

PRICE
2
CENTS

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
VOLUME VI, NO. 50 [WHOLE NO. 197] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4 1933 PRICE 2 CENTS

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 Kolochev—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—alien 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—was a least possible support for the building up of 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 bourgeoisie. 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 AIRCOS—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 opportunist 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, the German Communist party is lost. **But the Soviet Union 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.

—GORDON.

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 crisis of the Second International, of 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 delegates 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 deprivations 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 the workers 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.

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 and 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 opportunist 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, frightfully 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 of 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 Swabeck as the speaker—pointed to a large turnout out 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 officer 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: Act. 2 H (4), Can. Immlg. Act and Regulations. And the said rejected person is hereby ordered to be deported to the place from whence he

(Continued on Page 4)

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