



REACTION HOUNDS TROTSKY!

Organize a Fight for the Right of Asylum in the U.S.

The deportation of Trotsky by the reactionary government of France and the campaign of hounding and incitement which puts his life in imminent danger at the hands of Russian White Guards or inspired Fascist assassins, raises sharply before the advanced workers of the United States the question of a fight to secure the right of asylum for him here. At a mass meeting Sunday night, at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, the Communist League will raise this demand and will appeal to the various workers' organizations to join in a united front movement to fight for the right of asylum for Trotsky as well as for other political refugees. Cannon, Swaback and Garrett will be the speakers at the mass meeting.

In view of the sweep of reaction in Europe which compels thousands of working class militants and opponents of fascism to live in emigration, the question of the right of asylum in the United States becomes an issue of direct concern for every political tendency in the labor movement, and particularly for the fighters against fascism. The case of Trotsky has dramatized the issue and raised it concretely. But

in fighting for his right of asylum here we can be true to the proletarian spirit of comrade Trotsky only if we join with other workers' organizations and parties and fight as resolutely for their partisans as for our own immediate comrades.

While appealing first of all to the class solidarity of the workers, and seeking a common front with the various organizations and political tendencies in the labor movement, the fighting movement for the right of asylum ought to include all advocates of civil liberty and all elements of the population willing to aid the struggle. It goes without saying that the Socialist Party should be invited to take a prominent place in the movement and that all groups and factions in the political movement should be enlisted. Beginning with the political organizations and radical groups the movement, according to the opinion of the Communist League, ought to be driven deeply into the trade union movement, accompanied by a campaign of enlightenment as to the meaning of fascism and the need of a united front against it and a common support of its victims in other countries.

The United Front--For and Against Asylum

The fight for the admittance of Trotsky will meet with support and resistance from the very start. This was indicated in the report of the New York Evening Post, April 18th, on the initiative taken by the Communist League and its interviews with prominent people. The Daily Mirror of the same date contained a rabid editorial against the admittance of Trotsky.

The united front against the admittance of Trotsky is the same bizarre combination witnessed in the campaign against Trotsky in France and other European countries. The extreme nationalist reactionaries lead the way and the Stalinists follow. General Lee Bullard, retired president of the National Security League, sputtered with indignation when the Evening Post reporter asked his opinion about Trotsky coming to the United States. He is quoted as follows:

"May as well invite . . . what's this man who sets fire to your house? . . . well, may as well be inviting a crazy man to come in and set fire to our house. An incendiary, that's the word."

General Bullard was reinforced in his antagonism to Trotsky by Earl Browder, recently appointed leader-in-chief of the American

Stalinist Party. By way of payment for his appointment, Browder delivered himself of the following sage remarks in the same issue of the Post:

"Leon Trotsky is a counter-revolutionist. We're not interested in where he is except to isolate him from the working class wherever he happens to be."

The New York Daily Mirror echoes Browder's sentiments and advocates that Fourth Internationalists be deported from the United States as Trotsky was deported by Stalin and now by Doumergue. "No Haven for Homeless Trotsky," screams the Mirror. "There is no reason on earth why he should be allowed to come here, and some very good ones why he should be barred." After advising the Department of Justice to look into the activities of the Communist League and asserting its "meeting places are breeding spots of unrest and disloyalty," the Mirror concludes:

"Among the Fourth International disciples there are undoubtedly many aliens. They should be promptly sent back where they came from. If Trotsky should undertake to set foot on American soil he should be given the same medicine. As for the rest, they should be rounded up and tried for plotting against the Government."

U. S. Once a Refuge for Exiles

Despite the imposing combination against the admission of Trotsky to the United States we intend to start the fight and to broaden it, with the help of other organizations, into a united front movement for the reestablishment of the right of asylum for political refugees generally. There was a time when this country was a haven for the exiles of Europe who were driven from their native countries by reactionary governments, and was proud of the distinction. This is one of the richest traditions of the country. We ought to appeal to all who take pride in that tradition and invoke it in our fight today.

Sunday night's meeting, where the campaign will be opened, will be a preliminary test of the sentiment of the radical workers of New York on this highly important question, as well as an indication of their sympathy with comrade Trotsky in his great difficulties and dangers. We strongly urge every reader of the Militant to attend the meeting and to exert special efforts to bring others.

A rousing demonstration Sunday night will be a notice to reaction-

aries of every shade that the militant workers of New York are on guard against the danger of fascism. It will be a sign that they stand shoulder to shoulder with the anti-fascist fighters of Europe and mean to fight unitedly against the menace of fascism in the United States.

50,000 MANIFESTOES

The Pioneer Publishers plan to publish for free distribution 50,000 copies of the manifesto of the International Communist League for the Fourth International.

The manifestoes will appear in the form of a four page bulletin with a short statement about the Communist League of America and the Militant.

Every member of the organization, every sympathizer and friend of the Fourth International should help us in this effort. Every dollar that you send will enable us to print 500 bulletins for free distribution.

RUSH your contribution without delay. We want at least part of the bulletins to be distributed on May first.

A Picture of Comrade

LEON TROTSKY

Taken at His Desk in Prinkpo



How Trotsky Lived and Worked in Exile Before And Was Deported from Country to Country

Leon Trotsky's expulsion from Paris is only the latest of a long series of expulsions and exiles forced upon him for his revolutionary activity since his early youth.

His first exile was to the Siberia of pre-revolutionary Russia. Arrested in 1898, at the age of 19, as one of the leaders of the South Russian Workers Union, Trotsky was exiled after two grim years in Moscow Prison.

Copies of *Iskra* having been smuggled to him in Siberia, Trotsky resolved to take part in this important work. He escaped from Siberia and, at the urging of Lenin, made his way to London to begin his work with Lenin.

London Congress

Writing regularly for *Iskra* and lecturing on the continent for the *Iskra* group, Trotsky became a recognized leader of the Russian revolutionary vanguard at the age of 23. He was chairman of the 1903 Congress in London at which the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks took shape. The split, and the awakening events in Russia, decided him to go back; he went to become the President of the St. Petersburg Soviet of 1905 and the most popular leader of the first Revolution.

Reaction brought prison, and again exile to Siberia; but exile had scarcely begun before Trotsky made a daring and dangerous escape across Siberia behind a deer-team, back to St. Petersburg, by steamer to Scandinavia and thence once more into the revolutionary stream of Western Europe. This time his exile lasted ten years—until the February Revolution brought him back to Russia as leader with Lenin of the October Revolution.

Ten Years of Exile

Trotsky had the advantage over most of the Bolshevik leaders of direct participation and leadership of the Revolution of 1905; for him, this was a rehearsal for October and prepared him fully for his historic role. Ten years of exile from 1907 to 1917 not only completed his preparation for October, but prepared him for the leadership of the world revolution. In those ten years, travelling in Europe and America, exiled and expelled many times, he learned at close range the many forms that reformism and centrism can take, and the varieties of capitalist dictatorship which must be overcome.

Exile also gave him positive riches: his acquaintance with Luxemburg and Liebknecht and Mehring, the direct links with the re-

volutionary heritage of Marx and Engels. In Vienna, in 1908, Trotsky began to publish *Pravda*, while throughout his exile he continued to write, under instructions from the Central Committee, for the Russian democratic press. It was as military correspondent for one of these papers that, in September, 1912 he went into the Balkans as the prelude to the World War being played. What he saw with his own eyes led him to predict and prepare for War and Revolution.

War and More Deportations

War again brought exiles and expulsions. Ordered to leave Austria on the outbreak of war, Trotsky went to Switzerland and thence, as military correspondent for the same Russian democratic paper, to France. *Nashe Slovo*, a daily paper published in Paris, was Trotsky's monument to his French sojourn. It kept alive, as many of the Zimmerwald delegates testified, the internationalist anti-war spirit. But Trotsky's participation in Zimmerwald's famous anti-war conference of the revolutionary Socialists, and the growing power of *Nashe Slovo*, led to further exile. On the request of the Czarist government, Trotsky was ordered to leave France; when Switzerland refused him admittance and England refused him the right of passage to Scandinavia, Trotsky was forcibly put across the French border into Spain.

A look at the Museums of Madrid while waiting for the secretary of the Socialist Party to be released from prison—and again arrest and again expulsion, this time to Cadiz, where he was to be put on a boat bound for Havana. As Trotsky has written of the continuous route of expulsions and exiles: "from Berezov by deer via the Urals and St. Petersburg, thence by a circular route to Austria, from Austria through Switzerland to France, from France to Spain, and finally across the entire Iberia peninsula to Cadiz, the general direction being from Northeast to Southwest. There the continent ends and the ocean begins." But it was not to Havana as the police wished, but to New York that Trotsky this time journeyed, fortunately accompanied by his family who, despite similar difficulties, had managed to reach him in time for the westward journey.

New York in 1917

While this is not the story of Trotsky's thought and deeds, but merely the bare itinerary of his enforced exiles, his stay in New York deserves a few words, for October, for his great work with Lenin.

sky have their locale in New York. Half the restaurants and tailor shops in New York claim Trotsky as a waiter or presser. Actually, his sole profession in New York was that of a revolutionary socialist. Articles and lectures predicting America's entry into the War—his arrival here January 13, 1917—assiduous studies in New York's libraries of the economic history of the United States, editorial work on *Novy Mir* with Bukharin, Volodarsky and Chudnovsky.

Through the many members of the various national federations of the Socialist party who read Russian, and the English-speaking members of the Russian federation, *Novy Mir* made powerful inroads into the pacifist philistinism of the Socialist party. The German, Russian and Lettish federations were under its intellectual leadership; the Finns were coming over; the powerful Jewish federation "with its fourteen-story palace from which two hundred thousand copies of the *Forward* were daily disgorged—a newspaper with the stale odor of sentimentally philistine socialism, always ready for the most perfidious betrayals" (Trotsky) was being penetrated—when the Russian revolution intervened—At that moment Trotsky and his comrades were preparing to launch an English-language Marxist weekly to undermine the innocuous *Call*.

1917 Revolution

The preparations for the American weekly were in full swing, when the cables brought the first confused reports of the uprising in Petrograd. Working class New York celebrated the hoisting of the red flag over the Winter Palace with meetings which Trotsky, even after revolutionary Petrograd and Moscow, recalled as "extraordinary for their size and enthusiasm". Revolution in Russia meant the end of exile; Trotsky and his family set forth for the scenes of his revolutionary boyhood.

But between America and Russia lay a British concentration camp at Halifax. Trotsky and other Russian revolutionists were forcibly removed from shipboard and interned at Amherst, Canada, among German prisoners. Here a valuable month—April, 1917!—dragged by, the British being egged on by secret instructions from the "democratic" Provisional Russian government. At last Lenin spoke in *Pravda*, the Soviets spoke, and Miliukoff had to bow. Trotsky was released and sailed for Russia—for October, for his great work with Lenin.

Spectre of Communism in The Fourth International

With a fury and venom reminiscent of the mad campaigns against the Bolsheviks in 1917—and identical with them in content—the attack of world reaction is concentrated today against Trotsky. In France, where the forces of fascism on the one side and the working class on the other are speedily moving toward the decisive struggle that will have fateful consequences for the entire world, the reaction is striking with full force against the leader who personifies revolutionary struggle and victory of the proletariat.

The summary order deporting Trotsky from France, the closing of the doors of other European countries and the rabid incitement against him—in all this there is to be seen not only a reactionary political campaign but also a direct and immediate threat on the life of the organizer of the Russian revolution and the herald of its international extension. World re-

action wants the head of Trotsky! Let the workers take heed and raise the alarm!

French Fascists, Russian White Guards and reactionary forces everywhere cry out against Trotsky and the dread spectre of Communism, rising again on the world arena in the Fourth International. And the Stalinist bureaucracy, which has facilitated the march of fascist reaction throughout Europe, joins in the chorus. This infamous representative and carrier of corruption and treachery in the labor movement reveals its perfidious function once again in the united front of reaction. For the mortal danger to Trotsky's life in the present circumstances, and for whatever may befall him at the hands of a White Guard, a Fascist or a Stalinist assassin, the revolutionary workers, taking stock of all the events which have led to this climax, will not fail to place the responsibility where it belongs.

The Political Meaning of the Attack

The accusations against Trotsky, which have been made the basis of the deportation order, have undoubtedly been manufactured by the extreme reactionaries to serve a momentary political interest. But this manoeuvre is only the superficial expression of powerful motives forces for the reactionary attack. The Fascist movement of France, which advanced with seven-league boots after Hitler's effortless victory in Germany—thanks to the shameful capitulation of Stalinism—has taken alarm at later developments and feels impelled to strike quickly.

The heroic resistance of the Austrian Socialist workers, the great French general strike and united front demonstrations against Fas-

cism, and the emergence of a movement for the Fourth International—these three events, each separately and all together, have contributed mightily to the revival of the will and capacity of the workers to fight against Fascism. They constitute an assurance that the French workers will take the road of the united front and of struggle to the death against French Fascism. The ideas of the International Communists, and of Trotsky in the first place, were expressed and verified in these events. The blows of reaction dealt against the person of Trotsky, and the screams of rage and fear directed against the Fourth International, have, therefore, a logic and a profound significance in the French and international struggle of the classes.

Why They Fear the Fourth International

The fact that the Austrian workers were defeated does not suffice to reassure the French reactionaries, nor is the circumstance that the Fourth International is as yet only in the formative stage, and without a broad organization basis, very consoling to them. They have seen the spirit of the Austrian socialist workers mirrored in the menacing demonstrations of the French proletariat and have taken alarm at them, especially at the unity as well as the militancy which the French workers have displayed. And they remember all too well—when they witness the first appearance of the Fourth International—how revolutionary socialism, that is, communism, reduced to a small spark during the war, was rapidly kindled into a gigantic flame in 1917.

They dread the prospect of a combination of the heroic spirit of the Austrian workers with the United front policy which gains ground every day in the French

labor movement, and the fusion of this movement with the revolutionary aims and international organization. This is the spectre that haunts them. This is what they strive to excise when they strike at Trotsky and the Fourth International.

"The authorities", who have no reason to fear a bureaucratized and degenerated "communism" that capitulates without a fight, as in Germany, fly into a panic at the bold manifesto of the Fourth International, summoning the workers to the struggle for power. Charging Trotsky with a "plot" to set up a dictatorship in France, "the authorities" quote the demand of the manifesto for the creation of a workers' militia and its clear, sharp warning to the workers:

"The two forces have just measured swords. War has begun between them. There is no possible peace but in a fight to the death. In the street, by force, will be decided the future."

No Refuge in Capitalist Countries

The United Press dispatch comments significantly that "there was some indication that the government was anxious to get Trotsky out of France before May Day" and adds:

"Though secret police said they believed that the Fourth International was largely in the formative stage, European governments seemed to fear it, and were reluctant to give the exiled Communist shelter."

None of the capitalist governments offers a refuge to "the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie", as Trotsky is described in the precise and felicitous expression of Stalin (who expelled him from the Soviet Union). Says the United Press:

"Flight to Italy, Germany, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia, Spain or

Austria is definitely closed because the governments distrust his activities.

"England has not been approached because it was said at the British Embassy that London would refuse. Turkey will not tolerate his return. France will not permit him to go to Morocco, Algeria or any other African colony. . . . Belgium and Switzerland, because of their sympathy with France, are not believed likely to grant him asylum."

Meanwhile, the incitement to drive him out of France in "the shortest possible time", if not to assassinate him, proceeds with unabated fury. "He reeks with the blood of our soldiers", says La Liberté. "His residence in any part of France would be a scandal. He

(Continued on Page 4)

Mass Meeting IN DEFENCE OF LEON TROTSKY IRVING PLAZA 15th St. and Irving Place Sunday April 22 - 8 p.m. Speakers: JAMES P. CANNON ARNE SWABECK

MARCH OF EVENTS

All Eyes To France! The lessons of the victory of Hitler and the tragic defeat of the German proletariat are eagerly absorbed by the bourgeoisie of other countries.

The Stalinist Conference

The May Day Conference held in Webster Hall last Saturday afternoon, was another monument to the "united front from below" policy of the Stalinists.

Nazis Violate Tomb Of Eckstein

Breslau (T.I.S.)—The indescribable moral destruction which Nazism brought in its wake, is borne out once more by facts.

"Triple Unionism"

The Draft Resolution for the Eighth Convention of the C. P. projects a trade union policy that should be fool-proof. They are taking no chances this time.

UNDER THE NRA

Injunction Based On NRA Some of the first fruits of the NRA are ripening in sunny California, where Judge Collier of the Supreme Court issued an injunction restraining the officials of the Central Labor Council and Waiters Local number 17 from picketing the Brown Derby Cafe in the Hollywood district of Los Angeles.

Trust Busters Plan Fight

The small industrialists, the trust busters and the middle class plan a fight against the powerful centralizing effects of NRA on industry and economic life.

Profits Increase Under NRA

As part of the middle class campaign against the big business leadership of the NRA, Senator Nye is stamping the country, telling a few facts about it.

Social Origin of Crime

Results of a detailed study of 2,500 prisoners made by Dr. James L. McCartney, director at Elmira Reformatory showed that 88% of the parents of the prisoners were tradesmen or laborers who made a very small wage and consequently were forced to exist on a low economic scale.

League Statement to Conference

In the face of the rising Fascist danger in this country, and with the tragic examples of Germany and Austria before us, we find the two dominant parties of the working class, the Socialist and Communist Parties, making no serious efforts to build up a genuine united front of workers organizations.

Austrian Fighters Sentenced

Vienna (T. I. S.)—128 participants in the four-day Austrian civil war were brought before the summary courts of Vienna, Graz, Leoben, Poelter, Steyr, and Linz, a statement of the Austrian Ministry of Justice says.

ST. LOUIS

Max Shachtman will speak in St. Louis Wednesday evening, 7:30 P.M., April 25th, at the Crunden Branch Library auditorium, 14th and Cass Avenues, on the subject: "Why We Need a New Revolutionary Party".

Militant Builders

The new campaign to add a second thousand new subs to the Militant mailing list is under way. The first thousand mark has already been passed.

HOW COOVER DOES IT

Dear Comrade Stamm: Yours of March 16 requesting a story about getting Militant subs. Well here are the facts, you write the story.

War and the Fourth International

The puppet government of American imperialism established in Cuba upon the backs of the workers through the defeat of the revolution is endeavoring to stamp out the militant labor and revolutionary organizations.

Books by Trotsky

- PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION 460 pp. Cloth \$1.50, paper \$1.00
THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION 180 pp. Cloth 1.00, paper 0.50
THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION 86 pp. paper 0.25

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Shachtman Tour

- Sun., April 22—Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., April 23—Kansas City, Mo.
Tues., April 24—Kansas City, Mo.
Wed., April 25—St. Louis, Mo.
Thurs., April 26—St. Louis, Mo.
Fri., April 27—Stanton or Gillespie, Ill.

HELP THE CUBAN STRUGGLE

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NEW SUBS

Table with 2 columns: City, Number of Subs. Chicago Br. 8, Davenport Br. 4, Los Angeles Br. 8, Los Angeles (Doughty) 8, Oakland Br. 4, Toronto Br. 4, Berkeley (Kogan) 4, I. Borsook 4, P. Leesser 4, J. Osborn 5.

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Once More on Centrism

Editor's Note—The following article by comrade Trotsky was written in reply to a criticism of his previous article on "Centrism and the Fourth International" (*Militant*, March 17) which appeared in *De Fakkel*, organ of the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (O.S.P.). *De Fakkel* disputed comrade Trotsky's contention that centrism has replaced reformism as the main tendency in the international labor movement. *De Fakkel* also defended the admission of the O.S.P. to the London-Amsterdam Bureau and its relations with the Norwegian Labor Party (N.A.P.).

"De Fakkel" on Centrism
De Fakkel's criticism of my article (Centrism and the Fourth International) is highly characteristic of the make up of the leadership of the O.S.P. as well as of left centrism in general. It therefore deserves to be analyzed.

Is it correct that the main tendency of the working class movement of the world consists in the transformation of reformism into centrism? *De Fakkel* disputes it. It believes that everywhere is to be observed simultaneously the striving to orient the movement towards the right. It points thereby to the French Neo-Socialists, the Belgian Workers' Party, the English Labor Party and the Dutch Social Democracy. The facts indicated by *De Fakkel* only confirm—when one knows how to interpret them in Marxian fashion—my assertion.

Why were the Neo-Socialists ejected from the old party? Because it was clothing itself with centrism. The right wing changes into a conservative, nationalistic clique that has nothing more to do with the working class movement. The Belgian example is also a case in point. *De Fakkel* reminds us of Vandervelde's recent avowal of allegiance to the King. But there is nothing new in this. The plan of de Man is new. In substance as well as by its author's admission the plan is but an attempt to obliterate the line of demarcation between reform and revolution. In this precisely consists the essence of centrism.

Centrism and Centrism

Monarchistic servility indicates only that we must distinguish between centrism and centrism. There are honest centrist moods of the masses and there are consciously lying centrist designs of old parliamentary cheats of the masses. But such designs have become necessary precisely because of the shift of the party base to the left. In essence the matter stands no differently also with the English Labor Party although in tempo and in phenomenal form it is quite different. The going over of the MacDonald clique to the reaction, on the one hand, the expulsion of the I.L.P. from the Labor Party on the other, are two very significant symptoms of the above mentioned processes.

In the coming period we will inevitably observe a new development of centrist currents in the Labor Party. That the German S.P. leadership with Wels, as well as the leaders of Austro-Marxism, now clothe their philistine prejudices in the language of "revolution", is widely known. In countries with a backward political development the social-democratic apparatus can afford, in the face of threatening dangers—the growth of Fascism and simultaneously of internal centrist opposition—the attempt to hold its positions by clinging to the right, to the state, and by repressions against the left, against its own opposition. The formation of the O.S.P. in Holland was the first step in the open decomposition of the old Dutch social democracy. The development will proceed in this direction.

Stages of Development

As a matter of practical policy in every country it is naturally very important not only to keep track of the general tendency of development but also of the stages through which it passes. For Holland as well as for every other country it is of importance, however, to recognize in time the centrist disguise of former reformism so that reformism itself be combated not by centrism but by Marxian methods.

Viewed historically reformism has lost completely its social basis. Without reforms there is no reformism, without prosperous capitalism, no reforms. The right reformist wing becomes anti-reformist in the sense that it helps the bourgeoisie directly or indirectly to smash the old conquests of the working class. It is false to consider the Neo-Socialists as a working class party. The split did not weaken the old French Socialist party, it strengthened it since, after the cleansing, the party enjoys greater confidence on the part of the workers. But it must adapt itself to this confidence, and the form of this adaptation is called centrism.

Left Centrist Groupings

Left centrist groupings such as the O.S.P. are not conscious of this process of which they form a com-

Trotsky Answers the Criticism of Dutch O.S.P. Paper

ponent part. Precisely because they feel their principled weakness and their inability to give the working class a clear answer they must divert the attention of workers from centrist sickness to reformist danger. In this they resemble old liberalism which always scared the workers with reaction in order to hold them back from the fight against liberalism itself. Therefore, for instance, the declarations of the O.S.P. and S.A.P. to the Youth conference contain nothing or almost nothing on centrism. However, it is well known that precisely those parties that did not permit themselves in the past to be held back from a merciless fight against liberal vacillations, always proved to be the bravest fighters against reaction. The same holds true now. Those revolutionists will fight reformism best who are absolutely independent of centrism and view it critically and intransigently.

The London-Amsterdam Bureau

The London-Amsterdam Bureau is unable to fight against reformism since it is a mutual aid society for the vacillating and hesitant. *De Fakkel* says: "The aim of the Bureau is to win for the Fourth International as many adherents as possible". The O.S.P. could have joined the Second International with the same justification. That we must fight for the Fourth International wherever possible is clear. This task, however, means an irreconcilable struggle against the treacherous policy of Tranmael and certainly not a brotherhood in

arms with him. That they "criticize" Tranmael meanwhile makes matters worse, since he is criticized only to the extent that the working agreement with him remains unbroken, that is, apparent criticism is made which only serves as a cover for the out and out reactionary bloc. The gallant Shakespearean actor who was supposed to play the lion at the court feared to frighten the beautiful ladies and therefore roared as softly, as tenderly as a dove. Our highly respectable left centrists become very gruff to Bolshevik "sectarians"; to the Tranmaels they cool like doves.

Old Arguments of the Stalinists

De Fakkel acknowledges our characterization of the Comintern as that of bureaucratic centrism. This, however, is only lip service, since the whole working alliance with the Amsterdam Bureau is nothing else but a willed, sickly edition of the infamous Anglo-Russian Committee. There also were found British "lefts" of the type of Finn Moe* who were used as bait by the real leaders. In defending their brotherhood with Tranmael *De Fakkel*, as well as the *Neue Front*, repeats all the old arguments of Stalin and Bucharin ("Masses", "Masses", and again "Masses") but in a worse form if anything.

Thus, I cannot recognize the validity of a single argument which *De Fakkel* brings against my article, by which, however, I do not want to say that there are no flaws in the article. Thus, for instance, one could point out correctly that the article does not reveal sufficiently the practical and organizational

* Besides its left Finn Moe's who face the O.S.P. and the S.A.P. Tranmael has also his right Finn Moe's whose face is turned towards the King's palace.

Discussion Article

On the Resolution of the National Youth Committee

The resolution of the National Youth Committee was received with a certain amount of disagreement. None of it appeared in print, therefore the delay in the appearance of this article. We propose to deal here with several disputed points. At a later date we hope to return to a more thorough discussion of these points and their ramifications.

I.

Among some of the comrades of the Communist League there appears a certain tendency to the effect that the Spartacus Youth League should not be subordinated politically to the L. O. Some go further and state "that the youth should never have been subordinated to the Party." These latter comrades forget that during the World War the International Union of Socialist Youth was the center of the European revolutionary anti-war fighters. They forget that the Socialist youth organizations were political parties in their respective countries. They forget that as late as the Third Congress of the Comintern, in reality, two parties existed in several countries, divided only by age. For that reason it was decided that one organization, the adult, be recognized as the political leader of the working class.

The other comrades contend that at the present time a youth organization should be formed upon a minimum program, but with no political subordination. The result would be a mass organization, built up by the Opposition youth, but being used as a battleground by all the existing political youth organizations (Y. C. L., Y. P. S. L., P. Y. L.), each of which would have its own front, conduct its operations from there, and eventually destroy the organization. Furthermore, the idea of constructing a non-political youth organization is merely an involuntary support to the slogan of the bourgeoisie and their socialist agents: "The youth must stay out of politics."

II.

A year ago comrade Martin Abern wrote an article in the *Militant* (2-4-33 & 2-11-33) in which he called for the liquidation of the National Students League. No one with an understanding of the functions of a revolutionary youth organization (S. Y. L.) could oppose such a position. The reason we bring the question to the fore again is because it becomes now a more urgent task than ever to define our policy towards the N. S. L. When Abern wrote his article, the N. S. L. still called itself a "revolutionary" organization. Now it is a "mass" student organization based upon immediate demands of the students. Its main appeal has shifted from the "proletarian" students to the petty-bourgeois. It is now beginning negotiations with the Intercollegiate Council of the League for Industrial Democracy, a petty-bourgeois "Socialist" organization, for amalgamation. The N. S. L., built by the Communists, can easily

become an overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois organization. In a revolutionary crisis, in which a strong, demagogic Fascist movement existed, the probabilities are that the N. S. L. would come under the control of the Fascists. The N. S. L. can perform no good. It may render immeasurable harm. It must be destroyed!

III.

The resolution rejects the idea of periphery organizations, and in the same paragraph speaks of the formation of sports teams by the S. Y. L. No one can object to either idea, but putting the two so close together suggests (and it is so understood by certain comrades) that we are opposed to a Workers' Sport Federation, contending that the S. Y. L. will perform that function.

The overwhelming majority of the organized American proletarian youth is in a sports organization of one form or another. The overwhelming majority of these are under bourgeois influence. At the present moment these organizations are a recruiting ground for the bourgeois militarists. We must wrest the workers from their control and organize them into their own class sport organizations. One of the main purposes of this Sport Federation will be to fight against reaction, militarism, and Fascism. The main task is to organize class sport organizations, with Communist nuclei working within, and, if possible, directing these organizations. The main slogan in the process of organization is: "Class against class!"

IV.

On the question of industrial work the resolution is very ambiguous. It states that the economic work of the youth must not be separated from that of the adults and must be politically subordinated to the latter. That is undeniable. The comrades (and also the Y. C. L.) subscribe to that. Some of the comrades (and also the leadership of the Y. C. L.) see no contradiction between supporting the above proposition and building youth trade union fractions and shop committees, even where such adult groups exist. To this we are opposed. Separate youth shop committees and trade union fractions presuppose urgent demands of the youth that are quite different from those of the adult workers. But no such conditions exist.

In 1930 (according to the census bureau's report that year) there were approximately 33,000,000 workers over the age of fifteen. 22,422,485 of these workers were from the ages of 15 to 24 inclusive. Out of approximately 48,000,000 workers over the age of ten, 36,723,059 were from 10 to 24 years old inclusive. The quantitative increase in highly concentrated and centralized large scale industry in America has resulted in a qualitative change in the workers engaged in this industry (their wages, ages, hours and conditions of work, etc.)

inadequacy of centrism. The centrists like to speak of illegality, of conspirative, underground methods. As a rule, however, they do not take their own words seriously. They like to poke fun at bourgeois democracy; in practice however, they always show naive trust in it. For instance, when they call together an international conference it is handled as though it were a matter of a picnic; and the result is a catastrophe with a toll of heavy human sacrifices. If the matter should be looked into a little closer it will invariably be found that such organizational slovenliness is connected with the ideological looseness of centrism. Woe to those who cannot learn from experience!

From Marxist Quality to Mass Quantity

It is true that the organizational base for the Fourth International is as yet very narrow. In 1914, however, the basis for the Third International was even narrower. The work of building up did not consist, however, of grovelling before opportunist organizations of the type of the N.A.P., but on the contrary, of struggling for the liberation of the workers from the influence of such organizations. The real initiators of the Fourth International begin with Marxist quality to turn it afterwards into mass quantity. The small but well hardened and sharply ground ax splits, hews and shapes heavy beams. We should begin with an ax of steel. Even here the means of production is decisive.

With regard to the O.S.P., as in all other cases, we draw a distinction between the centrism of the workers, which is only a transition stage for them, and the professional centrism of many leaders among whom there are also incurables. That we will meet with the majority of the O.S.P. workers on the road to the Fourth International—of this we are quite certain.

—L. TROTSKY.

March 23, 1934

Who Lost the National Income?

In 1929 the national income was 81 billion dollars; in 1930 it was 95 billion; in 1931—63 billion; in 1932—49 billion. Who lost the income?

Labor income, which includes both "salaries" and wages, decreased 40% in the three years. Incomes to entrepreneurs, which includes farmers, decreased 44%. But incomes from property, including dividends and interest, decreased only 30%. As it will be shown further on wages actually decreased 61%.

Taking 1929 to represent 100 we find that in 1930 wages paid to labor in industry had fallen to 83. On the other hand salaries paid in industries (that is to the big shots, the owners) remained practically stationary, being listed at 99.3. Incomes from real estate stood at 84.4; Dividends at 97.2 and interest at 102.4.

Wages in 1931

In 1931 wages fell to 61 and incomes from real estate to 65. Hooverville cities, two and three families of workers moving together, account for this decline of income of the real estate sharks. The wages of the workers have been driven down more than one third. "Salaries" in 1931 find the same level as wages found in 1930, recorded at 83. Dividends drop to 72 and income to farmers to 76. Interest remains at 99, having suffered very little.

In 1932 wages went to a new low level—37%. "Salaries" fell to 50, dividends to 43, farmers 59. Interest held its own at 98.

While bourgeois economists separate dividends, interests and salaries and try to make us believe that they represent three different "classes" of income it is done only for the purpose of confusion and to throw dust in our eyes. "Salaries" are in many cases in reality only

the League members demanded youth sections in the trade unions. In certain countries where Red trade unions existed, such youth sections were born. These new-born sections in turn began to yowl for youth trade unions. The Y. C. I. realized the danger, and in the resolution on economic trade-union work adopted at its Fourth Congress, condemned the idea of youth trade unions and trade union sections.

The youth must form a part of the general shop committee and Communist trade union fraction. Future resolutions must reject the idea of youth trade union fractions and shop committees in no uncertain terms.

—BERNARD M. LANDAU.

The Tasks of the National Youth Committee

The entire development of our organization from its very inception, has been an abnormal one, not only by virtue of its political character, but even from the point of view of the elements composing the movement.

Coming from an organization (the Y. C. L.) isolated from the masses of American young workers, the offspring necessarily set about the task of converting the father to the cause of the Left Opposition (Marxism). For two or more years we strove in this way. For two or more years we concerned ourselves, and inevitably so, with faction activity with regard to the Y. C. L. and with the education of our membership in the spirit of orthodox Marxism.

Sectarian Organization

Not only was the organization itself a sectarian one, devoid of all contact with the masses of young workers, but its membership, through its long isolation in a sectarian Y. C. L. and a more sectarian S. Y. C., had lost all of its connections with the American young workers; had lost the pulse beat, the temper and the mood of the young workers. And more, our comrades had forgotten how to work among the proletarian youth. Thus matters stand today. We are sectarian—our members have forgotten the elementary laws of work among the masses of youth—we have, so to speak, "developed" "above" the American working youth.

We have given our membership a good education, oft-times, I believe, "too good". We have introduced our comrades to fields of polemics in which only trained Marxists had heretofore dared to enter: we have offered our members good company to satiate their literary and musical appetites: all of which is good—excellent, were it not so lopsided. Every radical and "intellectual" youth has learned to look up to us,—whilst our members have learned to look down upon every individual who cannot create six metaphors and eight similes in every paragraph of his writing. That is what we mean when we speak of

An Analysis of Facts and Figures Regarding Wages and Dividends

the amount which the boss decides he is going to pay himself for being the boss. While rent, interest and dividends are three different things and are derived differently, they are, nevertheless, the three categories into which the surplus value extracted from the hides of the workers is divided. In this light it would be well to reexamine the figures given above and see what they mean.

Dividing the National Income

It is in fact necessary to divide the national income into the two classes belonging to it—the amount that went to the bourgeois and petty bourgeois class, constituting about 32% of the people, and the amount that went to the workers comprising the remaining 68%.

Thus we find that while wages decreased in 1930 to 83% of the 1929 level the share of the boodle which went to the bosses decreased to only 95.5%. In other words the workers suffered a 17% loss while the bosses suffered only a 4.5% decrease. In 1931 the wages of the workers were driven down to 61% of the 1929 level. Not so the bosses. Their average income stands at approximately 80% of the 1929 figure. But in 1932 while the wages of the workers dropped to the starvation level of 37% of 1929 the average income for the boss class still remains relatively high at 61%.

It can safely be said that the income for the exploiting classes as a whole remained at 61% of what it was in 1929. Yes the bourgeois economist will admit and immediately try to say that the workers' income level has sunk to 39%. But this is a falsehood as he no doubt knows. When we consider that at the end of 1932 at least one-third of the workers are unemployed, and that about one half of these were already out of a job in 1929 then it can be seen that the income level of the class as a whole has sunk to 32%! This is the unpalatable truth which even such "liberals" as Walter Lippmann prefer not to see.

Bosses' Income Stood Up

For the three years 1930-31-32 the income of the boss class averages approximately 80% of the 1929 level. On the same basis it could be argued that the workers for the same three years averaged 61% of their 1929 income. However, if we accept that 25% will represent the average unemployment during this period (and it is, in all, a conservative estimate) then the average wages of the working class as a whole has sunk to 45% of what it was in 1929.

But these gentlemen will howl, this loss represents not a "real" loss but merely a monetary loss. The argument is that the real average wages of the workers has not sunk 39% (their figures; in reality

ence discussion, reflects also the failure to comprehend the difference in youth age from the physical point of view as distinguished from the intellectual. A youth in the revolutionary movement remains a youth notwithstanding his age only to the degree that he is inexperienced intellectually. When once he advances to the stage where he can comprehend problems from a Marxian point of view, his period as a youth is "terminated" and he is ready for the adult movement. (I regret that I cannot elucidate.)

Necessary Steps

The steps necessary to accomplish our tasks are two fold:—
 1. Training our members to act as young workers; training them to interest themselves in the problems of the young workers; training them to work with and among the young workers. That is the process of the Americanization of our organization.

2. Making contact with the masses of American youth. The success of all of our work, economic as well as anti-militarist (the resolution had not a word to say about anti-militarist work), depends largely upon our ability to make contact with the masses of youth. This can be realized only by advancing the slogan "Into the opponent mass youth organizations." This is the single slogan that can fill the gap of our transition period. Opponent work departments must be established. Comrades must be sent into mass youth organizations where they will be able to contact young workers, and where their knowledge can be utilized in winning over young workers to our point of view.

It is not easy to enter large factories or to contact young workers from the outside of the factory; it is easy to enter mass organizations where youths working in large factories gather. Draw them into our organization and you have a real base for collaboration with the adult organization in the economic field and the execution of the duties of a youth organization in every other field. ...—NATHAN GOULD.

(55%). This is, of course, true and no doubt Mr. Lippmann is correct when he says that the 57 billion loss for the years 1930-31-32 was, in terms of prices, only 35 billion. However, it must be recorded for their sake that the two staple commodities for which the worker spends a large part of his wages, bread and milk, bear about the same price tag in 1932 as they did in 1929.

Commodity Prices

It is, however, true that the commodity prices by 1932 had found low levels which they had not struck for years. In terms of commodity prices it would be hard to say to what point the real wages of the workers had been depressed, since we have not on hand any figures on 1929 commodity prices. If by 1932 the monetary wages of the workers had fallen to 61% it would be safe to say that the cut in real wages amounts to about 35 to 40% at the end of the third year.

It was on the basis of the 1932 dollar and its commodity purchasing power that the codes of the NRA were based. The NRA was supposed to do three things. First, increase the purchasing power of the workers by increasing wages. How this was accomplished may be read in the history of one of the biggest strike waves which the American boss class has ever faced. Secondly, it was supposed to increase production as a result of the increase in purchasing power. It has also failed to do this, due to the third thing the NRA was supposed to do and actually has done—increase prices of commodities. Since the price increase has exceeded the wage increase (wherever such wage increase has been obtained) the result is that the worker has accepted another wage cut. And, of course, we are speaking in terms of real wages which the bourgeois economist over emphasizes when he is apologizing for the Hoover regime, and which he doesn't like to mention at all when defending the Roosevelt "New Deal".

The 59 Cent Dollar

But the end is not yet here. The 59 cent dollar, they tell you glibly, was designed primarily to force our dollars into foreign markets where the pound and the franc could not go, i.e., to increase our exports. This is true and leads to what the bourgeois economists are wisely silent on—the next imperialist world war for the purpose of re-partitioning the world market. But the American worker, too, will feel the effects of the 59 cent dollar and when he begins to draw his pay in 59 cent dollars he will speedily realize that what he most of all needs is a substantial wage increase to offset the devastating wage-cut of the devaluated dollar. And he will find the NRA and its complicated legal machinery in his way.

Wages and Interest

There are two significant things brought out by the statistics quoted in the previous paragraphs which we will call to your attention. First, that the actual wages of the employed workers dropped to 39% of the 1929 level, and that if you take the class as a whole, wages dropped to about 32%. But the bosses will say, we "feed" the unemployed. Not so. Even the miserable relief wages given out to the unemployed was made up in large part out of the pay envelopes of the workers already receiving starvation wages.

The second thing we would call to your attention is the high income level held by interest during the worst year of the depression. It never sunk below 95. The one % of the people who own 33% of the nation's wealth, the handful of banks dominated and controlled by the Rockefeller, Morgans, and Mellons, who in turn dominate through finance and credit the nation's industry—they must have their pound of flesh. The income of the 68% sunk 68. The income of the 1% as expressed in interest, sunk less than 5%.

—G. ROBERTS.

Dutch Aid Hitler

That the Dutch Government is favorably inclined toward the Nazis or at least underestimating the extent of poisonous Hitler propaganda in Holland, is amply proven by an investigation of Nazi activities by T. I. S. correspondents.

Official rules forbidding political activities of foreign residents in Holland are enforced only against the German emigrants, while the activities of the Nazis and their sympathizers are benevolently overlooked. The incident at Laren, the recent prison sentence against the German emigrant writer Heinz Liepmann for alleged insults to Hindenburg, and many other instances are cases to the point. Nazis, on the other hand, are free to indulge in systematic propaganda. Recently German Nazis were permitted to cross the border in military formations and visit the Dutch border town Toetfichen. Nazi meetings and street parades were held under the protection and escort of the Dutch police.

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 Moiseyev 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 Mustapha Kemal Pasha, murderer of Turkish revolutionists, Stalin secured an agreement to confine Trotsky to the island of Prinkipo. 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 Czechoslovakia, 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 Czechoslovakia. George, using his imagination to concoct a story that would gain him prestige with his masters, stated that the Czechoslovak 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 chattering 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 to 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 on 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. Sneevliet—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, Jonkeer 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 Vladeck, 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. Zauser 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.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

Robins and Gras Sentenced

Following the conviction of Herold 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.

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.

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. Tomasin, 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. Corbno, 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 the capitalist spokesmen of Europe 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 is 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', says 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 servant."

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 Prinkipo 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 Real Issues Break Through 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 hail 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, studded 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 Waumbuck St. Roxbury, Mass Admission 15 Cents Sponsors: Boston Branch Communist League of America

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