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# THE MILITANT

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## Sixteen Years of the Russian Revolution!

THE CREATION OF A FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IS THE BEST DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

### The Rebirth of Revolutionary Internationalism Alone Can Save the First Workers' Fatherland

Sixteen years after that glorious October which witnessed the rise of the Soviet Union, the workers' republic stands in graver danger of attack and aggression than ever before.

Soviet Russia arose as the workers' fatherland through a revolution which aroused the working class of the whole world, which rallied to its banner an international proletariat that knew how to aid in its defense by effective solidarity action throughout the years of the civil war and the innumerable foreign invasions.

#### International Defense of Soviet Russia

The revolt of the French fleet in the Black Sea, the fraternization at the front of German soldiers, the Shop Stewards' defense movement of England, the strike of the Seattle transport workers against the shipment of munitions to Kolchak—the stirring first years of the Russian revolution are replete with flaming examples of international solidarity and heroism like these.

The international social democracy, the treacherous Second International, acting in the best interests of the bosses of all countries, showed itself worthy of the those years. Taking the helm of government for their national ruling classes, in Germany, in Finland and elsewhere, they succeeded at that time in preventing the glowing international solidarity which came to the fore in the defense of the first labor state from transforming itself into a further, sweeping extension of the Russian revolution, from achieving new victories on the road to the world Soviet.

#### The Russian Revolution and the Comintern

It was in the struggle for the extension of the Russian revolution, in the fire of struggle against capitalist intervention and social reformist treachery that the Communist International was founded in 1919. From the first, the great Marxists taught the Russian workers that their ultimate fate was bound up with that of the international proletariat, that the very existence of the government which they had established with their

blood and their lives depended in the first place upon its active support by their fellow workers in Western Europe, in America, in Asia. Soviet diplomacy was used by the authentic Bolsheviks as a weapon of revolutionary internationalism.

The years following the death of Lenin and the temporary relapse of the Western European revolution brought forth a spirit of pessimism in regard to the international perspectives and a utopian optimism in regard to the possibility of building an isolated socialist society in Russia. This national-socialist disease infiltrated even into the ranks of the world vanguard—the Communist International—allied to its principles and purpose. The carriers of this disease were the Stalinist bureaucracy which grew up and nurtured itself like a parasite on the body of the Russian revolution and the Soviet republic.

The Soviet bureaucracy, the parasites of the revolution interested in the maintenance of their own existence and position at all costs—with the least possible disturbances—was a bulwark of support for Stalin's revisionist theory of "building up socialism in one country."

#### The New Revisionism

It was with this revisionist idea, born out of the bureaucracy's lack of faith in international solidarity that Stalinism replaced the fighting internationalism of Lenin in the vanguard of the world working class. Stalinism thus began a long process of undermining the Russian revolution and the Soviet state.

With the purpose in view of withdrawing into its own shell and of preventing all possible shocks from without, the Stalinized Communist International subordinated the vanguard of the Chinese working class, its Communist party to Chiang Kai-Shek's bourgeois Kuo Min Tang. Lacking conviction in the power of the Chinese workers to lead and to enforce the struggle of the exploited colonial masses in the earth-shaking rebellion against imperialism, they placed their hopes in the Chinese bourgeoisie. The latter accepted this Stalinist gift and then proceeded promptly

not only to wipe out the organizations of the Chinese proletariat, but to conspire with the imperialist states against the Soviet Union itself. The Sino-Russian crisis of August 1929 was Chiang Kai-Shek's payment for Stalin's policy. **Opportunism on the international field**

With the same national-socialist purpose in view, the Stalinist leadership united with the British trade union fakers—Purcell, Hicks and Co.,—in the Anglo-Russian Committee. In return for a worthless promise to help forestall British military intervention against the Soviet Union, Stalinism subordinated to the English trade union bureaucracy a budding, militant Minority Movement led by the Communist party. Purcell, Hicks and Co. utilized the Comintern support and authority to sell out the General Strike of 1926—the greatest revolutionary action in the history of the British working class. The labor lieutenants of English capitalism paid for this by absolute passivity at the time of Austin Chamberlain's raid on ARCOS—the Soviet trade representation—which threatened to be a prelude to a war against the Soviet Union.

#### The Swing to Adventurism

The period of 1925 to 1929 was full of such policies and practices of the Stalinist bureaucracy. When in 1929, the course of opportunism agreements with colonial bourgeois politicians and metropolitan labor fakers had suffered shipwreck, Stalinism reversed its tactic, but not its aim. After the ultra-Left reaction of 1928-1929, the Stalinist bureaucracy, having helped to wreck the international revolutionary movement, having helped to sell it out to the fakers and betrayers, lost all interest in it. They filled the leading posts of the Communist International with notorious incompetents who unleashed a reign of irresponsible adventurism in the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard. For the practical purposes of preserving their national-socialist utopia they began to set their hopes of Soviet defense directly on agreements with the diplomats of the foreign bourgeoisies.

On the other hand—the policy of the combination at the top with the social defectors was replaced by an ultra-Left refusal to get together with them on the most imminent questions of common action. The allies of yesterday had suddenly become "social fascists"; social reformism the "twin" of Fascism. "United Front from below only", ultimatum demands of

"United Front only under the leadership of the Communist party"—these were the slogans put forward by irresponsible Stalinist adventurers to split the working class in times when unity was most urgent. This was the line of policy that was combined by a national-communism—"People's revolution", "national and social liberation"—which grew directly out of the Stalinist national-socialism in Soviet Russia and which was to serve the German Communist party as an item of competition with Hitler's Fascists.

#### "Non-Aggression Pacts"

On the other hand, "non-aggression pacts" with various bourgeois powers, raising false hopes in the workers of peace by "scraps of paper" and supplemented by "anti-war congresses"—comedies with all kinds of individual stars: novelists, artists, free lancers who represented no one but themselves. That has been the course of Stalinism from 1929 up to the present.

The balance sheet of Comintern must be drawn today, Stalinist opportunism destroyed the great defense of the Soviet Union latent in the Chinese revolution and in Stalinist adventurism aided the German social democracy to maintain its positions of influence in the labor movement and split the working class hopelessly on the eve of Hitler's coming into power. With the Fascist destruction of the German working class vanguard, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics loses its strongest pillar of defense in the capitalist world. **The Fascist butchers now directly threaten Workers' Russia!**

**The Downfall of the Comintern**  
The defense of the Soviet Union is the most urgent task of the moment for the revolutionary workers. The Communist International, created by Lenin and Trotsky for its defense by the one realistic policy of the extension of the October revolution, has been strangled by Stalinism. For over five years no congresses of the Communist International have been held. While the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy have helped to raise Hitler into power, to bring about the annihilation of the organized German working class and to isolate the Soviet Union, workers' democracy within the Communist International has been completely stifled. The greatest of crimes are committed with impunity. The internationalist fighters—Trotsky, Rakovsky and their comrades—are expelled from the ranks of the parties. The bona fide leaders of

the Russian revolution, the founders of the Communist International fill the Stalinist deportation camps and the places of exile.

Who will prevent the oncoming attack of the world bourgeoisie, with German Fascism in the West and Japanese militarism in the East? Who will lead in the defense of the Soviet Union ever more isolated by a ring of revolutionary governments?

The Communist International of Stalin cannot and will not do the job. National-Communism has reduced the Comintern to a hollow shell of its former self. An organization which has been poisoned by a discrediting bureaucracy, which has left a trail of frightful defeats in its wake—in China, in Germany, in Great Britain, in every country—an organization which even at this late date when danger threatens immediately, shows no signs of organizational life, whose representatives no longer gather in congresses to consider the serious questions—such an organization is hopelessly lost.

The Communist International was killed by the disease of Stalinist national socialism. The national-socialist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union is leading the Soviet Union to catastrophe. While it has replaced revolutionary internationalism with "non-aggression pacts", the "non-aggressor" French bourgeoisie is making loans to Japanese militarism and selling arms to German Fascism. The Communist International is lost. **But the Communist party must not be lost! Reconstitute the International Vanguard!**

There is only one power in the world that can save it. That is a reconstituted vanguard of **International Communism**. That is a new, a Fourth International, grouping around it all those revolutionary workers who have learned the lesson of the past ten years, who genuinely want to defend the Soviet Union and who know that the only way to do it is by the extension of the October revolution.

Those who were foremost in the battle lines of the Russian Revolution are today foremost in the struggle for its revolutionary defense against the impending attack. With a firm conviction, the Bolshevik-Leninists, on this day of the commemoration of the sixteenth anniversary of October revolution, proceed to the order of the day—the foundation of the new International and the new Communist parties.

### The Bolshevik Heritage Must Be Preserved in the Struggle Against The Stalinist Revisionists

The end is everything. The means are nothing. With this conception Edward Bernstein led the attack of reformism against the revolutionary doctrines of Marx and Engels. But Marxism demonstrated that this conception of tactics and strategy of the reformists was the source of the opportunism and betrayal of the interests of the working class by its alleged leaders. This theory is reactionary, poisoned Marx. For, he said, the means determine the end. Without revolutionary tactics and strategy for the movement, the goal of socialism or communism is never reached. The crash of the Second International, or the German Social Democracy at the outbreak of the World War in 1914 proved in a catastrophic manner the views of Marx. Reformism brought destruction and death in the wake of the masses.

Today, sixteen years after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet power, the revolutionary movement is confronted once again, in another form, with the ravages and menace of the new revisionism espoused by the school of Stalin and which is properly labelled Stalinism. With the theory of socialism in one country as against the theory of permanent revolution, Stalinism, in the epoch of modern monopolistic imperialism, revises fundamentally the principles and revolutionary strategy and tactic of the working class and particularly the Communists. Stalinism, professes the world revolution, but it begins by limiting its revolutionary goal to the establishment of a complete socialist society within the confines of the, as yet, economically backward Soviet Union, and relegates the spread of the proletarian revolution to other countries as a pious and hoped-for consummation.

After the fact of a completely established socialism. Leninism, on the other hand, as taught today by its expounders, the International Left Opposition and based on decades of struggles now concretized in Bolshevik theory, says: Base the strategy of the revolutionary movement on the interests of the working class on a world scale as the

best and surest means for the preservation and building of socialism in the Soviet Union. The theory of socialism in one country, therefore, is not merely an incidental polemical cry of the Left Opposition against Stalinism. It must be regarded as the root of all evils wrought in the past decade by Stalinism. It is the modern revisionism. This theory makes working class victory on either a national and international scale ever impossible.

**Since the First Comintern Congress**  
In 1919, the Communist International was formed. It declared in its manifesto to the international proletariat:

"We live in an epoch of wars and social revolutions. The proletarian path is toward the speedy consummation of the latter. Fourteen years have passed since then, yet the estimation of Lenin and Trotsky, of the first Congress of the Comintern remains valid today, despite the tragic defeats of the workers in many countries. Despite all, the crisis of world capitalism exists. The situation objectively is revolutionary. What is missing are the subjective factors, genuine Communist parties, such as were being built in those early years, and a revolutionary Communist International. **But these can be built again.**"

Revolutions, said Marx, are the locomotives of history. Locomotives sometimes are sidetracked, as Stalinism has done, but they can be placed on the rails again. That is our task.

At this day, on the occasion of the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, one need only record the manner in which Stalinism has been responsible, criminally so, for the rolling backwards of the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

Stalinism, with its basically false social theory and consequently radically false strategy, and tactics, necessarily bowed before the blue flag of the Kuo Min Tang in China. Inevitably it capitulated before the swastika of German fascism. Deliberately, in the narrow interests of Soviet diplomacy, it restrained the rising revolutionary wave in Spain. The Stalinized "Communists" ran to cover before the verbal charge of Dollfuss in Austria. Stalinism surrendered to the trade union fakers in Great Britain. Everywhere it gives up the banner of Communism and drags it in the mud.

And in each case in the past decade, beginning with the formation of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition in the Soviet Union under Trotsky and Rakovsky, the International Left Opposition exposed Stalinism before the working class and fought for the revolutionary position.

#### Why Bolshevism Will Be Victorious

It is true that the Left Opposition formally has not been victorious. Stalinism had its way—organizationally. It has achieved many pyrrhic victories. For ten years now, the International Left Opposition with small forces, too few almost to mention, has stood by its principles, and like Lenin in earlier days has carried on against the stream. The International Left Opposition has demonstrated to ever increasing numbers that it has **quality**; its revolutionary viewpoint gave it that. Now the dialectics of the class struggle are about to transform quality into quantity. That growth and the problems arising therefrom, stand before us as the tasks of today and tomorrow. Time has verified once again our theories. These are now to be demonstrated to an ever increasing degree in the daily struggles of the working class. We are starting anew in the building of new Communist parties and a new Communist International; but we are **building on an old and tested foundation, and therein lies our strength.** We are building on the first four Congresses of the Comintern and upon that which we have learned since in our struggles against Stalinist deceptions and practices. We are passing from the stage of propaganda to the stage of agitation and organization in all fields of struggle of the working class. They lie and are wrong who say that Communism is dead. It is Stalinism that is passing. It is Communism that will rise once again.

On this, the sixteenth anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik revolution, the Communist League of America and the International Left

(Continued on Page 4)

### Leon Trotsky on the Saar Question

The stand of the official party as well as the C. P.-O. (Brand-lerites) in the Saar Question appears to me as the cowardice of pseudo-radicalism, as by no means rare species of cowardice. Naturally we must come out for a Soviet Saar, that is, make propaganda in the sense of the conquest of power. The date of this conquest has not, however, been fixed anywhere, while the date of the Referendum has been quite precisely in the Versailles treaty. That means that the party which fights for a Soviet Saar owes the workers an answer to the question: how they should vote in the year 1935.

To rally to Hitlerite Germany in practice, i. e., through the Referendum, means, theoretically speaking, to put national mysticism above the class interest and psychologically—to conduct a really cur-like policy.

Naturally, only traitors can demand annexation at present, for that means to sacrifice the most concrete and vital question of the German workers in the Saar territory to the abstract national factor.

### OPEN FORUM

A REVOLUTIONARY ARTIST LOOKS AT THE FUTURE  
Speaker:  
DIEGO RIVERA

Friday, November 10, 1933  
8 P. M.

at International Workers School  
126 East 16th Street

Auspices: Manhattan Branch,  
Communist League of America  
(Opposition)

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

### Save Dimitroff and Torgler!

A Call to Action for the Leipzig Victims of Hitlerism  
—Issued by the International Secretariat

The most reactionary travesty of justice of all time is coming to an end. There can be no doubt concerning the verdict. The prostitute scientists of German justice sell themselves to the devil to find objective proofs. The acquittal of Torgler means the condemnation of the real incendiaries, Hitler and Goering. Let us have no illusions, these prostitutes clad in togas will do their duty. The false legend of the Communist arson has become the ideological basis for the installation of the Fascist regime of terror. The conclusions have, as a matter of fact, already been prepared. They require only the premises to tally with the conclusions. That is why Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff must be condemned for setting fire to the Reichstag.

In London a counter court of famous international jurists exposed the genuine scoundrels on the basis of conclusive evidence. "The Brown Book" has compiled all the material necessary to prove the innocence of Torgler and the guilt of Goering.

But the mere establishment of the true facts will not suffice unless it serves as an impulse to action. Only powerful and resolute mass action can make the truth prevail. The powerful protest of the international proletariat was galvanized by the electrocution with which American reaction executed Sacco and Vanzetti. Today Hitler rules in Central Europe with the methods of medieval tyrants. His judges pronounce and his hangmen execute one sentence of terror after another. Still the international proletariat remains silent, seems to have fallen into lethargy.

Action, immediate and effective action is necessary to stop the crazed and enraged bandits of Hitler. Torgler Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff must be saved. But how? In all bourgeois democratic coun-

tries and in the Soviet Union the workers must demonstrate in powerful masses, in a solid united front, besiege the German consulates, besiege the German embassies and demand the liberation of the Leipzig victims.

The struggle should take on even higher forms.

From all sides there has been launched the slogan of a boycott of German goods. But the results obtained up till now have been insignificant. A mere refusal to buy German goods will be nothing but a pin prick on the body of German Fascism. The boycott slogan issued by the Second International and the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions does not go beyond this. Even in the question of the boycott, they are concerned, in the first place, not to arouse any conflict with their own national bourgeoisie. This kind of a boycott serves very well the reactionary tendency toward autarchy in the various European bourgeoisies. The reactionary policy of "Socialism in one country" of the Stalinists has led the Third International which has become the instrument of opportunistic Soviet diplomacy, to propagate the utopian "economic non-aggression pacts" instead of a resolute struggle against Fascism.

To serve as a means of support to the German proletariat, frightened and crushed by German Fascism, it is absolutely necessary to arouse the will to struggle of the international proletariat. The transport workers, by their refusal to service German boats, have already showed how the struggle should be carried on. Such actions should be organized and extended by a united front. The railroad workers and the maritime workers should be rallied around it. To save the innocent victims of the Leipzig trial, the international proletariat must become the prosecutor of Fascism which is a thousand times guilty!

(Continued on Page 4)

### Tom Mann for the Defense of Chen Du Siu

On Sept. 7th, 1933, the organ of our British comrades, the **Red Flag**, addressed an open letter to Tom Mann, old trade union militant and veteran of many labor struggles in the British Empire, asking him his stand on the imprisonment of comrade Chen Du Siu, founder of the Chinese Communist Party and secretary of the Chinese section of the Left Opposition until his incarceration. The Stalinists have cynically ignored comrade Chen Du Siu, criminally abandoning him to the hangmen of the Kuo Min Tang and covering this stalwart revolutionary with abuse and infamy. The following letter speaks for the class loyalty of Tom Mann, his undivided devotion to the proletariat as a whole and not in the interests of any faction in it.—Ed.

"Dear Comrade,  
"I have read the letter addressed to me which appears in the **Red Flag**. When in China in 1927 I attended the opening of the Chinese Communist Party Congress at Hankow, and I considered comrade Chen Du Siu and his colleagues a capable and courageous body of comrades. When the arrests and imprisonments followed I have on many occasions at public gatherings emphatically protested against the imprisonment and demanded the release of all class war prisoners.

"If my signature is of any value by way of protest or demand I am ready to append same, and I count it my duty to continue to develop opinion till it shall be equal to demanding and securing the release of our comrade.

(signed TOM MANN"

### Bar Shachtman from Canada

League Organizer, on Speaking Tour, Refused Admittance by Border Authorities

Carrying their drive against the revolutionary movement to the point of surveillance at ports of entry for the purpose of keeping out speakers scheduled for meetings in the country, the Canadian authorities at the border town of Phillipsburg, Province of Quebec, ordered the deportation of Max Shachtman from Canada last Wednesday with an injunction against any attempt he might make to enter the country at any other point.

Shachtman had been scheduled to speak at meetings arranged in Montreal and Toronto by the local branches of the Communist League on the occasion of the sixteenth anniversary of the Russian revolution. Every indication—particularly the huge meeting recently held in Toronto with Arne Svaneck as the speaker—pointed to a large turnout of the local militants to listen to the views of the Opposition. As appeared later, the Canadian authorities were not unaware of these indications.

When the bus taking Shachtman from New York to his first meeting in Montreal rolled up in front of the Canadian customs building in Phillipsburg, it was mounted by the official who examined the passengers and their papers. Shachtman produced his passport. As soon as the examiner was finished with all the passengers, not one of whom was in any way detained, he requested Shachtman without a word of explanation, to accompany him to his office in the customs building. There the cross-examination began. It was evident right from the outset that the questions were part of a purely perfunctory procedure, for the decision to prohibit Shachtman from entering Canada and obviously been arrived at long before the bus came to Canada.

While the questioning was being commenced, the office was already writing out the deportation order!

Shachtman's coat, hat and bag were meanwhile being removed from the bus. After a few vague, formal questions, the officer adopted a tack which showed that he was exceptionally well informed about everything connected with the trip. He first took a heavy folder from a filing cabinet, turned to a page which he kept concealed from Shachtman and asked his questions and heard the answers with his eyes fixed upon what was unmistakably a police report.

When Shachtman declared that he was going to lecture in Canada, the official asked if he knew a Mr. So-and-so, naming one of the comrades in charge of the Montreal meeting! He showed the same intimate knowledge with regard to the meeting scheduled in Toronto. His whole bearing, and the replies he made to the pointed questions by Shachtman, left no doubt whatsoever about his intentions to execute the order he had received from authorities higher up.

Shachtman's request to know the reasons for his summary deportation was answered by passing to him a copy of the "Order for Deportation", which had already been given to the bus driver together with the confiscated ticket. It read in its main part:

"This is to certify that the rejected person above named, a person seeking to enter Canada at this Port ex Bus from New York, N. Y. which arrived at this Port on November 1st, 1933 at 9:30 o'clock A. M. has this day been examined by the Board of Inquiry (or officer in charge) at this Port and has been rejected for the following reasons: Sec. 2 H (4), Can. Immig. Act and Regulations. And the said rejected person is hereby ordered to be deported to the place from whence he

(Continued on Page 4)

## THE WORKERS' FRONT

### N.Y. Optical Workers Out on Strike

Five hundred optical workers in New York City went on strike October 23, 1933, under the guidance of the International Jewelry Workers' Union with which they are affiliating. A cut in wages of from 24 to 27% having accompanied a shortening of hours provided by the NIRA code together with the dismissal of active union men precipitated the tie-up of eighteen of the largest shops in Greater New York.

Organizational activities in both the metal frame and celluloid sections of the trade were begun the middle of August this year, neither section knowing of the activities of the other at the time. Optical workers being highly skilled, this is an exception to the general rule in the present wave of organization of the unorganized, as unskilled are primarily the ones affected. The two sections of the trade have been united and the plans are to spread the strike.

Their demands are for the 1929 wage level which ranges from \$18 per week for glass fitters' helpers to \$70 per week for sample makers with \$40 to \$50 for the majority of workers, for recognition of the union, and for reinstatement of the dismissed union men. Their wage demand being above the specifications of the code and their present wages being below the code level the strike is directed against both the NRA and the bosses.

—GEO. J. SAUL.

### Stalinist Unionism in Philadelphia

Philadelphia.—The T. U. U. L. has just completed two of their light-hearted adventures in trade unionism here in the northeast section of Philadelphia.

They were successful in organizing and taking out on strike for 6 weeks the Pettier Rope Co., a shop with several hundred workers, and the Hellwig Silk Dyeing Co., a shop with over 400 workers. After "successfully" combating the "red scare" and holding the workers together through six grueling weeks of struggle and deprivations, both shops are back at work now for several weeks, under settlements reached through "independent unions". These are apparently company unions, started by the bosses to break up the National Textile Workers Union, unions which the bosses intend to control through their henchmen, the foremen. T. U. U. L. has vanished into thin air.

When the so-called Independent Unions were starting to win over the workers on the basis that they could get them the same increases the N. T. W. was fighting for, the N. T. W. did nothing—worse still, they told the workers to sign over one by one into the other unions, and today the bosses' men have full sway in those two "independent unions".

The organization of these two shops was loudly hailed by the T. U. U. L. as a vindication of their absurd policy of "new revolutionary unions" in this third period of post-war capitalism. "Of course, the workers are ready for revolutionary unions—they know we are Communists", at least so they said in the "inner circles" of the Party. But among the workers in the daily struggle, they combatted the Communist issue by going on the hunt with these masses of prejudiced workers for Communists.

"You don't know any Communists in this union," they said. One party member was instructed to deny he was a Communist. By every twist and turn they try to fly in the face of reality and prove

that the workers are ready for revolutionary unions. And the dead weight of the workers' undeveloped in the class struggle gives life, time and again, to their absurd policies. They learn nothing from defeats and continue, light-heartedly and carefree, to discredit the Communist movement.

To sum up briefly the blunders of the N. T. W. U. on the Hellwig strike particularly: (1) Calling the strike adventuristically, after only a couple of weeks of organization with only about 150 to prior to going on strike, leaving the women workers to negotiate for themselves and then calling the strike solely over the question of a 5c raise for the women workers. (2) Opportunism in hunting for Communists as though they were criminals. Also fostering illusions about the NRA giving the workers the "right to organize". (4) Giving the workers grandiose promises of assistance from their paper organization the W. I. R. prior to going on strike. (5) Deserting the workers when the majority were won away from their leadership.

—TOM HALLIGAN.

### Striking Cotton Pickers Murdered in Cold Blood

Deliberate cold-blooded murder is the description given by attorney A. L. Wirin of the Civil Liberties Union after a four-days' investigation of the shootings in the San Joaquin Valley, Calif., during the cotton pickers' strike. Two Mexican strikers were shot and killed at Pixley and one at Arvin, a score have been injured, many seriously.

Violence was carefully planned before the strike was called, according to attorney Wirin. Ranchers, anticipating trouble organized vigilante groups, "committees of protection", which had for their object the breaking of the threatened strike. Cotton growers, so-called ranchers, were armed. It was agreed, according to the Union's report, that the workers who participated in the strike were to be threatened and terrorized into returning to work, that those who refused were to be driven wholesale out of the cotton area. All this in a program which called for the starving of the strikers and their families, and for the lynching of all "outside agitators".

### JUST RECEIVED!

#### OCTOBER RUSSIAN BULLETIN

The October issue of the BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION has just arrived. It contains a very important article on THE CLASS NATURE OF THE SOVIET UNION. There are articles by comrade Trotsky and letters from the U. S. S. R.

Subscriptions are \$2.50 a year; \$1.25 for 6 months, 25c single issues. There are only a few copies of this issue and comrades wishing to obtain copies should immediately write for same. Money must be sent with order.

Comrades out of town are asked to get in touch with bookstores and newsstands selling papers in the Russian language and see whether they can get them to sell the Bulletin. Please get in touch with comrade Spiegel. —R. S.

### Swabeck Tour Itinerary

Successful and rousing meetings have greeted comrade Arne Swabeck on his national tour. Reports from Springfield, Staunton, Ill., St. Louis, Kansas City and Minneapolis will appear in subsequent issues of the Militant. The tour is now drawing to a close with the following remaining dates:

Tues., Nov. 7th...Chicago Ill.  
Thurs., Nov. 9th...Davenport, Ia.  
Fri., Nov. 10th...Davenport, Ia.

## Militant Builders

As we approach the close of the week twenty-two more went to swell drive subs are still coming in. Last our list. That is less than the week before. But it is to be hoped that it is only the brief slackening of pace that runners take before the final sprint down the home stretch. We expect that in next week's issue we will be able to report a much larger figure. As it stands now the total number of subs since the drive opened is 102. The race is getting interesting. It is by no means a one sided affair. The standing shows that.

#### The Standing:

S. Jourard	Toronto	8
S. Hardy	Philadelphia	7
M. Abern	Bronx	6
V. R. Dunne	Minneapolis	5
G. Hedlund	Minneapolis	4
L. Goodman	Philadelphia	3
W. Konkow	Boston	3
J. Carter	Brooklyn	3
J. Fruitman	Toronto	3
C. Shechet	Boston	3
L. Furman	San Francisco	2
L. Furman	San Francisco	2
M. Schlenoff	Bronx	2
J. Chiplowitz	Boston	2
F. Bickelberger	New Castle	2
M. Kent	Brooklyn	2
H. Capelis	Manhattan	2
N. Satir	Chicago	2

In addition to the comrades listed above who have sent in two subs there are nine listed in previous reports. And there are thirteen comrades who have sent in one sub. And there are twenty-two sent in by the Youngstown comrades.

#### Double the Record

In the time remaining we want to double the record made so far in the drive. A hundred subs are not much for our membership and sympathizers. As a matter of fact it is a modest goal. If we go to it with a will it should be easy. Let us prove it.

There is still opportunity to overtake the leaders and win one of the prizes: for first place—Three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky; second place—two volumes; third place—one volume.

### CHICAGO

#### Celebration of the 16th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

Tuesday, November 7th, 8 P. M.

at

International Labor Center

2557 W. North Avenue

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

will be shown

Speakers:

Arne Swabeck and Albert Goldman

"A Century of Progress"

The mental poison of the propaganda that the last 100 years has been a century of steady, visible improvement in the lot of humanity is paralleled only by the real poison that has killed workers in industry 100 years ago and today. Under the headline "22nd Worker Dies of Radium Poison", the New York Times of Oct. 28 carries the following news item:

"East Orange, N. J., Miss Grace Fryer, 35 years old, the twenty-second victim of radium poisoning in the old Orange plant of the United States Radium Corporation, died this morning in Homeopathic Hospital here."

"Miss Fryer, along with the other victims of the poisoning, was employed in the watch dial painting department, where many of the workers contracted the poisoning by pointing luminous paint brushes with their tongues."

"Miss Fryer contracted the poison about fourteen years ago. However, until five years ago she was able to continue working, but she had to wear a brace on her back because the poison affected her bones..."

For those workers who believe, in spite of this, that we have really witnessed a century of progress we turn the scene back 100 years, change the place from New Jersey to England, the women to children and the watch factory to a match factory.

"The manufacture of lucifer matches dates from 1833, from the discovery of the method of applying phosphorus to the match itself. Since 1845 this manufacture has rapidly developed in England, and has extended especially amongst the thickly populated parts of London as well as in Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Norwich, Newcastle and Glasgow. With it has spread the form of lockjaw, which a Vienna physician in 1845 discovered to be a disease peculiar to lucifer matchmakers. Half the workers are children under eighteen. The manufacture is, on account of its unhealthiness and unpleasantness, in such bad odour that only the most miserable part of the labouring class, half-starved widows and so forth, deliver up their children to it, the 'ragged, half-starved, untaught children'."

"Of the witnesses that Commissioner White examined (1863), 270 were under 18, 50 under 10 only 8, and 5 only 6 years old. A range of the working day from 12 to 14 or 15 hours, night-labour, irregular meal times, meals for the most part taken in the very workrooms that are pestilent with phosphorus. Dante would have found the worst horrors of his Inferno surpasses in this manufacture."

Taken from "Capital" by Karl Marx; Vol. I, pages 721 and 272.

## An Open Letter to Browder: On Hooliganism

### HOOIGANISM IN CHICAGO

To the Central Committee  
Communist Party of the U.S.A.  
Earl Browder, Secretary

Dear Sir:

Last Sunday afternoon, October 22, I attended a meeting of the Left Opposition in their own headquarters, called under their own auspices, at which comrade Arne Swabeck was scheduled to speak on Germany. Before the meeting could start, a horde of some 250 "Communists"—members of Section 5, District 8—invasion the hall under the leadership of their Section Organizer, Jack Spiegel, and of a member of the District Committee, David Poindexter. On their own admission, they had come from mobilization caucuses for the express purpose of breaking up the meeting. They precipitated a riot in which literature and furniture were destroyed, workers were beaten up and trampled upon, and such a commotion developed that the police came into the hall from the street.

I have been in the revolutionary

movement all my life and have participated in many demonstrations, some of them bloody and brutal, but I have never felt that I was facing so vicious and irresponsible and anti-social a mob as the one which came last Sunday under the banner of the Communist Party.

I wonder if you as a leader of the Communist Party realize all that such a thing means? A party which conducts itself in the manner of the most degraded section of the very lumpen-proletariat—plus from the decayed and degenerate body of a rotting social system—can neither win healthy elements to its ranks nor lead the revolution when the moment arrives; on the contrary, it must become a feeder of Fascist forces. A party which cannot raise the intellectual and moral level of the proletariat but on the contrary trains fine elements down to the depth of gangsters has no right to use the name Communist.

Is it too much for you and your party to learn that a meeting of workers, come together to hear anyone at all, must not under any circumstances be physically attacked

ed and broken up? Or is the answer that you can only hope to impress the American proletariat this way since you have so signally failed to impress them ideologically?

Several months ago, I severed my connection with the Communist party (after twelve years of membership) over occurrences in Germany. At that time I stated that the excuse offered by the C. P. that the German party was not rooted in the factories needed further explanation because a party can only be a really functioning Communist party when its composition is mainly of the working proletariat. Maybe last Sunday's event throws some light on the question. If the leadership of the German party trained its members not to win other workers by ideological conviction but by destroying the meetings they organized and hoped to conduct, then a revolutionist knows why the Communist party of Germany was not "rooted in the masses."

Sincerely,  
LYDIA BEIDEL.

### Militant Resentment Against Fakers in the Pocketbook Union

In October 14 issue of the Militant the writer gave an analysis about the present situation in the Pocketbook Makers Union. Now I will describe what took place for the last two weeks in our union. As I have stated in the Militant, our "Fraternal Club" administration did not call a membership meeting for about four months. On October 19 they called a meeting at Stuyvesant High School, about two thousand workers were present at this meeting. The purpose of this meeting was to force a \$10 tax on the workers to the ten per cent tax dues they already took for months from the members without their approval.

When our manager Stein, gave his report and tried his best to show what wonders he and his gang are doing for the workers in one town after another. The workers did pay any attention to his report. He finished his report with an appeal for a \$10 tax in order to enlarge the staff of organizers out of town. The membership accepted his appeal very coldly. The administration felt they will have a hard job to put over the tax, so they became desperate. Then another star came forward and gave a report, this was Louis Waldman, of the S. P. and lawyer of the union. His report dealt with the Code. He showed how the Industrial Council, with whom the union has an agreement refused to draw up a joint code with the union to present at Washington. After he, and the union officials maneuvered for months with the bosses. The employers supported the open shop code for \$12-\$13 a week, and refused to raise wages, or reduce hours. In spite of the fact we are working 40 hours a week and over 2,000 workers are idle in New York. He concluded that the code will have to be fought out in Washington, instead of mobilizing the workers for a fight with the employers.

As soon as Waldman finished his speech, one of the organizers Harry Exstein, who was one to keep order in the hall started a fight with a worker. The worker later he was beaten up because he refused at a shop meeting of Morris White shop to vote for the dollar tax. This shows the kind of organizers we have and for whom the "Fraternal Club" gang wants a \$10 tax. When the fight started a riot call was given by the superintendent of the hall. Within a five minutes, about 25 police came into the meeting place. If the police had not come in people would have been injured and trampled to death. Then the workers refused to meet with the sluggers and demanded those who started the fight should leave the hall. Under such circumstances it was impossible to continue the meeting. All realized that including Waldman. The "Fraternal Club" chairman adjourned the meeting. Waldman had a chance to see how organizers in a socialist union behave, and what democracy means in a socialist union.

The next day the "Yellow Forward", which defends all labor racketeers came out with a three column headline "Communists Break Up Pocketbook Workers Meeting." The "Fraternal Club" gang knew the workers would not vote for the tax so they provoked a fight in order to break up the meeting. The underworld will be better organized for the next meeting. If our manager Stein, could break up a section meeting, why can not one of his organizers make a better job and break up a membership meeting?

It is significant for the Pocketbook Workers to know that 3 weeks ago the so-called fake progressives called a symposium and David Myer, in his speech said the "Fraternal Club" administration are crooks, and traitors, and must be ousted from the union. David Meyer, and the other fakers declared themselves in love to the "Rank and File", and talked about united front with the "Rank and File" to oust the administration. Two weeks later the same fake progressives who divided the union with the "Fraternal Club" a few months ago again voted at the Joint Council meeting for a \$10 tax not

as delegates of the council, but as paid officials which they could not vote. Moreover, Brok, one of their fakers signed a statement in the Day, that the Communists broke up the meeting. Let this be a warning to the rank and file that these fakers must be severely attacked till they will be forced to break with the administration.

On October 26, another meeting of the Pocket Book Makers Union took place at Stuyvesant High School. The manager of the union, Stein, reported that the administration was not able to proceed with its work unless it got another \$10 tax added to the ten per cent tax it already collected from the workers.

A heated discussion on the \$10 tax followed. Rank and file speakers, one after another, attacked the administration. They showed that the administration is not doing anything to improve the conditions of the workers in New York and out of town. They also pointed out that the administration did not make any attempt to relieve the unemployment situation in our industry. The left wing urged the workers to vote down the ten dollar tax.

After a two hour battle on the floor a vote was taken. The teller's count was as follows: for the tax, 512 votes; against the tax, 428 votes. The fake progressives, as usual voted with the administration.

The rank and file must concentrate all its energies on ousting the "Fraternal Club" administration. —N. D. F.

### "Five Cents a Bar..."

The next time you stop to buy a bar of Hershey's chocolate stop to think a minute about the Cuban workers slaving on Hershey's plantations, railroads and mills. Here is some information you will find on the wrapper.

"The Hershey sugar refinery is the largest on the island (of Cuba) and is one of the most modern and best equipped in the world.

"Its melting capacity is one million pounds of sugar per day. Its output is a very superior grade of granulated sugar, put up in bags of five, one hundred and three hundred and twenty-five pounds which are sold for export as well as for local consumption." (The dock workers in Cuba went on strike last summer against the unbearable weights of these bags.)

"The development of the Hershey holdings in Cuba and the rapid increase in them are remarkable. Beginning in 1916 with the purchase of ten thousand acres and the leasing of another ten thousand acres—the total acreage owned and controlled (today) is—one hundred and thirteen thousand acres.

"In addition to the sugar properties, the Hershey interests in Cuba include the Hershey Cuban Railway and the Hershey Terminal Railroad.

"The Hershey Cuban Railway is a modern public service line between the cities of Havana and Matanzas. It is electrified throughout, power being supplied from a large and modern electric plant at Central Hershey (Central means plantation. Incidentally this power plant supplies all of the current for the city of Matanzas and the numerous small towns in the vicinity of Central Hershey." (The Cuban Review, February 1927).

Compared to some of the American outfits "interested" in Cuba, like the Chase National Bank, the Hershey company is a piker. The same capitalists grind the Cuban and American workers down to a coolie level of existence. Together they can put an end to it.

### BRONX OPEN FORUM

FRIDAY, November 3rd: THE NEW YORK ELECTIONS—How Should the Workers Vote?

Speaker: TOM STAMM  
8 P. M. Sharp at  
535 East 146th St.

FRIDAY, November 10th: LYNCHINGS: The Problem of the Negro Worker.

Speaker: GEORGE SAUL  
8 P. M. sharp at the headquarters at: 535 East 146th St.

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### Rousing Meeting Aids Drive to Organize Restaurant Workers

New York.—The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers of America, has intensified its organization drive during the last two weeks.

As we reported in the Militant for October 21, the bosses are eager to defeat this drive by resorting to the well-known scabbing machinery—that is, the formation of a company union. Besides the Geneva Club, they have attempted, quite unsuccessfully, to line up through their agents, the chefs, the Vatel Club. At a meeting of this club held on October 19, the executive committee attempted to pass a motion concerning the formation of the Hotel Men's Ass'n, to amalgamate the various language fraternities of cooks and waiters into one body, in order to establish a company union. Eighty-nine per cent of the Vatel Club members voted down this motion and every other motion of the executive committee because it was plain to all members that these motions were aimed toward the formation of a company union.

Our union immediately issued a leaflet to the International Cooks' Association (German Cooks) informing its members what took place in the Vatel Club and warned them that a similar attempt will be made by their Executive Committee. A minority committee of the Geneva is busy explaining to the members the scabbing role of their leaders.

In view of these developments the Executive Board, the Organization Committee and the Officers of the Union are working in full speed in educating the members of the Union and activating them in order to bring to its ranks every worker employed in the Hotels. Already a good beginning towards a real industrial union has been made. Many housemen, chambermaids, laundry-women, etc., have entered the organization.

For the benefit of those Hotel and Restaurant Workers who were unable to attend the three afternoon mass meetings the Union held an Evening Meeting last Friday, October 20th at Bryant Hall. The hall was packed. Organizers Constant and Lyons spoke about the activities of the Union and Delegates from the Waldorf and Lincoln Hotels spoke about the kitchen and dining room infernos. Comrades Cannon and Gitlow spoke for the necessity of unionism. Their speeches were frequently interrupted by stormy applause.

The Union is planning to acquire a large new headquarters where mass meetings and shop meetings will be held.

—A. C.

Due to lack of space we have been forced to withhold several important articles. One by Albert Glotzer on the "Two Internationals", a communication from comrade Harry Strang on the "Boycott of Hitler Germany, as well as a story by comrade Kogan of L. A. on Soviet diplomacy.

CHICAGO FORUM LECTURE: CONTEMPORARY REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS IN THE ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

by Comrade B. W. Lichtman on Sunday Evening, Nov. 26 1933 at International Labor Center 2557 West North Avenue Admission 10 Cents Unemployed Free

QUESTIONS & DISCUSSION

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THE MILITANT 126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

## League Activities

### CANNON SPEAKS AT NEWARK

Newark.—On Thursday, Oct. 26, comrade Cannon spoke in Newark on the need for a new party and international.

Early in the day one of our comrades reported that party members were ordered to boycott our meeting. Comrade Cannon's talk was unusually well received and the numerous questions kept the alert audience intact until 11:45.

—G. K.

### STATEMENT ON THE UNITED FRONT ANTI-FASCIST DEMONSTRATION

At a time when Fascism is commencing its brazen recruiting campaign in America, when the degenerate elements of a capitalist system torn by four years of crisis talk of instituting here the same bloody regime that has conquered in Italy and in Germany, it is extremely urgent that every working class organization learn the importance of participating in force in ever single anti-Fascist action or demonstration. Such demonstrations form the preliminary groundwork for the establishment of a broad anti-Fascist working class united front against Fascism. Precisely because of the importance of this movement toward united action of the workers, through their organizations, against a threat that may gather impetus at tremendous speed, it is necessary to condemn those organizations that give perfunctory lip-service to the cause but actually sabotage it.

The call of the Italian Unitarian Anti-Fascist Committee for the demonstration before the Italian Consulate on Saturday, October 28th was answered by the Communist Party, the I. W. O., the C.P.A., the I. W. O., the Socialist party, and the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). All agreed to participate. Nevertheless, aside from a large banner of the I. W. O. and one or two delegates from each of the organizations, none of them took any part in the "mass" meeting and parade, outside of the J. L. A. (O.). Meager as are our present forces, we nevertheless formed the bulk of the demonstration.

The sabotage of the official Communist party must be vigorously denounced. It is in line with the Stalinist tactic of ignoring any working class action not under its direct and immediate control. The sabotage of this demonstration is also in line with the official party's quiescence motivated by the desire not to embarrass the recognition negotiations between the U. S. and the Soviet Union.

The Socialist party follows its usual conduct of avoiding any militant intervention in this or any other phase of the class struggle. It is too busy at this moment seeking municipal offices in the elections. No doubt if a few socialist aldermen are elected, they will see to it that Fascism is interdicted in America...

We cannot over-emphasize the gravity of the situation unfolding in the C. S. It has every potentiality of danger for the working class in the rise of Fascism. There will be further occasions in the profound and increasing struggles ahead for the establishing of a real united front against Fascism. We appeal to the workers in all working class organizations to give their whole-hearted support to this movement. At no distant period it may become a matter of life and death.

—New York City Committee Communist League of America (Left Opposition).

### YOUNG SPARTACUS SUB DRIVE

The subscription campaign for the YOUNG SPARTACUS is on! Our goal is the doubling of our subscription list, the stabilization of the paper and a semi-monthly YOUNG SPARTACUS in the near future. The closing date of the drive is December 1st.

The YOUNG SPARTACUS has proven to be our best organizer. We must save the paper so that we can go ahead with our work. Up to now we have been compelled to function with very little funds. The paper was unable to appeal regularly and this was a great shortcoming in our work. Unless we can raise the necessary funds for the paper, it will remain in danger. Let us seriously take up the task and make the drive a success so that our YOUNG SPARTACUS may continue its existence as the propagandist and organizer of a youth Communist movement in this country.

YOUNG SPARTACUS lays down the challenge to the Spartacus Youth Clubs. It is up to you! You can decide whether we are going to expand our paper or not. Get after expired subs! Get new subs! Every member of the Spartacus Youth Club a subscriber! Every member to get at least one sub! To the club getting the highest average in this campaign will be given a bronze relief of Lenin.

The drive is under way. So far the score stands as follows:

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# Letters from Germany

## The Growing Dissatisfaction of the Middle Classes

Only the fanatics of the Nazi movement are satisfied with the government. There are a few others, but they are the ones who lounge in the chairs of ejected trade union bureaucrats, those who make the streets unsafe every day in their capacity as Fascist factory cell directors, as honores (swivel chair bureaucrats) of the Consumers' Cooperatives, walking about in natty uniforms. They have much to do. They must speak at factory meetings, threaten the unorganized with firing if they don't join the Brown trade unions, see to it that membership dues are paid regularly, because the Third Reich needs a lot of money.

That can also be seen on the Sunday collection tours. There is the Beggar for the Adolph Hitler Fund, for the Work Creation Fund, the Party Convention Fund and many others. At the same time a press campaign is in full swing against the mendicants. The ordinary citizen pays for the first fund rather generously, but when the second and the third come along, he begins to grumble. Of course—not aloud. That is too dangerous. He is a foe of the government who does not drop a coin into its alms-bag. One has to give. The press reports that this or that factory has made a voluntary contribution. But woe to the worker who fails to contribute. On the next morning he will be pounding the pavement. There are plenty of Storm Troopers and their friends to take his place.

Often some person from North Germany comes down our way in search of work. In most cases, such a person has seen in some paper, which he draws out from his pocket, that the region here is cleared of unemployment. He is soon enlightened. The swindle of the "Successful Battle to Provide Work" is easily exposed before every worker. In the factories there is a great deal of underground grumbling, especially on pay day, when the fat Nazi "coordinators" make all kinds of deductions from the pay envelope.

The middle layers of the population are also beginning to sober up. The great and almost unlimited faith in Hitler among these people received its first blows through the behavior of the government with regard to the department stores and the consumers' cooperatives. The feigned struggle of Hitler against both of these institutions had brought him the sympathies of all the small storekeepers. But after all their independent fighting organizations have been dissolved and reorganized into professional troops, many of these good little men, store-keepers and artisans, have seen the light. Then of course, there is the failure of the boastfully promised economic upturn. The daily business turnover does not increase when the workers' wages remain stable, and especially when the wages are reduced by all kinds of "fund" rackets. In the meantime prices keep mounting. Certain local catastrophes also contribute their part to the sentiment. There is the case of the big Stuttgart Gymnastic Field Day, or that of the huge demonstration at the border, near Konstanz. The saloon-keepers and outchers ordered all kinds of extra stock, but the Reichswehr moved on with field kitchens and served participants and tourists with 10 pennig means and thus nearly bankrupted the former. Naturally the sentiment of the middle-classes is becoming more unsympathetic every day.

The tax situation has also remained the same. All sorts of new taxes and imposts have been fixed on the peasants and the middle classes. Municipal taxes have been imposed with which to pay for the newly ordered steel helmets which the Storm Troopers are wearing. Soon, no doubt, new taxes will be thought up with which to buy them guns and cannon from the hard-earned pennies of workers and small bourgeois.

We have succeeded, in a whole series of localities, in forming groups of former social democrats and Communists. Our material meets with spontaneous applause and approval. The will to learn from the mistakes of the two old parties who brought about the present heavy defeat, and, in spite of all the great difficulties, to proceed with the building of new, genuine Communist party—exists among all the comrades. The comrades are also agreed among themselves that the same road will have to be taken internationally. The Paris Conference is regarded by all as a hopeful beginning for a new era of the revolutionary labor movement.

Since we only attract reliable people and go about our work as cautiously as possible we have not had up to now any losses whatever. We know that the process of the disintegration of the mass basis of Fascism can last for a long time. Even the most die-hard Stalinist no longer believes in revolution for October. But the fact remains that the process of Fascist disintegration is making progress in all the cities. But the immense pressure of the terroristic regime will yet prolong the existence of the Hitler government. We therefore have plenty of time to build up and to entrench our young organization. Parallel with the decline in the mass influence of Fascism, the influence and the strength of our organization must grow. If this process continues at the present

rate, then Fascism will become within a relatively short time, a pure police-bureaucratic regime, divorced from the working population and the middle classes and regarded as such by the latter. At that stage, when the sentiments of the masses become transformed into direct hostility to the Hitler regime, we will have to succeed in giving the mass struggle direction and objective, in removing from it every disorienting influence.

### From Westphalia

The C. P. G.—Its activity restricts itself in the main to dues collection. At rare intervals mimeographed leaflets or a paper are issued. If these publications did not contain a slogan near the end calling for affiliation to the C. P. G., one would think they were issued by indifferent workers. So devoid are they of political guidance. Less than 10 percent of the party nuclei meet at all. There is no party member now who will claim that the party's policy at the time of Hitler's coming into power was correct. They recognize the guilt of the bureaucracy, but are not yet clear wherein the error lay. We hope to clear up this confusion about the "general line" with our propaganda material. Most of the party members are convinced that a new leadership is necessary. Functionaries often refuse to distribute the literature that comes from the center—not out of cowardice, but because of the "nonsense" and the "bull" which is "handed out" in it. There are some however, who say: better rotten stuff than nothing at all, they distribute material which they themselves will not take seriously.

The C. P. O.—(Brandenburger)—Their local group have directed a written protest to their national leadership against the "general line methods" contained in the article "Against Trotskyite Liquidationism" (which appeared in June issue of their central organ (Gegen den Strom). In this protest they say that with such stupid remarks as in the article one cannot and should not carry on politically against the Trotskyists. If Trotsky represents a false point of view, it is necessary to criticize objectively, without sinking to the level of "line loyalty" (Stalinism).

## British Labour Party Masks Support to Capitalism at Annual Conference

Edinburgh.—Six hundred delegates, representing Divisional Labour Parties, trade unions and Socialist bodies, were in attendance at the annual conference of the British Labour Party held at Hastings in the first week of October. Since the General Election disaster of 1931, when the masses expressed their disgust at the treachery of the Labor Government by swinging over to the Conservatives, the Executive of the Party have been busy upon the production of a new programme calculated to give the impression that the passing of Ramsay MacDonald has opened up a new era in the history of the Labour Party and that it has passed from its Liberal-Labour stage to one of complete Socialism. In this task, the Executive has been embarrassed by the cautious trade unions on the one hand and by the somewhat careless statements of the Socialist League upon the other.

The trade unions dislike "left" phrases which tend to endanger their craft interests while the leaders of the Socialist League, composed of lawyers, journalists and middle-class intellectuals, glory in the use of words which have been culled from the text-books of their Austrian "Marxist" friends. As previously reported in *The Militant*, the Labour Party Executive as well as the trade union leaders had warned the Socialist League against the too dangerous play with the dictatorship question, and as the League was now bringing its proposals to the floor of the Conference, a battle royal was expected. But as will be revealed below, the Executive held their hand in the interests of unity.

### Fritz Adler Speaks

Before the opening of the Conference the assembled delegates were addressed by Doctor Fritz Adler, who declared on behalf of the Austrian Social Democrats that "concentration camps are being prepared for Socialists in Austria, but we will call for a general strike if the trade unions are banned or if the Social Democratic Party is made illegal." This statement was loudly cheered by the delegates who later passed a resolution pledging support to the Austrian Socialists in their struggle against Fascism. In opening the Conference, the chairman, Mr. Compton, also warned the delegates against the danger of Fascism but apart from vague statements upon the desire of the workers' movement to maintain democracy, there was no mention of any policy calculated to defeat Fascism. Having aired their views upon Fascism, the Conference then got down to business and first ruled out an emergency resolution upon the Leipzig trial and then banned a list of Communist organizations such as the Anti-War Council upon the grounds that they were being used to disrupt the Labour Party.

Labour Party "Socialism"—As three Labour Party candidates, as well as the Labour Lord Marley, are members of the Anti-

### The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland Joins the International Left Opposition

On September 21, the Plenum of the International Left Opposition decided to accept the request of the R. S. P. (Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland) for affiliation with the I. L. O. The R. S. P. was founded in 1929. Its fundamental line of policy coincides in the main with its declaration of principles in 1932, which bears a distinctly Communist character.

There are 950 members on its rolls who are grouped together in some 30 local organizations. The party stands in closest contact with the N. A. S., a trade union center with 25,000 enrolled members. Both organizations are headed by comrade H. Sneevliet.

H. Sneevliet is not an unknown figure in the International Communist movement, particularly because of the revolutionary activity he displayed even before the war, and during the war, in the Far East.

The R. S. P. has been publishing a weekly paper, *Baanbrecker*, ever since its inception. It has a circulation of 3,000.

It is interesting to observe the development of the party as reflected in the parliamentary elections. In 1929 the party received 21,000 votes and no mandate. In 1931, in the provincial elections covering 3 provinces, it received 20,000 votes and 2 mandates. In the same year, during the municipal elections in 50 localities, it received 31,000 votes and 12 representatives. In the parliamentary elections of 1933, H. Sneevliet, who at the time was imprisoned for his energetic defense of the martyrs of "Seven Provinces" (The reference is to the revolutionary sailors who participated in the "mutiny" of one of the vessels of the Dutch merchant marine—Ed.), was elected to parliament with 48,000 votes.

Since the summer of 1932, the R. S. P. has been working together in united front action with the O. S. P. (the Independent Socialist Party of Holland). The develop-

ment within the O. S. P. which led to their signing the common declaration of the Four Organizations (I. L. O., S. A. P.—German Socialist Workers Party—R. S. P. and O. S. P.) at the Paris Conference, presage a unification of R. S. P. and O. S. P. in the immediate future.

The I. L. O. extends warm greetings to the R. S. P. entering its ranks. It means the addition of a large corps of tested proletarian fighters to our cause and makes possible the further extension and penetration of the ideas of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

### THOUSANDS OF DUTCH WORKERS HAIL THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

In the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (O. S. P.) which had 7,000 members on its rolls, the participation in the building of the new International has been unanimously accepted by the Executive.

All of the discussion on the Paris Conference and the alliance with Trotsky has raised a deep interest outside the ranks of the party.

The joint meeting of the Executive Committees of the O. S. P. and the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Sneevliet) has yielded as its first result, the decision for close collaboration in all phases of working class policy. Moreover, the joint meeting accepted the principle of the necessity of fusing the two organizations into one revolutionary party. At the next congress, which is to convene in the Christmas interval, definite proposals for fusion will be voted on. It is the first attempt in many years to create real revolutionary unity. It has already aroused great enthusiasm, as is apparent from the many successful mass meetings held all over the country.

The *Baanbrecker*, organ of the R. S. P., carries an account of the joint meeting of the two organizations held in Amsterdam as a reply to the Fascist demonstration. The hall taken was much too small. Two meetings had to be held and hun-

but he thought that a clear answer should be given to the advocates of force. He then dropped a bombshell by announcing that the Executive had accepted all the proposals contained in his amendment and that they had agreed to discuss them and report back to the next annual conference of the Party.

### Debate Fizzles Out

George Lansbury then rose and confirmed this statement on behalf of the N. E. C. and in this fashion the great debate ended in a complete fizzle. Certain delegates then jumped up and accused the Executive of cowardice, while others warned them of the dreadful fate that awaited if they as much as mentioned the House of Lords at the next election. But the alliance of the Executive and the Socialist League had been worked out behind the scenes and so the much delayed Labour programme will not be known for yet one more year.

Next day the *Daily Herald*, official organ of the Labour Party announced in streaming headlines, "Labour Party Conference United" and then went on to say that "those who were looking for a fight between Sir Stafford Cripps and the N. E. C. were disappointed."

Indeed there was no need to fight as the only difference between the Executive and the Socialist League is upon a question of just what kind of words should be used by the Labour Party at the next General Election. Should the Party stick to the old Fabian phrases or should they try a new "left" brand? The Labour Party is simply packed with careerists who care nothing for the sufferings of the working class but who are impatiently waiting the next swing of the pendulum which will land them into Parliament and right amongst ripe plums that are to be picked there.

### Following the German Path

But these clever parliamentarians may be making a sad mistake and their fondest dreams may very well be shipwrecked by the distrustful working class who are beginning to lose faith in these treacherous politicians. The path which landed the leaders of the German Social Democracy into the concentration camps of the Fascists is being travelled by their British friends of the Labour Party who refuse to face up to the problems of the class struggle. To the problems of unemployment, Fascism, war, they have no solution and the capitalist class can afford to smile while the Labour Party leaders keep their thousands of faithful followers safely trapped in the snare of parliamentary illusions.

The danger is that events may move so quickly that the gathering storm may blow up before the class-conscious British workers have been able to build a new Communist leadership capable of leading the masses against the capitalist enemy.

### FROM SOUTH BEND, IND.:

"The change, printing more articles directly interesting the workers in their daily struggles, will do much more good. I believe your orientation is leading the Left Opposition in the correct direction . . ."

dreds of workers had to be turned away. An exceptional acclaim greeted the speeches of Sneevliet, Schmidt, Schlip and Piskhoorn, who traced the course of the proposed new International.

### In Belgium

Our Belgian comrades have entered negotiations with the League of Communist Internationalists for the fusion of the two organizations as basis for the creation of a new Communist party.

### FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

A call for an international congress of all revolutionary youth organizations to consider the problems of the formation of an international vanguard of the working class youth has been sent out by the youth organization of the Revolutionary Socialist party of Holland, to be held in Amsterdam on December 9 and 10.

Most of the youth organizations invited to this conference are connected in some way to the Paris Conference of last August. These organizations are either revolutionary socialist or independent Communist.

The youth sections of the International Left Opposition have been invited to participate in this Conference and will send delegates to it.

The bankruptcy of the Comintern and the treachery of the Social Democracy has brought in its train a frightful degeneration of the Young Communist International and the Young Socialist International. They are incapable to organize and educate the proletarian youth in the world. A new revolutionary youth international must be organized. The Amsterdam Conference will be the first step.

Beginning with this issue, the department "Towards the Creation of a Fourth International" will be a regular feature of *The Militant*. It will help to keep American workers adequately informed about every step taken in the redressment of revolutionary internationalism.—Ed.

## The Agrarian Question in Mexico in the Light of the Coming Revolt

Every effort will be made by the Calles-Rodriguez regime to prevent the Mexican peasants from rearming themselves, and to disarm those still in possession of rifles. During the last four uprisings the peasants participated on the side of the government against the counter revolution. The next uprising will find them aligned against the government which has gone over bag and baggage to the counter revolution. During the past revolts the armed peasant guerrillas proved themselves more than a match for the troops of the regular army many of which supported the rebellions. They are therefore a factor to be reckoned with in the coming events.

For many years the Mexican peasants and their organizations have played an important role in the country's politics, always however as tools of the different bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political groups which paid them off with broken promises or a few rusty guns. The very nature and composition of the peasantry and its organizations naturally prevented them from at any time, playing a really independent role.

In 1926 most of the scattered local, regional, and state organizations were federated into the National Peasants League, at which all tendencies were represented. This congress did much to cement the relations between the Communists, the peasants and the bourgeois government. The Communist Party dissolved itself into the peasant movement, and rather than building an opposition within it, served as a bridge to keep the more radical elements among the poor ejidatarios and peons from resisting the policies of the rancheros and petty politicians in the leadership. These same leading functionaries of the National Peasants League (Galvan, and Co.) were mostly all members of the Communist party. They did very much as they pleased; Tejada, then Minister of the Interior, supported the organization with Galvan and Co. on the payroll; and the Party dragged along in their trail, boasting in its reports to the Comintern of "our peasant organization of 300,000 members." But this was only one episode in the opportunist history of the Mexican C. P. Party publications were maintained by government officials and the party's principal footholds in the labor unions (Jalisco, Tampulipas) were owed primarily to the support of the local politicians who used the Communists as a counter-weight to the reformists of the CROM who were at that time very powerful in national politics through the Partido Laborista.

In 1929, with the inauguration of the "Third Period", and after the farce of the march days (discussion which terminated in support to the government) the splits commenced. Galvan finally broke away, and denounced the party. Thenceforward there was a series of splits and counter-splits, expulsions and counter-expulsions in the peasant organizations. Galvan meanwhile has gone to his just reward, but his tradition remains in the main current of the peasant movement which, under the name "National Peasants League 'Ursulo Galvan' (Genuine)", serves today as the mainstay of Tejada's political apparatus. Another section is dominated by the National Revolutionary Party or local politicians affiliated to it, while still other fragments are affiliated to the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, and a Left wing peasant movement dominated by the Communist party.

It has been seen that Colonel Adalberto Tejada, has for many years exercised great influence over large sections of the Mexican peasantry. With the approaching 1934 presidential elections in sight, Tejada is making a play for power. As principal inspirer of the split within the P. N. R. out of which the "Left Socialist Party" was born, he appears as sponsor of a radical "proletarian-agrarian" program. At the same time, he is seeking unprincipled alliances with other political groups (Soto y Gama, "Partido Laborista", "Partido Antireaccionista", etc.) which are if anything farther to the right than the P. N. R.

There is every probability that large sections of the peasantry and even of the proletariat will support Tejada because of his "radicalism." Meanwhile the Communist Party considers Tejada as the "main danger" in much the same manner that "Social-fascism" was considered before the advent of Hitler.

This is the second of a series of articles on political developments in Mexico. In the next issue, we shall attempt an analysis of Tejada's "Left Socialist Party."

### TERZANI'S RELEASE

New York City, Nov. 1.—Demand for the release of Atheros Terzani, young anti-Fascist accused of killing his comrade Anthony Fierro, and prosecution of the "real and known perpetrators of the crime," was made on District Attorney Charles S. Colden of Queens County today in a letter sent to him by Edmund J. Phillips of Philadelphia, Spanish-American War veteran and former organizer for the Khaki Shirts of America.

Mr. Phillips's letter was made public through the Terzani Defense Committee. The Committee contends that Fierro actually was killed by a member of the Fascist Khaki Shirts while defending a friend who was being ejected from a meeting of that organization in Astoria, L. I., on July 14.

It was Mr. Phillips to whom the committee referred October 25, when it charged that Mr. Colden had failed to make a promised new inquiry into the Fierro killing, and declared that "one man in Philadelphia who has vital information about the case, and whose name has long been known to the District Attorney's office has never been visited by any one representing Mr. Colden."

The article below is an extract from the Bulletin published illegally by our Austrian comrades, and bearing the date, October 1st. Since then, the attempt against Dollfuss has clearly proved that the Nazis are not thinking of relaxing their offensive, but on the contrary of intensifying it in order as quickly as possible—before the winter—to get a decision in their favor.

At this time Austria is passing through a stage analogous to the Bruening-Papen-Schleicher period in Germany or the Held period in Bavaria, that is to say, a semi-Bonapartist dictatorship, which maintains itself by the reciprocal neutralization of the proletarian camp and the Fascist camp. . . .

"However, Austrian 'Bonapartism' today, like German 'Bonapartism' yesterday can have only an episodic character, by filling the short interval that separates the democratic regime from the Fascist regime."

These words were written by comrade Trotsky in March of this year, in his article "Austria is Next in Order". Many left social-democrats thought then that it was incorrect to consider the Dollfuss regime as a Bonapartist regime. However, the development that has taken place during the last six months has confirmed our Marxist-Leninist analysis word for word. This statement is not made by us because we want to appear as having been correct, but by the necessity of clearly understanding the present turn in Austrian politics, a turn which has been undertaken by the new formation of the Dollfuss cabinet.

Let us express ourselves clearly: the shifts in the Dollfuss cabinet signifies the end of Austrian Bonapartism and the beginning of decisive convulsions.

The "Catholic day" and the demonstration of the "patriotic front" sought to show the "strength" of the Dollfuss government to the external world and to support the former. This attempt to deceive the foreign world on the weakness of the government and to save the latter, has miscarried in face of the internal contradictions of the Bonapartist governmental combination and it has only strengthened

the discussion on its fate.

The entire world has been able to see the real weakness of the Dollfuss government by viewing the struggles that have taken place within its own ranks after the "Catholic Day", which led to the counter-demonstration of the Heimwehr and the Landbund which refused to liquidate themselves in the "patriotic front". By that, the attempt to save the Dollfuss government has miscarried, the governmental combination has fallen.

Instead of leading to a rapprochement, Dollfuss brought about the strengthening of the contradictions, especially between the Heimwehr and the Landbund. What is still more important is the fact the split also cuts into the Christian-social party, which is the strongest governmental party and in which a Fascist and a reactionary-democratic wing are struggling. It is in that that the internal weakness of the Dollfuss regime consists.

But in the course of recent weeks, the general weakness of the Dollfuss government becomes more and more apparent. All the governmental measures have not helped in subduing the Nazis; on the contrary, the Nazi danger has grown. (The social democratic councillor Scharff was quite correct in stating this fact.) The state apparatus, even the Executive power, up to the highest ranks, is completely infested with Nazis; it has become very shaky for Dollfuss.

From this point of view the foundations of the Dollfuss government are completely undermined. But on the other side, there is still the working class. Although its strength has been weakened it is not yet broken. The most important proletarian organizations are still intact. The government is directly threatened from this side to the degree that the situation becomes more intense.

The ground shakes under Dollfuss' feet. What maintains the homogeneity of his camp is the common fear of the Nazis and the hatred of the social democracy, that is the working class, through the impoverishment of which Austrian capitalism like German capitalism tries to improve its situation. The attitude of the Dollfuss government is dictated by the dependence of Austrian finance capital on France especially, and on England. The severity of the crisis pushes it to rage against the working class.

At present, the governmental bases which is being undermined in favor of the Nazi camp, forces Dollfuss to take decisive measures. If he wants to maintain himself, then he is forced by all means to modify, to change the present relationship of forces.

His attempt to suppress the Nazi movement has miscarried. Therefore there remains only one means to save himself: the destruction of the proletarian organizations, that is to say, especially the social democracy and the trade unions. If Dollfuss takes this path—and no other remains for him—then the period of Bonapartism is terminated and the final, decisive struggle begins.

That is where we stand now. The new Dollfuss cabinet means that the Fascist wing of the Christian-Socialists has stripped itself of pretenses. Their party leader, the reactionary Vaugin, had to leave, like Winkler, the Landbund man, because while being for a reactionary reform of the constitution, they were not in favor of the proscription of the social democracy, fearing the eventualities that it would cause even in their own parties.

This fear is quite justified. But the Heimwehrs, who are in favor of the "perfect Fascist state, on the Italian model", have remained. That means that the proscription of the social democracy and the trade unions is not far off. This is no longer a question of weeks (or even of days). The dynamics of development presses the new Dollfuss cabinet not to unravel the knot but to cut it.

Will it succeed in striking down the working class? In order that they do not succeed, the proletariat must detach itself from their cowardly, treacherous leadership. Can Dollfuss drive off the Fascist danger? We do not believe so. All the conditions of development indicate that their time will come and that in the last analysis they will triumph over Stahrenberg, Fey and Dollfuss.

One thing is certain: Bonapartism has served its time. For the working class, the hour has come when it is a matter of daring everything in order not to lose everything.

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## The Illinois Miners

THINGS are happening very rapidly in the Illinois mine fields and the fate of the Progressive Miners' organization will not long remain undecided. The magnificent movement of the Illinois miners, which arose with such bright promise out of the fires of struggle, has been caught in a net of internal contradictions which directly threaten to strangle it. The enemies from without could not break the union; the greatest danger comes from within.

Percy and Keck are leading the union on the path of Lewisism, and their pace becomes faster every day. They joined in the ballyhoo for the NRA and went, hats in hand, to beg crumbs from the capitalist politicians. They are stifling every sentiment of militancy in the ranks. They have invoked the aid of state authorities to suppress radical meetings and now they are expelling Communists and other militants from the union in Lewis style. In every respect they are trying to demonstrate that the P. M. A. is different from the organization of Lewis only in name. Percy and Keck are preparing the way to repeat the sell-out of Walker—if, indeed, the actual deal has not already been made behind the scenes.

But they have a long way to go before they can succeed in destroying the movement against Lewisism that has been hardened in such desperate struggle and sealed by so much martyr blood. Powerful forces for resistance are latent in the rank and file of the P. M. A. The next developments of the class struggle will work to strengthen them. What is lacking is an organization of the class conscious and militant elements and a leadership worthy of the task. From the very beginning of the new movement we pointed out the necessity of a firmly organized Left wing in the union. The delay has been costly for the miners and for the union. Now the dangers of another debacle have accumulated and press on every side. There is not much time left.

The signal of a rising reactionary current in the union was flashed months ago when the officials of the P. M. A. started a "red scare" in the organization. That was the time for the militants to awaken to the internal danger, to recognize the unfailing sign of the employers' class influence at work and to organize their struggle to preserve the union against it. Unfortunately they lacked the leaders for such a fight.

Those who were expected to speak out clearly, kept silent. Instead of fighting they retreated. Instead of denouncing the bosses' agents in the officialdom and defending the policy of class struggle militancy—which was the real point of the attack—Allard and others responded with shame-faced denials of the reactionary "accusations" on their own part, and the expression of mealy-mouthed liberal sentiments about the rights of others.

By the miserable capitulatory attitude before the reactionary offensive they paved the way for all that has followed. The fact that Allard himself was promptly removed as editor of the *Progressive Miner*, and thus became the first victim of the treacherous bargain of Percy and Keck with the coal operators, does not alter or mitigate the responsibility he bears for the success of their treacherous policy. And there is no reason to conceal it. The most necessary thing now is to see clearly what has happened and what made it possible, and to tell the truth about it.

Half-and-half radicalism, the policy and practice of pseudo-progressivism, played here once again its characteristic role as an aid to reaction. Allard personified this policy and practice and, from all appearances, has not learned anything from the evil results it has brought. People who lack prin-

ciple suffer from a disease that is very hard to cure. The fact that Allard at one time passed as a supporter of the Communist League makes it incumbent on us, in the interest of truth and clarity, to mention him specifically in this connection and to say that the course he followed had nothing in common with the policy of the League.

We shall take occasion to return again to the Illinois mining question and to set forth again in greater detail the Communist opinion in regard to it. But it can be said at the outset that the miners have no more important problem than the just and accurate appraisal of the leaders who have played a part in the struggle and the course they have followed. They will not be able to cope with the Percy-Keck treason machine until they have secured an accounting from those who had their confidence and who failed in their duty to put them on guard and organize their counter-struggle in time.

## American Communism and the Russian Revolution

IN the internationalist concept of their authentic representatives, the Russian revolution and the movement of American Communism are inseparably bound together and, in the final analysis, dependent on each other. This inter-relationship, expressed primarily at first in the influence which the Russian revolution exerted in bringing Communism to life in America, is manifested again today in the international struggle to safeguard the beleaguered fortress of the Soviet Union and to defend the conquests of the October revolution.

The unity of the liberation struggle of the proletariat in a single world process is strikingly illustrated in this intimate connection between Russia and America and their inter-acting influence on each other. The advanced workers in a backward country inspired, by their example, the formation of a revolutionary Communist nucleus in the most highly developed capitalist nation. Now it is our turn.

At the present juncture of the international class struggle the American revolutionists are called upon to play a decisive role in support of the Russian revolution. Our importance in this task is derived from the singularly dominant position of the United States in world affairs and the extraordinary susceptibility of America to the influence of a clear-sighted Communist current at the present time.

We can aid the Russian revolution to its feet again by contributing our efforts and our energy toward the revival of that revolutionary internationalism which first gave birth to it. The distortion of this original and basic idea and its piece-meal elimination from the Communist International by the Stalinists in favor of a utopian national-socialism has year by year undermined the illuminating strength of the first workers state. Only the rebirth of revolutionary internationalism, its embodiment into a new dynamic international organization, can preserve Soviet Russia and bolster up the great work of world emancipation begun by its founders. By sharing in this task, by rooting the new organization in the American soil, the revolutionists of America will begin to repay the great debt they owe to the Russian workers' vanguard.

These internationalist conceptions, which are the heritage of the great Marxist teachers embodied in the October revolution, hold the central place in our minds today as we commemorate its 16th anniversary. On this line the revolution arose in Russia and inspired a whole world. On the same line the re-awakening international movement will gather the scattered forces again and lead to the final security of the U. S. S. R. by the extension of the world revolution.

## Bar Schachtman from Canada

(Continued from page 1)

came to Canada. Such conveyance shall be by the first available ship or train of the Transportation Company which brought the said rejected person to Canada. Dated at Phillipsburg this 1st day of November 1933. (Signed). S.P. Poissant, per C. B. O.

In handing Schachtman the deportation order, the officer pointed a significant finger to the reverse side on which was printed: "It is unlawful for persons rejected or deported to return to Canada without the consent of the Minister and persons entering or remaining in or returning to Canada after such rejection or deportation are subject to arrest and detention and on summary conviction to a fine or imprisonment or both, and to deportation." By this, the customs agent was as much as saying: "You need not try to enter by any other Port because the information about you has been very effectively distributed. They'll be watching for you."

Protests were of no avail. Even the demand for an appeal was answered by giving Schachtman a triplicate form to sign, but not to fill out. The official informed him that the signature was the appeal to Ottawa, and that the official himself makes out the appeal proper!

Apparently unaware that he was dealing with the "vanguard of the counter-revolution", the officer had Schachtman packed into an automobile and conveyed under escort to the building of the American customs authorities on the other side of the border, in Swanton, Vermont. There, after another examination of his passport, which was found to be in regular order, Schachtman was released and obliged to return to New York.

Representatives are being made to the State Department at Washington and to the Department of

Immigration and Colonization at Ottawa, particularly as the deportation order, until reversed, constitutes a permanent ban against Schachtman's ever entering Canada again. This is not the first time the Canadian authorities have struck a blow at the activities of the Left Opposition. Prior to this, we have encountered difficulties with the mails, and at least one of Leon Trotsky's works printed by us in New York has been denied admission into Canada.

As we go to press, we have as yet no report on the manner in which the Montreal and Toronto meetings took place. A full report will be given about them in the coming issue of the *Militant*.

## Save Torgler!

(Continued from Page 1)

The Internationalist Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists) proposes to all the workers organizations in the world to organize a boycott of German goods, to formulate a program of common action, to build fighting labor organizations.

There is no time to lose in setting the workers into motion. If the terroristic sentences of Leipzig are pronounced, as they no doubt will be, a powerful protest of the international proletariat must be unleashed.

Workers of the world, force your organizations to take a position, organize with us the struggle against Fascism. Halt the hand of the hangman! Show that internationalist proletarian action still lives!

In reply to the shameful verdict of Leipzig, not a single German product must be bought, no German raw material worked on. All the cities of the world should organize Fascism under the sign of powerful mass demonstrations! Fight for the liberation of Torgler, Dimitroff, Popov and Taneff! For the freedom of the tens of thousands of imprisoned workers, demand the suppression of the barbarian concentration camps.

—International Secretariat.

## The Bolshevik Heritage

(Continued from page 1)

Opposition rededicate themselves to those basic tasks which the Communist International originally set for itself. Our aim as before remains the international proletarian revolution. That is, for the struggle for workers State power—the transfer of power from one class to another. It is the order of the day in this epoch. In the Soviet Union the problems of economic and political administration on behalf of the toiling masses are as heavy and decisive as at no other time perhaps in its history. The Russian Bolshevik-Leninists, despite the extreme conditions of their existence, will assist the Soviet power in the correct direction—As before, the dictatorship of the proletariat through the medium of Soviets on a world scale remains our goal. The theory of permanent revolution is the basic conception which guides the International Left Opposition toward that goal. We are small; we need more cadres, more leading forces. These must be gathered. Old revolutionaries are beginning once again to return to the revolutionary struggle. They are welcome. But above all we must win the new forces of workers never before active in the labor or revolutionary movement—those who are just beginning to take the first steps toward a revolutionary position.

The Third Congress of the Communist International raised as its major slogan: "To the masses!" This, and more, is our slogan today. Into the unions! Organize the unorganized! Develop class consciousness. Widen the foundations for the new Communist Party of the United States and a new, Fourth Communist International. In this way we can best honor the Bolshevik revolution of the Russian October and extend it.

—MARTIN ABERN.

# The Boycott of Fascist Germany

A Sympathizer Writes on the Strategy of the Anti-Hitler Struggle

Dear Comrades:

There is some noise in bourgeois circles about refusing to buy German goods as a protest against Hitler's persecution of Jews. There is, of course, very little action. For example, R. H. Macy & Co., owned by a Jewish family which includes the U. S. Ambassador to France, declines to join the boycott movement. Even if there were consumers' action, a decline in the sale of German eye-glasses and cameras, or even a complete stoppage of the sale of German crockery, would be put a pin-prick in the leathery hide of the Nazi monster.

And, look at the demands of the Jewish boycott! Dr. Fritz Schlessinger, a leader on the liberal side in the recent row in the German-American societies in New York, has made the position of bourgeois Jewry clear. "We have not rejected the Nazi flag," he said; "the flag has rejected us." So what? Accept us and we'll accept Hitler. A nice piece of petty-bourgeois horse-trading. Let the Jewish consumers' boycott be effective and Hitler will compromise with bourgeois Jewry. He will not only protect Jewish bankers and department store owners, which he does already, but he will come to an understanding with the whole Jewish upper crust as to just what share they may have in Fascist Germany. And at that moment "liberal" Jewry will grow silent and the boycott will be over from labor's viewpoint, and even from a genuinely democratic viewpoint, the whole thing is a joke. Nothing better can be said of the similar consumers' boycott called for by the Second International, A. F. of L. and other reformist organizations.

Your editorial advocating "a well-organized international boycott—suspending transport and communication for a definite time" is the most sensible proposal I have seen for immediate mass struggle against Hitler, world Fascism and the war they are preparing. The idea is rooted in spontaneous mass action. The press has published only a few of the instances of such action. Let me give you some samples thus far unknown, I believe, in New York.

July 2: the S. S. Charlotte Schroeder, Kosciuszko, sailed through the Bruesels Canal. The Captain later reported to Hitler's official organ that some 500 men, women and children on the banks showered the boat, which was flying the Nazi flag, with about 300 kilos of stones, smashing the whole superstructure.

July 12: the S. S. Storman, Hamburg, docked in Odense, Denmark. The protest strike against the Nazi flag was so tumultuous that the local trade union council fell all over itself to endorse the workers' action. The flag came down.

August 8: the S. S. Delia, Bremen, docked in Pollafuss, Norway, to load wood. The Captain refused the longshoremen's demand to lower the Nazi flag. The sawyers came down from the mills, demonstrated on the pier, and gave him an hour to change his mind. The flag came down. When the boat sailed, the workers massed on the pier and sang the Internationale. Punished by a three-day lockout, they held fast and forced the bosses to rehire them.

In the same week in Apenrade, Denmark, workers protested against the Nazi flag on the S. S. Maja. Danish Nazis were called in to load. The trade unions of Apenrade went on a one-hour general strike of protest. The flag came down.

August 24: the S. S. Delta IV docked at Valdemarskvik, Sweden. Not even threats of expulsion by reactionary union officials deterred the protest against Hitlerism. The flag came down.

You will doubtless be glad to learn that others endorse the idea of an organized international transportation boycott. An early discussion of the idea was by the *Neue Weltbühne*, a German language paper published by exiles in Prague. This group is the feeble voice of the remnant of left bourgeoisie which has not abandoned its fight against Hitlerism; of its outstanding leaders, Carl von Ossietzky is in a Nazi concentration camp, and Kurt Tucholsky has vanished completely. These people have called on "the organized socialism of all countries" to join in such a boycott as you favor. A formal call was sent to the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, the Amsterdam T. U. center, the R. I. L. U., the cooperative internationalists and to many minor workers' organizations proposing a united front conference to draw up slogans and the detailed strategy of the boycott.

This proposal has been accepted by the Independent Labor Party of England, the I. W. W. and several other labor organizations. Apparently without knowledge of this action, a congress of Scandinavian workers' sport clubs met in Copenhagen on July 7-8 and resolved on behalf of 92,000 members (mostly Social Democrats) "to isolate Hitler Germany" by such a boycott. In the *Arbeiderbladet* of August 12, Tranmael, chairman of the Norwegian Labor Party, (which belongs to no International), wrote that his party interprets the vague Brussels Resolution of the Second International as meaning a transportation boycott and nothing less. Most important of all, a joint resolution adopted by the I. L. P., the Norwegian Labor Party, the German S. A. P. and the Dutch O. S. P. (the last two being co-signatories of the Manifesto of Four along with the International Left Opposition) favors "direct or-

ganized action against Fascism of all marine, railroad, transport and other workers" in the form of an industrial and transportation boycott. It proposes the following slogans: reestablishment of elementary political rights of workers; liberation of all political prisoners; abolition of concentration camps; cessation of violence against political dissidents.

Supplementary action of many varieties may be cited. For example, the C. O. of the Norwegian trade unions has ordered a protest strike against the visit of any Nazi representative to Oslo, Norway's capital. Only hospital and firemen are exempted from the strike. Much has yet been done. The re-

However, fine all this sounds, not solutions are noble in purpose but they haven't been carried out. How can they be made effective? Is a question which throws us face to face with some familiar, unfortunate facts. The bureaucrats of the 2nd International, the A. F. of L., some, want move unless shoved.

Some Communists oppose the boycott because it will mean loss of jobs to German workers, as though German workers who (those same Communists claim) can approve the U. S. S. R. having re-approach with Hitler, would not understand the boycott and approve the loss of jobs. Some say that the boycott will benefit capitalists of France, America, etc. If the USSR—and rightly—trades with such capitalists despite the fact that they make a profit, why should workers' hesitate in the boycott? Some say that boycott provokes war. And they are the same people who proclaim that Hitler is war that whatever helps smash him is a peace move, that to refrain from hitting him is to expedite war.

Most fantastic of all Stalinist arguments against the boycott is that it can not overthrow Hitler any more than trade union action can, that only a revolution will do the job. No doubt. But a boycott can undermine Hitler so that the German workers can hope to finish him off by a revolution. The boy-

cott is just one move in a long struggle. Its limitations are no more a ground for rejecting it than are those of trade unionism for rejecting that.

Armed insurrection is only, (a big only, of course) the final stage in a long process of which both trade union struggle and a real boycott can be important parts. As the *Militant* said, such a boycott can be "a means of lifting up the spirits of the German workers and helping them to their feet again... a demonstration which would revive and strengthen the international labor movement."

But to the C. I. all this is senseless! No wonder the Captain of the German tanker *Mal-Kah* was surprised when, on August 17, Communist workers at Louden, Sweden, refused to service his boat as long as it flew the Nazi flag, even though they were employed by a nuptia firm belonging to a Soviet trust. No wonder he complained to reporters, saying that they do such things better in Leningrad where he flew his filthy pennant unmolested for nine days!

A long way the C. I. has come! On January 14, 1921, for example, the Executive Committee of the C. I. proclaimed a boycott of Spain in response to the appeal of the Spanish Confederation of Labor. "The workers of all countries," declared the E. C. C. I., "which was then under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, 'should refuse to load or unload goods coming from or destined for Spain. They should refuse to buy any Spanish products. Isolated from the rest of the world, its barbarism exposed by the proletarians of all lands, the Spanish bourgeoisie will have to capitulate.' The story of the boycotts against the Hungarian White Terror Government and against the Polish intervention in the U. S. S. R. are too well known to need repetition here. They were bold working class tactics, and they had their fruit. They were initiated by the C. I. to its glory and benefit at a time when the U. S. S. R. was far weaker than it is today.

—HARRY STRANG.

# Discussion Articles

## Two Internationals

I. The international revolutionary movement is once again approaching a period of clarification and reorganization. This time it occurs as a result of a major defeat of the working class (Germany), proving that an outstanding victory of the proletariat is not the only axis around which such revaluations and reorganizations take place. Lenin, without descending into mechanics, described the epoch of imperialist capitalism as the era of "wars and revolutions", all the time pointing out that this stage developed not in one straight line, but embodied all the ebbs and flows inherent in any form of decay. Translated into the terms of revolutionary politics, this designation signified that on a world scale the objective factors necessary as a pre-condition of the proletarian revolution, were present. The analysis did not exclude, but insisted, that the specific conditions of a given country had always to be considered, in order to effect such policies as would lead to the triumph of the proletariat.

### The Subjective Factor

In such an epoch the primary forces required to bring about the overthrow of capitalism, is the subjective factor, the organized movement of the working class. It is a period in which the main strategic aim of the proletariat (the conquest of power) becomes a reality, the outcome depending on how well the workers movement carries out its tasks. If from the international point of view, the proletarian revolution is on the order of the day, it is of paramount importance for the proletariat to so organize its tactics, that they will lead directly to victory. The subordination of the main strategic aim of the proletariat to the tactical phases of the class struggle would mean the surrender of the revolution and the decline of the workers movement into opportunism and reform. Because the struggle will resolve itself finally on the basis of the strength or weaknesses of the revolutionary party of the working class, it is incumbent upon every revolutionary worker to constantly examine and re-examine his party in order to observe how well it meets the demands of the objective situation and to determine precisely whether or not it furthers the interests of the proletarian revolution. In such a manner errors may be corrected, adjustments made and the party strengthened. If no possibilities exist for strengthening or correcting the organization, then it will prove to be necessary to reorganize the ranks of the workers movement upon a sound basis so that it can proceed to carry through the aim of class conscious and revolutionary workers; the overthrow of capitalism. In such matters, fetishism of an organization will not enhance our aims. Our opinions and policies can only be determined by objective analysis.

Downfall of the Second International  
The 2nd International ceased to

be a revolutionary organization when it subordinated the strategic aim of the workers to the exigencies of the tactical struggle, finally liquidating the former entirely, transforming the organization into the world party of reform. When this transformation took place it would have been the height of folly to expect of the 2nd International the prosecution of the revolutionary struggle for power. It embarked upon a course of saving and patching up the rotting structure of world capitalism, thus creating the need of constructing a new international of the proletarian revolution.

This new international (The Communist International) arising out of conditions created by the Russian revolution and the collapse of Social Democracy, reorganized the workers movement on the basis of Marxism, taking as its main policy, or point of departure, the promotion of the world revolution. The central policy of the Communist International rested upon its conception of present-day Capitalism, entering its final stage. Any other policy would not have conformed to the objective conditions and a continuation of the line pursued by social democracy could have had no other result than a weakening of the proletariat. If the Communist International gained great strength during its early years, it was due only to its revolutionary internationalist policy. It entered into decline precisely at the movement it substituted a nationalist dogma for the international revolution.

When an international of the working class fails to respond to the needs of the objective conditions, when it substitutes the main strategic aim of the revolution with reform measures or purely tactical considerations, or, if it subordinates the interests of the world revolution to the construction of national socialism, that organization, by and large ceases to exist as the international of the proletarian revolution.

International Social Democracy earned its spurs during the war. It surrendered to imperialism, supported the capitalist war, opposed the October insurrection, betrayed the German revolution, murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg, entered coalition capitalist governments. In a word it embarked upon a course of saving world capitalism. Obviously, among revolutionaries, there can be no dispute over the question of whether or not, the 2nd International represents the interests of the world proletariat.

Since the war, much has been written on this topic, and there is no need to belabor the point. It is interesting however, to observe its actions in Germany during the rise of Fascism and following Hitler's victory because they bear out further the above contentions. Then too, it will permit of judging their actions alongside of the actions of the Stalinists and in such a manner draw the necessary lessons from this highly important event.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

Continued in the next issue

## Notes of the Week

Who Are the "Chiselers"?

A substantial part of the president's last radio address was devoted to vituperation against the "chiselers". Although, as members of the working class we have always been against this chiseling system—of capitalism—we cannot help pointing out the injustice of this attack in itself.

For who, after all, are these particular "chiselers"? They are, in the main, the small bosses, the peanut businessmen. They are, for instance, the social prop of that big unit of anti-Western reaction, they are the boys who live in deadly dread of big time competition.

Take the Swopes, the Owen Youngs, the steel magnates and the textile barons. A "fair code of competition"—that is just their meat. They have big capital resources, tremendous credit resources, gigantic mass production facilities. They have masses of lawyers to wind their way out of any "unfair provisions". What chance has the poor little chiseler to keep pace with them? He has to live and produce on a hand-to-mouth proposition. The bank is down on his neck every minute of the day. The legal sharp charges exorbitant fees. Can he help lengthening hours and cutting wages. Can he do anything but perpetuate the sweatshops and skum his neighbor? Not if he wants to keep his place under the capitalist sun. And yet, NRA or no NRA, he feels it in his veins—that sun is setting for him.

### Hearst to the Rescue

The NRA obviously hastened the eclipse of small fry in business and industry. No doubt the real framers of it made "reorganization and centralization of business" one of the main objectives. The little fellows felt it.

When Mr. Ford bucked up against the big bad wolf, he became their idol. Mr. Ford, of course, had no need of a "code of fair competition". There are no small fry to wipe out in his field.

Now Mr. Hearst comes to their rescue. And that's encouraging for them.

—"The blighting effect of NRA policy," says the white hope of the middle class, "has been so complete that a justifiable interpretation of the letters NRA would make them read appropriately, 'No Recovery Allowed.'"

The Hearst newspaper chain was among the first to back Roosevelt and defeat the New Deal. Its present defection is, therefore, a blow with an extra sharp sting to it.

Which Way Is the New Wind Blowing?

While it reflects a widespread movement, the Hearstian pronouncement no doubt has aims of its own. Mr. Hearst is a jingo patriot of the first water. And he is circumspect in his patriotism.

He backed the New Deal in its efforts to harness American capitalism to a single aim—national concentration in the preparation for a new lunge at the world market.

When the national concentration of capital reached a point where it threatens the political concentration he balks. The small businessman is the indispensable prop in case of war, the middle class is the final resort of big business in case of a workers' rebellion.

"It imposed," runs Mr. Hearst's indictment against the NRA, "upon industry, struggling towards recovery, shorter hours and higher pay and greater employment.... than industry was able to bear (sic)."

There you have a successor to NRA: the remedy is a return to longer hours, less pay and lesser employment. If the small businessman can't bear the burden, the worker can!

This great vision is dubbed by Mr. Hearst: "Back to Democracy". Mark Sullivan, the Tribune correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune, thinks that its proponents should be called the "new liberals".

A London news dispatch says that the speculators there have become so cynical, every time there is some new declaration about the soundness of currency or business—they rush to sell short. Every time the boss class and their press lackeys begin to talk about "Back to Democracy" and "Liberalism", it's a cinch there's a big club hidden somewhere for the workers.

### As to the Workers

The NRA—like the League of Nations—is tumbling. The worker who wants to keep his shirt on his back had better join a union. And get his fellow workers to join. It's going to be a tough fight, from the looks of things. And it'll take all of those 10,000,000 new members Bill Green has been talking about, to hold our own.

Bill Green is just talking. It's up to you and you to do the job, Green and no Green. Working class unity—for higher wages, for the six hour day, five day week; for unemployment insurance—there is the first step to get rid of chiselers and chiseldom. —G....n.