

The Militant

Published Every Week by the Communist League of America (Opposition) 126 East 16th Street New York City

Volume VI. No. 50 (Whole No 197)

Saturday, November 4, 1933

Editorial Board

Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman M. Spector A. Swabeck

The Boycott of Fascist Germany

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

Notes of the Week

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.

Percy and Keck are leading the union on the path of Lewisism, and their pace becomes faster every day.

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.

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.

Those who were expected to speak out clearly, kept silent. Instead of fighting they retreated.

By the miserable capitulatory attitude before the reactionary offensive they paved the way for all that has followed.

Half-and-half radicalism, the policy and practice of pseudo-progressivism, played here once again its characteristic role as an aid to reaction.

ceptle 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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

Immigration and Colonization at Ottawa, particularly as the deportation order, until reversed, constitutes a permanent ban against Shachtman's ever entering Canada again.

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.

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.

Protests were of no avail. Even the demand for an appeal was answered by giving Shachtman a triplicate form to sign, but not to fill out.

Apparently unaware that he was dealing with the "vanguard of the counter-revolution," the officer had Shachtman 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.

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

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.

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 terrorist 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)

You will doubtless be glad to learn that others endorse the idea of an organized international transportation boycott.

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.

This proposal has been accepted by the Independent Labor Party of England, the I. W. W., and several other labor organizations.

The 2nd International ceased to be an organized international organization when it surrendered to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

MARTIN ABERN.

Dear Comrades:

There is some noise in bourgeois circles about refusing to buy German goods as a protest against Hitler's persecution of Jews.

And, look at the demands of the Jewish boycott! Dr. Fritz Schlegelinger, 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.

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.

July 2: The S. S. Charlotte Schroder, Rostock, sailed through the Brussels 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 stone, 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. Della, Bremen, docked in Follafuss, 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.

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. Delfin IV docked at Valdesmarskvik, Sweden. Not even threats of expulsion by reactionary union officials deterred the protest against Hitlerism. The flag came down.

The 2nd International ceased to be an organized international organization when it surrendered to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The 2nd International ceased to

organized action against Fascism of all marine, railroad, transport and other workers" in the form of an industrial and transportation boycott.

Supplementary action of many varieties may be cited. For example, the C. G. of the Norwegian trade unions has ordered a protest strike against the visit of any Nazi representative to Oslo, Norway's capital.

However, fine all this sounds, no solutions are noble in purpose but they haven't been carried out. How can they be made effective as a question which throws us face to face with some familiar, unfortunate facts.

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 relations with Hitler, would not understand the boycott and approve the loss of jobs.

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.

Some say that Hitler is 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.

Discussion Articles

Two Internationals

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.

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.

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 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.

Downfall of the Second International

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.

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 Loudden, Sweden, refused to service his boat as long as it flew the Nazi flag, even though they were employed by a nuptial firm belonging to a Soviet trust.

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.'"

HARRY STRANG.

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".

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 mid-western reelection. 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 reserves, tremendous credit resources, gigantic mass production facilities.

Not if he wants to keep his place under the capitalist sun. Ah, 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.

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".

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.'"

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 I'll take all of those 10,000,000 new members Bill Green has been talking about, to hold our own.

Albert Glotzer.