

Doriot Expelled From French C. P.

Jacques Doriot, a leading member of the French Communist Party, has been expelled, according to dispatches in several New York capitalist newspapers. Doriot, it has been known for some weeks, has been leading a fight in the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on behalf of the Leninist theory and practice of the united front. His expulsion, expected daily, was apparently held up because the bureau of the C. P. feared that the Party rank-and-file would not tolerate such action.

Record of Doriot

Doriot has for years been a leading figure in official Communist circles. He is one of the founders of the Young Communist International and a leader of the Stalinist youth movement throughout Europe. He has been a leader of the Stalinist fraction in the French Chamber of Deputies, where he once created a sensation by introducing a resolution congratulating the rebellious Abd-el-Krim for his victory over French imperialist arms in Morocco. In addition to being a Deputy, he is today Mayor of Saint-Denis, one of the key working class districts of Paris.

Doriot accepted the Stalinist regime in the Comintern; he denounced Trotsky and his comrades as counter-revolutionaries. No doubt he, like others, waited silently in hopes that the pressure of events would force a turn.

The fatality of such hopes is again clearly demonstrated. No greater pressure of events can be imagined than that which developed in Germany more than a year ago. Fascism made its bid for power, and the German Stalinist Party gave up the battle without a fight. On the heels of this ignoble surrender came the February days of Vienna.

February Events

The events of February were the final stimulus. In various parts of the country, district and section organizations of the Communist and Socialist Parties, reacting to the royalist-patriotic riots, came together in joint actions which, however incomplete and temporary, were unquestionably the first steps toward a genuine united front. Presiding over these joint actions was the spirit of the Internationalist Communist League of France, our comrades-in-arms, the former Left Opposition or "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites". Indeed, the development of such actions was marked by a concurrent rapid rise in the circulation throughout France of *La Verite*, official weekly organ of the League. Nor is it to be overlooked that the "crime" charged to Comrade Trotsky by the French bourgeoisie, for which he is to be deported, is that of sending emissaries to the C. P. and S. P. proposing united defensive action, along Leninist lines.

C. P. Rejects United Front

It is an honor to Doriot that at this point, in a meeting of the C.C., he proposed that the Party take up the united front on a national scale, offering a practical, militant, sincere program of joint struggle to all reformist organizations. Hu-

manite, the Stalinist organ, slandered and abused him, but printed nothing of his remarks in the C. C. meetings. The bureaucrats scurried about trying to isolate him from the Party.

Then the news got out! Doriot was advocating the Leninist united front! He was bringing "Trotskyist ideology" into the ranks of the Stalinist organization! The rumors became less vague. Two weeks ago *La Verite*, brother-organ of the Militant, printed Doriot's speech to the C. C. The French workers had their first opportunity to compare his position with that of the spokesman of the Stalinist clique, an irretrievable bureaucrat named Thorez. This was too much! Expulsion was the sole remedy.

French Workers Begin to Act

Doriot has not delayed as did certain leaders in Germany, until it is too late. The news of his action is laid before the eyes of the whole French working class at a favorable moment. The class has drawn a deep breath, and has begun to act.

The entire Saint-Denis section of the Stalinist Party of France has adopted a resolution supporting Doriot against the Stalinist C. C.!

The significance of this fact is enormous. Saint-Denis, which elects a Communist Mayor and a Communist Deputy; Saint-Denis, one of the proudest boasts of Stalinism in France; Saint-Denis where the very children are brought up on the poison of the "theory" of "Social-Fascism"; Saint-Denis, in organized ranks, flying the banner of Stalinism still, has stepped forward for the united front. The muscled hand of the French working class drops the papier-mache bludgeon with which Stalinism "armed" it, and reaches out to grasp the precise and effective revolutionary instrument which Comrade Trotsky and the League of Internationalist Communists have been forging for it these many years.

Leninist Influence Grows

Whether Doriot will maintain his position and go forward in his fight, or lose heart in the face of the avalanche of slander and terrorism which the Stalinist bureaucrats will now loose against him, cannot be foretold. His first weakness is evidenced, however, in his silent consent to the dastardly physical attacks made by the Stalinists upon members of the French League distributing their organ *La Verite*.

But in any case this much is clear: the ideology of the League is penetrating deeply into the Stalinist Party of France. The proletariat of France, led by that of Saint-Denis, is raising its voice against its misleaders. And because these misleaders will not answer but will seek to strangle that voice, the inner struggle in the Stalinist ranks can mean politically but one thing: the growth in France and internationally of the ranks of the Bolshevik-Leninists, the strengthening and deepening of the current flowing toward united class action on immediate questions, the building of new revolutionary parties and a new, the Fourth, International.

Statement of Non-Partisan Labor Defense on German Deportees

(Press Service of Non-Partisan Labor Defense)

An international conference of workers' youth organizations met in Laren, Holland on Feb. 24. It was dissolved by police and all foreign delegates were deported. Four were German political refugees—one a member of the League of Communist Internationalists, three members of the Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei. They were delivered to Hitler's border police. No word has been heard of them since. If still alive, they are surely in grave danger.

Having been informed from abroad of this event, our Committee drew up a protest statement and demand for asylum in Holland for German political refugees. The protest was delivered on April 17 to the Consulate General in New York with a request for forwarding to Holland.

The organizations which signed the statement were: American Workers Party, Communist League of America, Communist Party Opposition, Jewish Workers Party (Poel Zion Left), League for Industrial Democracy, National Unemployed League, Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Spartacus Youth Clubs, Workers Unemployed Union of Greater New York, Young People's Socialist League of America. In addition, there were signatures by Alex Bail, Editor of the Workers Age; Roger Baldwin; James P. Cannon, Editor of The Militant; Herman Gaud, General Organizer of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union; and Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello.

More signatories could have been obtained had it not been for the need for speedy registration of the protest stressed by European correspondents. It is of interest that in Europe the protest movement embraces liberals (League of the Rights of Man), Social Democratic parties, independent labor parties, the C.P.O., the Communist Internationalists, anarchists and trade unions (Confederation Generale du Travail etc.).

Two organizations approached by our Committee—the Socialist Party and the Labor Conference to Combat Hitlerism (chiefly the garment unions) declined to sign the joint protest but sent to the Dutch Ambassador separate protests based on information supplied by our Committee.

The Communist Party U.S.A. ignored our Committee's request for its endorsement of the protest, as did the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, The International Labor Defense expressly refused endorsement. In a letter of April 11, Wm. L. Patterson, its National Secretary, wrote:

"I am afraid... our presence... would force the withdrawal of Miss Fox (Secretary of the I. L. D.) and others who are inclined toward her point of view."

This letter was received by our Committee April 16. A reply was sent at once, pointing out that the I.L.D. was refusing to support an action "which has deservedly won the support of diverse elements opposed to Fascism, and which is an essential part of the fight against Hitlerism," and that whoever withdraws from the action must bear the responsibility for his attitude. Notice of endorsement by collect telegram was urged.

On April 19 a letter came from Patterson deprecating the need for protest on the ground that the four German deportees "still remain free from jail and torture," and refusing endorsement on the following ground:

"The leadership of the I.L.D. regards you (the Secretary of our Committee) as an enemy of the working class. It regards you as a provocateur, an agent of the enemy, desperately seeking to secure a foothold within the ranks of the working class, in order to better carry on your disruptive tactics. It regards many of those in your united front as of the same character."

On April 25 a letter was sent to Patterson asking the source of his statement that the four deportees

are free from jail. No answer has been received.

Our Committee is informed that the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland have jointly retained Attorney B. J. Stockvis of Amsterdam to go to Germany for information as to the fate of the deportees. He appears not to have obtained any as yet.

We are informed that the Spartacus Youth Clubs, the Young Peoples Socialist League and other labor youth organizations plan further joint action in this matter. Our Committee will gladly cooperate in further action, whose need is unquestionable.

We further suggest that all organizations which have not yet come into the protest movement send statements to the Dutch Ambassador or the local Consul. Full information on the case, and copies of the joint protest are available in this office. It should be realized that, whatever the Consul does "officially," he will forward all protests. It is important that there should be many.

The parties which retained Attorney Stockvis for the German trip ask financial aid for his work of investigation and defense. Our Committee will gladly transmit funds to Holland and render an accounting to all contributors.

It is our hope that this protest is only the first of many actions against Fascism and capitalist oppression in which we will be able to cooperate with other organizations.

HERBERT SOLOW, Sec'y.
Provisional Committee for
Non-Partisan Labor Defense

Romain Rolland Joins Protest

In response to an appeal addressed to him on behalf of the four German youth delegates to the Laren Conference deported from Holland to Germany, Romain Rolland, famous writer and anti-Fascist, has issued a statement of protest against Dutch government policy. The appeal was addressed to him in the form of a resolution adopted in Paris on March 15 by a mass meeting of working class youth called by the youth organization of the International Communist League of France (Young Bolshevik Leninists), the Socialist Youth, the Socialist Student organization, the anarchist youth and the Pupist youth organization.

"I respond to this call without hesitation," Rolland writes. "It does not matter to me that the delegates who were turned over to Hitler belong to one fraction or another of the Communist Party or (if this be the case) to some other anti-Fascist party. In the struggle against Fascism, I refuse to distinguish among its irreconcilable enemies of whom I am one. We are all allies against Fascism, the common enemy."

"I indignantly condemn the shameful deed of the Dutch police which has made itself an accomplice of Nazi crimes by delivering up to the National Socialist butchers, free men who had sought refuge on the soil of Holland. It is an outrage to the very honor of Holland, which at one time was the country of heroes revolting against despotism, the sacred refuge of freedom."

While the international protest movement on this case thus begins to draw in its train leading examples of middle-class intellectuals long praised by the Communist Party as honest friends of militant working class action, the C. P. itself still refuses to raise its voice on behalf of the four victims of Dutch reactionary policy.

As yet no information has been obtained concerning the fate of the four young workers although an attorney is conducting an investigation in Germany. Friends are asked to write protest letters to local Dutch consuls.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Organization Notes

The League is undertaking a recruiting campaign to win new members and strengthen itself to function more effectively in the creation of a new revolutionary party. Gains have been made recently which show the vitality of the organization and the growth of its influence.

In far-away Richmond, California, several workers have joined the League and a new branch is in formation. At the Atlantic sea border, in Bangor, Maine, a group of comrades decided, after weighing the position of the various currents in the movement, that their place is in the League. We have found new sympathizers in many parts of the country; but it is important that they should now assume the duties and responsibilities of the organization and become members.

Our contribution to a Leninist united front policy as shown by the New York May Day demonstration, in which we took our place in common action with the Socialist Party and the trade unions, gained for us the respect of serious minded workers and raised new hopes in the possibility of a genuine united front. For us this is only a beginning toward future actions on a similar basis.

On the other hand the increased but futile assaults directed against us by the Stalinist bureaucrats, their attempts to break-up meetings on Shachtman's tour and their physical attack upon our contingent at the Chicago May Day demonstration, shows their way of taking cognizance of the gains we are making. But where they performed their hooligan function at the Shachtman meetings the result was new members added to our ranks.

In the steel city of Waukegan, Ill., a League branch, recently organized, represents one of the first breaks in the Socialist Party. Its active members there, deeply impressed by the European events and disillusioned with the deceptive social reformism of the party to which they then belonged, adopted a Leftward course. The Stalinist party could not attract them. It did not offer them the revolutionary position they sought. They joined the League.

The recruiting powers of the League have been demonstrated by a good many instances. Our branches are preparing to take full advantage of this fact and making arrangements to press the recruiting campaign to result in further strength to the League. This is in harmony with our course to build the new party. Several forces are heading in that direction. The ferment in the Socialist Party promises new forces to be added. The League has entered into the process developing toward the new party and has in fact become its standard bearer. To hasten this process our sympathizers should take the step now and become members of the League.

The League is Growing on the Pacific Coast

Following successful participation in various meetings in Oakland, Berkeley and Richmond by League speakers results of a positive nature have been obtained. New members have been gained. A new headquarters has been established at 1020 Broadway, Oakland. It has a book shop with considerable literature on hand. Militant sales reach a good sized bundle each week. Two study classes testify to the progress made by the League. Our second class consists largely of shop workers from the largest oil, chemical, smelting and auto factories in the East Bay region, all of them young native born workers.

Some of our comrades have done excellent work and are very active in the CWA organizations. Others engage in trade union work in the longshoremen union, among others. But most notable is the accomplishment of a couple of comrades in a nearby lumber camp some time ago.

Headlines appeared three days in succession in all Pacific Coast papers dealing with the demonstrations in Camp Marvedel and "Assorted Lynch Threat." A successful fight had been carried on in the camp for better conditions. During the absence from the camp of the majority of the men, one comrade, who had actively led the organization of committees to carry on this fight, was set upon by two legionnaires and a professional pugilist and was badly beaten. 170 out of the 200 workers on their return to camp forced the expulsion of the three thugs. Material improvements in camp conditions, change in the office personnel and a greater solidarity of the workers clearly brought out the results of the good work done.

In Los Angeles the Stalinist assault upon one of the meetings recently addressed by Comrade Shachtman served as a boomerang to the initiators of these disgraceful methods. Our branch set to work immediately organizing a protest meeting and invited the various workers' organizations to participate, to join in the protest and to defend the right of free speech in the labor movement. Most of the organizations invited responded and sent their representatives, others sent resolutions to the meeting condemning the Stalinist assault. The protest meeting was a real success.

The Los Angeles police appear not at all convinced that there can be any truth in the slanders calling us counter-revolutionists. Their actions show a different opinion. Two of our comrades were arrested for leaflet distribution and got 180 days each. They served five days with the balance of the sentence suspended. But these combined attacks have served to strengthen the branch. Our membership has increased.

Truth About Dachau Told by Manchester Guardian

The European public, deeply upset and visibly shaken by the deeds and policies of Hitlerism, has been thrown again into turmoil by recent statements of the German press which describe the notorious and highly successful educational institutions for people with wrong political and social ideas.

Among other well known publications the Manchester Guardian has come back with a slashing attack on Nazi Germany, amply supplemented by a blood-curdling article of one of its German correspondents on conditions in the Bavarian concentration camp Dachau. The Dachau camp is cited by the Nazi papers as the peak of the new Nazi educational system.

The correspondent writes that the camp usually houses 2,200 to 2,400 prisoners, among them approximately fifty intellectuals, sixty rebellious Nazis, five hundred Socialists, two former army officers, fifteen foreigner, and a number of common criminals. The rest are

Communists. Most of the prisoners are workers. They are divided into detachments of 250 to 270 people each; each detachment is divided into five sections.

Detachment No. 7 is the so-called disciplinary detachment which, as its name indicates, is used for incorrigibles. Detachment No. 1 is composed of Social-democratic and Communist workers, Detachment No. 2 of Jews only. The prisoners are housed in ten barracks. Incorrigible prisoners, meaning those who refuse to turn traitors to their cause and give important inside information, are confined to dark, wet and unheated solitary cells. They are wearing heavy chains.

The guards treat the prisoners with utmost brutality. For the slightest reason and often without reason at all they are beaten with heavy leather whips enforced with steel and wire. The usual punishment is 25 to 75 lashes. It is a fixed rule to welcome Socialist and Communist newcomers with a heavy beating. Other instruments are no less liberally employed.

Seven rebellious Hitler storm troopers were so savagely treated by the hands of their former comrades that two of them died. Other prisoners have temporarily lost the use of their limbs or are permanently paralyzed. The Communist Sepp Goetz, was shot in cold blood after a perfunctory examination had proved that the beating had made him an incurable cripple.

More than fifty prisoners have been killed, among them well known labor functionaries and political personalities. The correspondent concludes his tragic report with the remark that he knows the names of nine Nazi guards who are ringleaders and main actors in the unceasing mistreatment of the prisoners.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

Amter's United Front with Fascists
Like burning handwriting on the wall, the lessons of the catastrophe of the German proletariat stand out, clear for all to behold. For all that is, but the Stalinists whose eyes are shut tightly to all lessons, who have become impotent to check theory against practice, courses of action against events. There is no limit to the depths of degradation to which such a party can sink. It makes a horrible caricature of every policy and principle of Communism.

The latest brilliant application of Stalinist tactics is Amter's exposition in the Daily Worker of the United Front from Below with fascist "rank and file workers". The great leaders and teachers of our movement, faced with the condition of an organized working class divided among reformist and revolutionary organizations, taught the great value of the united front tactic.

Communists utilize the united front established between workers' organizations, to raise the class consciousness of the class and to teach workers in the course of struggle the correctness of revolutionary policy as against the betrayals of reformist policy.

Completing the Cycle of Folly

The Stalinist, failing to grasp even the faintest significance of the united front policy, lost all possibility of acting as a unifying force of the proletariat. Instead the Stalinists deepened the rift between the Social Democratic and the Communist workers, first by denouncing as counter-revolutionary any attempt at the united front; later, driven by events to a treacherous course of covering up rather than examining and admitting its previous criminal blunders, they opposed the Marxist united front with the meaningless united front from below.

This ultimatum tactic of demanding that workers break the discipline of their own organization to secure the blessings of a united struggle with Stalinism entirely under its own banner, this puerile caricature of dialectic thinking, made impossible the struggle against fascism and the achieving of Communist leadership over the wide masses of workers in the course of struggle.

Fascism proceeded in Germany to utilize the lack of proper guidance of the working class organizations and their split ranks to make inroads from above—by winning over petty bourgeois elements threatened with pauperization, fearful of being driven down into the ranks of the proletariat,—and from below—by attracting, thru demagoguery and bribery, sections of the desperate unemployed and the lumpenproletariat. The aid to fascism of treacherous Stalinism was rewarded—by the complete annihilation of the Communist Party!

And now in America it is proposed that the workers pursue exactly the same course! Amter—can it be sheer insane mockery?—proposes to apply the tactic that was intended to unite the workers for militant struggle against fascism, not to the organized workers, but to the organized fascists, the khaki shirts! Finding some demoralized workers, lost forever to any heightening of class consciousness, in the ranks of organized fascism, the Stalinists propose to win them back by applying to the ranks of the worst enemy of the working class the tactic of the united front from below, the same false tactic that tends to drive these elements to fascism to begin with by destroying the unity of the proletariat!

The cycle of folly is complete! The Stalinist Party, having lost its moorings, utterly demoralized, becomes incapable of distinguishing between the decisive layers of the working class and the riff-raff of the society.

Petty-Bourgeois Cringing!

By this application of the United front tactic the American C. P. reveals unmistakably its petty bourgeois character. For it is an indelible mark, to the discerning eye, of the same capitulatory tendency that caused the German betrayal. Amter's very tone—lacking completely in ultimatum and denunciation when speaking of the fascists that was characteristic of its approach to socialist workers—betrays a shameful cringing.

"We must not make the mistake," says Amter in the Daily Worker for the whole world to read, "that was proposed in the opportunist slogan of some comrades of the German C. P., 'Smash the fascists wherever you meet them' which was rejected by the C.C. of the C.P.G." But it is only by smashing the fascists at the very inception of their movement, only by sectional struggles against every smallest germ of fascism as it shows itself, that the worker, joined in a real united front, learn how to crush fascism in the major battle to come.

—JACK WEBER.

The Real Significance of Rakovsky's Capitulation

(From *La Verite*—Paris.)
The TASS agency communicates for the second time this month about the capitulation of Rakovsky to Stalin.

We are informed from an absolutely authoritative source that matters happened in the following way. In the early part of 1929 the old president of the Council of Peoples Commissars in the Ukraine and the Soviet ambassador to Paris was deported to central Asia, Barnaul, where he remained for more than five years. The OGPU encircled him with an ever tightening grip. During the last two years, his wife who shared his exile was deprived of the possibility of corresponding with her son, a young doctor practicing in Paris.

At the end of 1929 the old revolutionist made a bold attempt to escape and, despite unprecedented surveillance, he succeeded in making his way to the frontier where he was wounded by Soviet guards.

It was at that time that the entire world press wrote of the sickness or even the death of Rakovsky. In reality the wounded man was shipped to the Kremlin hospital. Here, despite careful treatment, a formidable moral pressure was brought to bear on him.

But Rakovsky did not yield. He would hardly be held, he was sent back to Barnaul and placed under a redoubled guard. Every perspective was completely lost. Shaken by the failure of his supreme attempt, sick, his morale broken, this 61 year old man signed the statement of capitulation. While

Rakovsky remained in Barnaul his friends in the circles called "Trotskyist" did not wish to divulge these facts in order not to cause any harm to the deportee.

Now that the capitulation is consummated these same circles consider it necessary to make known the true significance of Rakovsky's capitulation.

Tomorrow the Soviet authorities will possibly impose upon Rakovsky to issue a denial of these facts. This will not be the first example of such acts by Stalin. But such procedure deceives no one.

Paris, April 19, 1934

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