

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The expulsion of Leon Trotsky from France, and the attack which has been launched against him by the entire reactionary and counter-revolutionary press is dealt with elsewhere in the Militant. The press attack reveals that the "united front from below" is not the only kind practiced by Stalinist jackals.

L'Humanite and Liberte

In the yelping chorus of attack the blood hounds are led by the Stalinist L'Humanite and the Fascist Liberte. "He should be driven from France like a cur"—howls the reactionary organ. "A despicable character and a renegade, waxing fat on his writings," seconds L'Humanite. The hirelings of Stalin who could not stomach a united front with the Social Democracy to prevent Hitler coming to power are not so squeamish when it comes to attacking and driving from France Lenin's co-worker—the organizer of the Red Army.

In 1918 the reactionary press denounced both Lenin and Trotsky as "Despicable characters waxing fat on German funds". In this attack at that time, they were joined by many Mensheviks who are now on the Stalinist payroll. The list included, in America, the hireling Mofseye Olgin.

Stalin and Kemal Pasha

In 1928 Stalin, fearing the reaction to the murder of the best known and most capable of Russian revolutionists, decided instead to deport him. By a united front with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, murderer of Turkish revolutionists, Stalin secured an agreement to confine Trotsky to the island of Frinckipio. The motion for his exile was carried against the votes of the few remaining members who had served on the Party's Politburo with Lenin.

Later when all of Lenin's co-workers were removed from the leadership and only Stalin, of all those who served on the Politburo in Lenin's day, remained, Trotsky's citizenship was taken away. He who had made Soviet visas possible found himself without a Visa by Stalin, the one member of the Politburo, who in Lenin's estimation was disloyal, overbearing, an abuser of power and unfit for leadership.

H. George Invents a Plot

In 1931, when Trotsky applied for permission to visit Czecho-Slovakia, Harrison George, in the vegetarian mess which he served to the readers of the Daily Worker, attacked Trotsky with a viciousness exceeded only by the White Guard press of Czecho-Slovakia. George, using his imagination to concoct a story that would gain him prestige with his masters, stated that the Czecho-Slovak Government, Kerensky and Trotsky were meeting in Prague to prepare an attack on the Soviet Union. The White Guard press in Prague denounced Trotsky as a murderer and an enemy of civilization. Trotsky was not granted a visa. Stalinism and the White Guards again saved civilization.

"Vanguard of the Bourgeoisie"

Wrecks of what once were revolutionists, like Bill Dunne, and spineless chatterers who never could be revolutionists, like Sam Don, again and again denounced Trotsky as the "advance agent of imperialism". That snivelling Uriah Heap, Earl Browder, whose belly-crawling to Losovsky and Stalin won him the leadership of the American Party at the recent convention, cautioned new members of the Party from considering Trotskyites as "a branch of Communism". "They are rather a police agency of the capitalist class". By his interview in the Evening Post, Browder shows himself to be part of the united front with the "capitalist police agency" that is hounding Trotsky from France.

"Against Fascism—for the Fourth International"

Quotations published in the capitalist press, from the stirring manifesto of the Fourth International, should be enough—if anything was needed—to show that Leon Trotsky today, is the self-same revolutionist, the organizer and leader of the revolutionary proletariat, as he was when he organized the insurrection in Petrograd, when he organized and led the Red Army to victory and as he was when Lenin in his last message to the Party called him "the most capable man on the Central Committee".

Even if murdered by White Guards, or assassinated by Stalin's agents as was the sterling revolutionist Blumkin, of one thing both Stalinists and White Guards, in their united front, can be sure—the International Communist League which Trotsky organized and inspired will go forward in the building of the Fourth International that will lead the workers of the world to final victory.

—BILL.

FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL Reactionaries Strike at Leon Trotsky

THE HISTORIC DECLARATION OF THE FOUR ORGANIZATIONS AT PARIS

In full realization of the great historic responsibility which devolved upon them, the undersigned organizations have unanimously decided to combine their forces for joint work for the regeneration of the revolutionary proletarian movement on an international scale. As the basis for their activity they lay down the following principles:

1. The mortal crisis of imperialist capitalism, which has taken the props out from under reformism (social-democracy, the Second International, the bureaucracy of the International Federation of Trade Unions), poses imperatively the question of the break with reformist policy and of the revolutionary struggle for the conquest of power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship as the only means for the transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society.

2. The problem of the proletarian revolution bears, by its very nature, an international character. The proletariat can build a complete socialist society only on the basis of the world division of labor and world cooperation. The undersigned categorically reject, therefore, the theory of "socialism in one country" which undermines the very foundation of proletarian internationalism.

3. No less energetically must be rejected the theory of the Austro-Marxists, centrists and Left reformists who, under the pretext of the international character of the socialist revolution, advocate an expectant passivity with regard to their own country delivering thereby the proletariat in reality into the hands of Fascism. A proletarian party which evades the seizure of power under the present historic conditions commits the worst of betrayals. The victorious proletariat of one country must strengthen its national dictatorship by socialist construction, which remains of necessity incomplete and contradictory until the working class seizes political power in at least a few advanced capitalist countries. Simultaneously, the victorious working class of one country must direct all its efforts to the extension of the socialist revolution to other countries. The contradiction between the national character of the seizure of power and the international character of socialist society can be resolved only by courageous revolutionary action.

4. The Third International, which grew out of the October revolution laying down the principles of proletarian policy in the epoch of imperialism and giving the world proletariat the first lessons in the revolutionary struggle for power, fell victim of a chain of historical contradictions. The treacherous role of the social-democracy, the immaturity and inexperience of the Communist parties led to the breakdown of the post-war revolutionary movements in the East and in the West. The isolated position of the proletarian dictatorship in a backward country gave an extraordinary power to the ever more conservative and nationally-limited Soviet bureaucracy. The slavish dependence of the sections of the Comintern on the Soviet tops led, in its turn, to a new series of grave defeats, to bureaucratic degeneration to the theory and practice of the Communist parties, to their organizational weakening and more than that, the Comintern proved not only incapable of fulfilling its historic role but became more and more of an obstacle in the way of the revolutionary movement.

5. The advance of Fascism in Germany put the organizations of the working class to a decisive test. The social-democracy once more confirmed the designation given it by Rosa Luxemburg and revealed itself for the second time as "the stinking corpse". The overcoming of the organizations, ideas and methods of reformism is the necessary prerequisite for the victory of the working class over capitalism.

6. The German events revealed with no less force the collapse of the Third International. Despite its fourteen years existence, despite the experience gained in gigantic battles, despite the moral support of the Soviet state and the plentiful means for propaganda, the Communist party of Germany revealed its incapacity under conditions of a grave economic, social and political crisis, conditions exceptionally favorable for a revolutionary victory, and thereby showed conclusively that despite the heroism of many of its members it had become totally incapable of fulfilling its historic role.

7. The position of world capitalism; the frightful crisis which plunged the working masses into unheard of misery; the revolutionary movement of the oppressed colonial masses; the world danger of

Fascism; the perspective of a new cycle of wars which threaten to destroy the whole human culture—these are the conditions which imperatively demand the welding together of the proletarian vanguard into a new (Fourth) International. The undersigned obligate themselves to direct all their forces to the formation in the shortest possible time of this International on the firm foundation of the theoretic and strategic principles laid down by Marx and Lenin.

8. While ready to co-operate with all organizations, groups and factions which are actually developing from reformism or bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) towards revolutionary Marxian policy the undersigned at the same time declare that the new International cannot tolerate any conciliation towards reformism or centrism. The necessary unity of the working class movement cannot be attained by the blurring of reformist and revolutionary conceptions or the adaptation to the Stalinist policy, but only by combatting the policies of both bankrupt Internationals. To remain equal to its task the New International must not permit any deviation from revolutionary principles in the question of the insurrection, the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet form of the state, etc.

9. By its class basis, by its social foundations, by the incontestably prevailing forms of property, the U. S. S. R. remains also today a workers' state, that is an instrument for the building of a socialist society. The new International will inscribe on its banner as one of its most important tasks the defense of the Soviet state from imperialism and internal counter-revolution. Precisely the revolutionary defense of the U. S. S. R. places upon us the imperative task of freeing the revolutionary forces of the entire world from the corrupting influence of the Stalinist Comintern and of building a new International. Only under the condition of complete independence of the international proletarian organizations from the Soviet bureaucracy and the tireless unmasking of its false methods before the working masses is a successful defense of the Soviet Union possible.

10. Party democracy is a necessary prerequisite for the healthy development of revolutionary proletarian parties on a national as well

as an international scale. Without the freedom of criticism, without the elections of functionaries from top to bottom, without the control of the apparatus by the rank and file, no truly revolutionary party is possible. The need for secrecy under conditions of illegality changes completely the forms of the internal life of a revolutionary party and makes wide discussions and elections difficult, if not altogether impossible. But even under the most difficult conditions and circumstances the basic demands of a healthy party regime retain their full force: honest information of the party, freedom of criticism and a real inner unity between the leadership and the party majority. Having suppressed and crushed the will of the revolutionary workers, the reformist bureaucracy turned the social-democracy and the trade-unions into impotent bodies despite their membership numbering millions. Having stifled democracy, the Stalinist bureaucracy stifled also the Comintern. The new International, as well as the parties adhering thereto, must build their entire inner life on the basis of democratic centralism.

11. The undersigned created a permanent commission of delegate representatives and assigned the following to it:

- (a) The elaboration of a programmatic manifesto as the charter of the new International;
- (b) the preparation of a critical analysis of the organizations and tendencies of the present-day workers' movement (theoretic commentary to the Manifesto);
- (c) the elaboration of these on all the fundamental questions of the revolutionary strategy of the proletariat;
- (d) the representation of the undersigned organizations before the outside world.

SIGNED:
E. Bauer—International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists)
J. Schwab—S.A.P. (Socialist Workers Party of Germany)
J. P. Schmidt—O. S. P. (Independent Socialist Party of Holland)
K. Schuevliet—R. S. P. (Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland)

Labor Groups Protest Action of Dutch Government

Aroused by the recent deportation from Holland to Germany of four German workers, refugees from Hitler persecution, American labor groups and advocates of civil liberty yesterday asked the Dutch Government through its local Consul General for guarantees of asylum for political exiles. A joint statement of protest against present Dutch policy was presented to the Consul General's office, 17 Battery Place, by Herbert Solow George D. Herron and James Rorty for the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense which drew up and circulated the protest.

The statement read in part as follows: "For a worker to cherish opposition to the Hitler dictatorship is to risk prison, concentration camp brutalities, even the executioner's axe. . . . We wish you to forward our demand that your government immediately and publicly guarantee to all German political refugees safe conduct through and asylum in Holland. Until such a guarantee has been made, we will do our utmost to acquaint the masses of America with the attitude and activities of the Dutch government and to arouse them to effective expression of the profound horror and anger we know they will feel."

Organizations Signing Protest
Among the organizations endorsing the protest are, besides the Provisional Committee, the Young People's Socialist League, the League for Industrial Democracy, the National Unemployed League, the American Workers Party, the Spartacus Youth Clubs, the Communist League of America, the Communist Party Opposition, and the Jewish Workers Party. In addition it is endorsed by Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello* and anarchist leader; Herman Gund, General Organizer of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union; James P. Cannon, editor of the *Militant*; Alex Ball, editor of the *Workers Age*.

Solow, Secretary of the Provisional Committee, said the refusal to transmit the protest will cause a further intensification of the protest movement. Many European organizations, Solow said, have registered protests and a fund is being raised to help defend the four victims. An attorney has been sent

to Germany from Holland to seek information about their fate. The deported workers were delegates to a conference of independent Socialist and Communist parties and groups at Laren, Holland. When the police dissolved it, two American delegates were also deported.

Labor Conference Sends Protest
Aroused by the hostile attitude of the Dutch authorities against exiled German workers and Socialists, the "Labor Conference to Combat Hitlerism" has sent a sharply worded letter to the Dutch Minister in Washington, Jonker H. M. van Haersma de With, protesting against persecutions and asking that necessary guarantees be given to the "victims of a regime which is a constant threat to humanity, freedom, peace and progress". The action follows the initiative taken in the case by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

The letter, protests specifically against the breaking up of a conference of representatives of young workers' organizations at Laren, Holland, foreign delegates to which were arrested and deported. Four delegates were sent to Germany although they were refugees from the Hitler tyranny and were wanted by the Nazi authorities.

The "Labor Conference to Combat Hitlerism" is composed of workers' organizations and trade unions in the United States. Its headquarters are in New York. David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, is chairman; B. Charney, treasurer, and Bela Low, secretary. The executive council consists of Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Joseph Schlossberg, secretary-treasurer of the A.C.W. of A.; M. Danish of the I.L.G.W.U.; M. Zaritsky and N. Spector, President and Secretary, respectively, of the International Union of Cap and Millinery Workers; S. Weinberg and J. Baskin of the Workmen's Circle; R. Guskin and M. Finestone of the United Hebrew Trades, Ph. Zausner of the Painters District Council 9; A. Miller and L. Hollander of the Amalgamated Joint Board; Norman Thomas, Socialist Leader; I. Nagler of the Cloak Joint Board, and other labor leaders.

Robins and Gras Sentenced

Following the conviction of Herald Robins and Andres Gras, two militant workers active in the hotel strike, on a framed-up charge of assaulting a scab, the labor-hating Judge Corrigan, who presided over the trial and who used all the means in his power to secure the conviction, passed sentence on the 16th of April. Harold Robins was given the maximum sentence under the charge, from two and a half years to five years in the penitentiary. Gras was sentenced to serve from one to two years.

The whole case was a conspiracy of the Hotel Association in the attempt to terrorize the hotel workers and to stem their militancy. Attorney Jacob D. Fishman has been engaged to appeal the case on the grounds that the two workers did not get a fair trial. The judge refused to allow testimony in favor of the accused, while he permitted the jury to be prejudiced by the testimony of detectives that Robins was a Communist and a strike agitator.

Immediately after sentence was passed, both Robins and Gras were transferred from the Tombs to Sing Sing penitentiary.

THE INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

The English edition, printed form, eight pages, is now off the press and can be ordered directly from the national office. It is 10 cents a copy and cash must accompany all orders.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

Pledge Fund

The Pledge Fund for the stabilization of the Militant took a big leap forward at a closed meeting of sympathizers and members, held at Irving Plaza on Sunday, April 15th. At this meeting comrade Cannon reported on "Developments in the Movement for a New Communist Party, our Relations and Negotiations with Other Groups, and Next Steps". Following the questions and discussion, an appeal for Militant supporters was made and met with gratifying results. Seventeen of those present made definite pledges for regular weekly and monthly sums to the Militant.

We urge other branches to follow the experiment made by Local New York. In the last issue we reported 40 regular pledgers in addition to three new ones, making a total of 43. Today we report another 20 pledgers, of which 17 pledged at the meeting as stated above.

THE PLEDGERS

43	Previously reported.	
44.	A. Toven, Bay Ridge	\$1.00 monthly
45.	F. Becker, Manhattan	.50 weekly
46.	A. W., New Haven	.25 weekly
47.	J. Tonasin, Bronx	.25 weekly
48.	Sydney M., Manhattan	1.00 monthly
49.	Pauline M., Manhattan	.25 weekly
50.	A. McCabe, Bronx	.25 weekly
51.	Geltmans, Manhattan	1.00 monthly
52.	A. Sympathizer	.50 weekly
53.	Samuel E., Manhattan	1.00 monthly
54.	Cyril W., Manhattan	.25 weekly
55.	N. P., Manhattan	1.00 monthly
56.	Lillian G., Manhattan	1.00 monthly
57.	Cornbo, Manhattan	.25 weekly
58.	E. C., Manhattan	1.00 monthly
59.	E. J. C., Manhattan	.50 monthly
60.	Clara D., Manhattan	1.00 weekly
61.	Anna E., Brooklyn	.25 weekly
62.	E. A., Bronx	1.00 monthly
63.	A. Friend, Manhattan	1.00 weekly
	(paid 25 weeks in advance)	

Once a month a complete list of all pledgers will be published.

(Continued from page 1)
must be driven away like a dog". How clearly and forcefully the political issues eventually become! How unmistakably, through all the fog of slander and falsification, the essence of the eleven-years struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninists makes its way in these expressions of the bourgeois governments and newspapers! In the above quotations testify to their unalterable conviction that Trotsky is the veritable representative of the revolutionary program which they hate and fear.

The treacherous policy of Stalinism, exposed already in a long chain of events, is demonstrated once again before the workers of the entire world in the present case. The false face of Bolshevism is torn aside; the ordinary standard of labor ethics espoused by every simple and decent trade unionist, which dictates an attitude of labor solidarity with a victim of capitalist persecution—even this lacking in the conduct of the cynical bureaucrats of Stalinism from Moscow to Paris and from Paris to New York.

Not a united front of the working class against the class enemy, but a united front with fascist reaction—this is the essence of the Stalinist practice in the campaign against Trotsky. Frothing at the mouth, every jackal of the apparatus, every corrupt functionary of a regime that is corrupted to the core, barks at the heels of the international revolutionist.

"Drive him away like a dog", demands the Fascist newspaper. And the spokesman of the Soviet Embassy in Paris adds: "The Soviet Government is making no effort to interfere. We assume the French Government is capable of handling him". (United Press, April 18).

"He advocates a revolution by 'an armed workers' militia'", say the French "authorities" in announcing his deportation (Associated Press, April 18). L'Humanite, organ of French Stalinism, replies: "He is a renegade and a despicable character generally". (Herald Tribune correspondent, April 16).

"During the February clashes between the police and mobs", the French police charge, "he sent agents to the Socialist and Communist leaders urging a 'monster joint meeting' to prepare for mass actions". (Associated Press, April 18). And the New York Freiheit, which is against that kind of a united front, explains in an editorial on April 19th, that "Trotsky . . . is a man whom the revolutionary workers the world over hate and despise. . . . For the class-conscious workers the Trotsky matter is no more than an incident among capitalist governments and their servants."

Yes, Stalinist perfidy is revealed once again and it is not by accident that they direct it against the chief exponent of the revolutionary doctrines which they trample in the mud. They deported him from the Soviet Union; they dickered with the Turkish police to immure him on an island as in a prison; they connived with capitalist governments to keep him out of Europe; under the guise of calling attention to his lack of adequate protection at Prinkipio they incited White Guards (if not Stalinist agents) to assassinate him; they organized demonstrations against his admission to France and now they salute his deportation by a reactionary government that paves the way for Fascism! And all this cynical cooperation with the class enemy is passed off as revolutionary Bolshevism! Revolutionary workers, learn to despise this bureaucratic canaille which defiles the very name of Bolshevism!

The advanced workers all over the world in increasing numbers are beginning to see the issues as they really are and to draw the necessary conclusions. They are breaking out of the circle that has been drawn around them—the devil's circle of lies and calumnies, of perversion, fakery and disorientation.

In the hall of persecution and slander directed at the person of Trotsky, first by war mongers and social patriots during the war; then by the whole camp of reaction in the Kerensky days and in the first period of the Bolshevik revolution; later taken over and magnified by the Stalinist bureaucracy after the death of Lenin; and now unfolding again under the leadership of the blackest forces of capitalist reaction, with the Stalinists in their train—in these campaigns of rage and hate and persecution concentrated on Trotsky the advanced and thinking workers of the world are beginning to see what is really involved: the struggle of the classes.

And, more than that, the eleven-years' campaign of the Stalinists, sandwiched in between the two great world crusades of the bourgeoisie, and fusing more or less openly with the latest one, stands out now more clearly in the same light. Trotsky, the person, is the target of the attacks of capitalist reaction because he, more ably and consistently than any other, has pointed out the way to the revolutionary struggle and victory of the workers.

The campaign of Stalinism against him personally was a campaign against his ideas, and that, in turn, has been at bottom a fulfillment of the commands of alien classes. The whole "anti-Trotsky" course of Stalinism, studied along the path for eleven years with disorganization and defeat of the workers' movement in all countries, is true to itself and more self-revealing than ever now. And the conclusion is clearer and more inescapable than ever: Stalinism is a reactionary force in the labor movement of the world.

The accusations brought against Trotsky by the French police reveal the whole essence of the matter in a few compact sentences. They accuse him of working for a united front of Socialists and Communists "to prepare for mass action". They charge him with advocating the formation of "a workers' militia" to repel the Fascist attacks and to take the offensive against them. They indict him for his solemn warning to the workers that they must "fight to the death". And they drive him out of France because he summons the workers to reorganize their ranks under the banner of the Fourth International.

That, in brief, is indeed a program to strike terror to the hearts of all exploiters. In those clear, simple words there is the prescription for the workers' struggle and victory. If the workers will heed these words in time, and carry them out in deeds, they can reform their ranks and halt the march of reaction. They can smash the dread menace of fascism and clear the way for revolutionary victory.

In these issues, so fateful for the future of humanity, capitalist reaction has taken the offensive. Driving with breakneck speed toward the establishment of a fascist regime in France, they scent danger in the program of Trotsky and launch a furious campaign against him. By the same token the workers of France and of all countries ought to rally to his aid without delay. The defense of Trotsky's life at the present moment is a duty enjoined upon the labor movement in order to defend itself.

—JAMES P. CANNON.
WILL FASCISM COME TO AMERICA?
Lecture By **JAMES P. CANNON**
Friday, May 4, 1934 at 8:00 P.M.
Elm Hill Building, 532 Warren St. Opposite Waumbec St. Roxbury, Mass
Admission 15 Cents
Sponsors: Boston Branch Communist League of America

SEND A DOLLAR FOR FOUR PRE-PAID SUB CARDS, EACH GOOD FOR A SIX-MONTHS SUBSCRIPTION ON THE CLUB PLAN

OUT IN MAY! SUBSCRIBE NOW!

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
An Organ of Revolutionary Marxism

Published Monthly by the National Committee, Communist League of America

Max Shachtman, Editor
Station D Post Office Box 119
New York, N. Y.
One Year, \$1.50; Seven Issues, \$1.00; Single Copy, 15 Cents;
Canada and Foreign Countries—One Year, \$1.75.

I enclose herewith \$....., for which please enter my subscription for the NEW INTERNATIONAL:

Name
Address
City State