I. must be converted into peace propaganda agencies each sacrificing the interests of its national proletariat to the construction of socialism in the S. U. What follows? The interests of the Chinese, German, Austrian, French . . . workers must be betrayed to Soviet nationalism.

The inevitable conclusions Quotation (2) draws the correct conclusion: Granted the basic line of socialism in one country, which prevents international revolution, for the sake of maintaining the status quo, the choice of the proletariat in this era is not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism. Therefore, the working class is led

New Signers for the Open Letter

Ed. Note: We print below the first additions to the signatories of the Open Letter to the World Proletariat, declaring for the Fourth International and giving their assent to the establishment of a Provisional Contact Committee which will facilitate this activity.

Dear Comrade, We have received your documents concerning the Fourth International and our reply follows. We are indeed sorry that these documents came somewhat late, since our leading committees have been disorganized due to the vacation period and we fear that we will not be able to send you a motivated answer before a fortnight.

Our opinion, formulated after exhaustive conferences, is that the defeats suffered by socialism and the Third International flow from the fact that the socialism of the Second or of the Third has not yet found the method of democratic realization of economic construction after the revolution. We believe that new disasters are inevitable if this question is

Democratic theory best stated by Kautsky. No question of principle can be more important: only by the clear and constant recognition of the class nature of the state, of the fact that the bourgeois state in every form is its mortal enemy and must be destroyed, can a revolutionary party sustain a correct strategy in the class struggle.

Two Sources of Degeneration We can trace consequences of the C. I. degeneration on this point from two directions:

(1) "Defense of the democratic rights of the workers and toiling masses" is, under all circumstances, a correct revolutionary slogan; and leadership in such defense is an elementary duty of the revolutionary party. But how defend these rights, for example, when they are threatened by the oncoming of Fascism? The Marxist answers: They can be defended only by the offensive revolutionary struggle for workers' power, only by the class organization of the workers, the fighting proletarian united front, the building of the workers' militia, the overthrow of bourgeois rule.

For this correct slogan and the correct method of carrying into practice, the C. I. Congress substitutes—"The defense of bourgeois democracy against fascism" (cf. Pieck, "we defend parliamentarism and democracy against fascism" Daily Worker, July 27; Gorkitch, "Real united front work has recently begun (in Yugoslavia). Its aims must be to establish a united anti-fascist people's government

tee the victory of fascism, and the concomitant loss of actual democratic rights. The only defense of democratic rights in the present era is the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

Thus the C. I. doctrine can serve only to weaken, disarm, and disorient the proletariat, to prevent the real struggle against fascism.

The United Front is of course an indispensable tactic in the revolutionary struggle. But the United Front must be aggressive, militant, fighting, an instrument by which the revolutionary party gains leadership over the masses, joins the working masses in common action, with no sacrifice of program or principle.

What is this People's Front, which is to include "all anti-fascist elements"? It is the logical development of the C. I. conception of a proletarian United Front as carried out, for example, in France. The United Front is, for the C. I., to be purely negative and defensive in character—against war and fascism, in defense of—bourgeois democracy against fascism.

The "People's Government" 3. To complete the picture: The defense of democracy and the People's Front both, again quite logically, lead to—support of or entry into a "People's government" or a "united anti-fascist government." Upton Sinclair himself would feel at home at many of the sessions of the Seventh Congress.

The following is the letter of comrade Vereeken in the name of his group on the subject of the Open Letter: "To the I. S. of the I.C.L.: Received your document. An affirmative answer has been elaborated and is now being examined by the comrades of our organization. The reply will be sent and published in Spartacus." (signed) G. VEREEKEN.

What wonder, then, that we shall be asked to support the next imperialist war? Do not Dimitroff and the others prove to us that support of democratic France and England and Czechoslovakia is the high road to socialism? And what wonder, then, that so often during the Congress there is mention of organic unity with the Social Democracy? Kautsky himself went no further from Lenin on the key question of the state, on the key slogan, "Class against class"; and it was here that there arose the dividing line that called for the formation of the new party and the new International—the Leninist International.

NEW YORKERS—ATTENTION Book Clearance To make room for new stock, all miscellaneous books, pamphlets and magazines have been drastically reduced for immediate disposal. Visit our new quarters today and take advantage of our special prices. BOOKS OF ALL PUBLISHERS PIONEER BOOK SERVICE (formerly Pioneer Book Shop) 100 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. Room 1010