

Words Out Of the Past Which the Stalinists Want to Forget

"It is difficult to forecast the lineup in the next imperialist war. But it is very probable that such a war would start either as an attack upon the Soviet Union or, as Stalin said, would be rapidly transferred into a united attack of the imperialists against the U.S.S.R.

"But whatever the exact circumstances in which the hostilities would begin, the French Communist Party would continue to wage its relentless and unceasing struggle against French capitalism and their own imperialists. It would raise Lenin's slogan of turning imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war. A Soviet France would be the best and only genuine ally of the Soviet Union.

"At the moment the immediate interests of French imperialism require friendly relations with the Soviet Union. But the defense of the Soviet Union ultimately depends upon the efforts of the interna-

tional working class. The hindering and crippling of the war machinery of all capitalist governments is among the most important tasks confronting the world proletariat. The fight against the war preparations of the imperialists is an integral part of the fight against capitalism, and if pushed with sufficient force, can assure the establishment of Soviet power before the outbreak of an imperialist slaughter. The anti-war struggle by its very nature is a defense of the Soviet Union and an advancement of the struggles of the working class against capitalism. It should be emphasized that under all circumstances the main task of the working class is the overthrow of the capitalists of its own country. The struggle in this direction makes for peace, the defense of the Soviet Union, and the furtherance of the interests of the international proletariat." *Daily Worker*, April 3, 1935. Reprinted in the *Daily Worker*, May 11, 1935.)

Secret Paris Meet Plans To Wipe Out Comintern

Roy Burt 'Lifts' Minnesota's Charters; Left Has Membership

By Arthur Hopkins

News from France and Spain indicates that "progress" is being made toward organic unity of Communist and Socialist Parties. No basic differences on political principles divide them; the Socialists are only concerned by the question of control. Many of them object to domination from Moscow; many demand greater national autonomy and more party democracy; and many are honest and decent enough to abhor Stalinist GPU methods of terrorism.

Thorez and Cachin join with Blum and Chautemps in outlawing sit-down strikes and in demanding the suspension of the 40-hour-week law, so as to ensure capitalist recovery and prosperity without which the People's Front cannot survive.

Likewise in Spain, Pasionaria and Diaz and Hernandez join with Prieto and Negrin and Azana in the repressive drive against all revolutionary organizations—against even the left social democratic wing of the UGT and SP led by the reformist Caballerol.

Does the approach to organic unity, and the unity in action already achieved, foreshadow the capture of the Second International by the Third? Does it mean the eventual liquidation of the Comintern? The revolutionary principles upon which the Comintern was founded are long since liquidated so far as it is concerned. Will this ideological liquidation be followed by organizational dissolution?

(Continued from page 1) formed that the time had come to stop half-way measures against the "Trotskyite bandits and uncontrollable extremists"; they must be ruthlessly smashed as an obstacle to People's Frontism and the foreign policy of the Kremlin; they were also informed that if British, French and American imperialism demanded, as the price of a military alliance against Germany, Italy and Japan, that the Comintern be eliminated from the international arena, that must be done.

Soviet Russia, since Stalin has eliminated all opposition from the left by mass executions and imprisonment, is ready if necessary, to pay the final price for military aid, for "collective security", for an entente with all "good", "peaceful, democratic, progressive" capitalist powers against the bad, war-like, aggressive fascist powers threatening the USSR.

But the Stalinist bureaucracy will not readily surrender a powerful weapon—one which no other nation possesses—an international apparatus with influence out of all proportion to its numerical strength capable of aiding the ruling class in each democratic country in mobilizing the masses for war. An alternative must be found in case the British Tories refuse to shake the hand of friendship proffered by Stalin. As long as there is any danger, real or imaginary, that the Comintern may change its line again and take another leap to the left, even the liberal capitalists hesitate to align themselves with Russia.

This alternative is the capture of the Second International. Failing that, the organization of a People's Front International.

In line with this perspective, negotiations were pushed more energetically for organic unity of the French, Spanish and Italian CP and SP. In China the CP reentered the Kuomintang which it had characterized for a decade as a "counter-revolutionary, fascist organization, an agency of Japanese imperialism". Mao Tse-tung again clasps hands with Chiang Kai-shek, called a "fascist

butcher" for his mass execution of Chinese workers and peasants at Canton and Shanghai in 1937; Chiang Kai-shek who for ten years has led armies against the Chinese Soviets instead of resisting the encroachments of Japanese imperialism. The Chinese Soviets have been liquidated and the Red Army is part of the "People's Army"; the CP has pledged itself not to carry on any revolutionary activity whatever, just as Earl Browder has made a similar pledge to Roosevelt in more cautious language. Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek, Browder and Roosevelt, the Red Virgin Pasionaria and Azana, are comrades and pals—or at least the "Communists" seek such friendship.

The Chinese People's Front, which failed so disastrously in 1927, is resuscitated—why? Browder and Gannes and Pollit and Strachey advise American and British imperialists to take advantage of the generous offer extended by Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek—that those nations which help China in her hour of need and win her friendship will be given concessions—markets, resources—to develop. Stalinists are on their knees before the capitalist class of the democratic countries, begging for aid for Soviet Russia, assuring them they need fear no revolution in China, in Spain, in France, in the U. S. A. or anywhere, assuring the British and French imperialists that the Spanish People's Front is the best defender of their interests in Spain against the threat of German and Italian imperialism, and against the threat of proletarian revolution. Why this disgraceful spectacle?

Drive Towards War

The answer is simple, but the Comintern has so long enjoyed a reputation as a revolutionary organization, has so long posed as the inheritor of the traditions of Marx and Lenin, that it is difficult for many comrades to believe that its degeneration has gone so deep. It is hard for many

revolutionists to accept the established fact—the Comintern is nothing whatever today but the instrument of the Stalinist bureaucracy misruling the USSR. This ruling caste of Russia has the jitters. It has staked everything upon forming an alliance with the democratic capitalist powers against Germany, Italy and Japan, and hopes for the only action that the Stalinists believe can stop these aggressive, "have-not" powers seeking re-division of the world—war. WAR.

Thus the Third International repeats the betrayal of the Second International in 1914. The acid test of every revolutionist is his attitude on war. The test proves that the Stalinists are not "against your 'own' imperialist government", that they do not seek to turn imperialist war into civil war. The patriotism of the social-democrats in 1914 and since is mild compared with the social patriotism of the Stalinists with their "twentieth-century Americanism", their nationalism in Spain and France and China. In every country they drape the flag—and not the red flag—about them and shout for collective action, for sanctions, for measures which they know full well will lead to war—in defense of the status quo, in defense of their own capitalist governments against the fascist menace, in defense of the national interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Logic of a Policy

The political line of the old internationals converge. Stalinists and social democrats may argue about details but that doesn't stop them from reaching an accord—and always on a social-democratic, reformist, opportunist program, far to the right of the left wing of the Second International. This complete capitulation to a political philosophy that has been proven utterly bankrupt, that led in a series of European countries, with the aid of "third period" ultra-leftist Stalinism, straight to fascist triumph,—this surrender, I say, is amazing.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Roy E. Burt, national secretary of the Socialist Party (Right wing) skulked into the Twin Cities on October 11 to investigate the party situation, and as a result of his findings, Locals Austin, St. Paul, and Minneapolis, comprising a membership of over 200 left wing socialists, have had their charters revoked. During his brief stay here Burt failed to meet with the State Executive Committee, which had informed Burt that it was ready to meet with him at the St. Paul headquarters to discuss the Minnesota situation. While the State Committee awaited Burt, he was meeting with six people, two of whom being Appealites, and one not a party member. At this small meeting plans were laid for the expulsion of the revolutionists in Minnesota.

Ask "Loyalty Oath"

Letters have been sent all comrades in the affected Locals apprising them of the revocation of the three Local charters for "giving aid and support to a group dual to the Socialist Party." The letter goes on to state that "members of the Local are informed that they stand suspended and expelled under the decision of the National Executive Committee, but any member who so desires to disavow his relationship with a dual organization may, upon application and subject to regulations laid down by the N.E.C., be transferred as members at large and so maintain continuous membership in the Socialist Party."

Norman Thomas, leader of the expulsionists, has been in Minnesota, speaking in Bemidji before the Northern Minnesota

Educational Association, but like Burt, he has found no time to devote to the revolutionaries in this state. However, he found time, between whirlwind campaigns to convert liberals and dilettantes to become as "liberal" as himself and his group, to issue a statement to the capitalist press which reads: "Under the leadership of James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman of New York and Vincent R. Dunne of Minneapolis, followers of Trotsky have split off from the Socialist Party and have announced their intention of founding a new American Trotskyist party in Chicago this November." The statement reads further that "party locals in St. Paul, Austin and Minneapolis had been ousted and all officers dismissed," Herman Erickson of Minneapolis is appointed state representative of the party, and "moves to form a new state unit will be made in December." Erickson is well known as a non activist.

Members Solid

This act of the National Executive Committee in attempting to disorganize one of the banner state organizations of the Party, a section firmly grounded in the trade union movement of the state, which was one of the twelve state organizations which completed its campaign quota in the 1936 presidential race, is of the same criminal nature which finds this group of liquidators first flirting with the class collaborationists, social patriots and liberal bourgeoisie and ultimately embracing them.

But it is the inescapable logic, the inevitable consequence, of Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration flowing from the futile effort to build "socialism in one country", and that country a backward agricultural country; the destruction of inner party democracy and of the left opposition, the disastrous defeats during two decades suffered by the working class, the ascendancy of a clique in the USSR devoted basically to its own perpetuation and the defense of its interests—these factors only can explain the most terrible betrayal in history, accompanied by shocking atrocities against revolutionists.

The present line, the Stalinists claim, is not a new line, but an application of the old line to new conditions. In a sense that is true. The Soviet Union went into the League of Nations; its collaboration with imperialist powers in the Non-Intervention Committee, its alliance with Czecho-Slovakia

and France and fascist Turkey, its People's Front policy and its defense of the status quo, are all logical steps from its abandonment of Lenin's position that the League of Nations is, and by its very nature has to be, "a league of imperialist brigands".

If today Russia is tied hand and foot to Anglo-French Imperialism, if Russia is a planet moving in the orbit of the British Empire, if today the American C.P. endorses the candidates of capitalist parties and the Spanish and French and Chinese parties enter into class collaboration governments, it is not surprising—Stalinism could lead nowhere else.

The demise of the Third International will cause no heartaches among revolutionists. It will only remove the greatest barrier to the formation of a new International—and thousands of sincere revolutionists still deluded by Stalinism will join in this historic task.