

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Formerly
'YOUTH for SOCIALISM'

Read
Leon Trotsky:
SOVIET UNION
in WAR
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JULY, 1941

ONE PENNY

DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION | WORKERS' VICTORY at Parkhead Forge

Fascism Can Only be Defeated by International Socialism

The war has taken a new turn with the attack by German imperialism on the Soviet Union. A terrible danger now threatens the first Workers' State with destruction. The greatest clash in the history of the world on a 1,800 mile front has thrown the whole international situation into a state of flux. The assault of world imperialism on the first workers' state is no longer a Marxist perspective, but a grim reality.

THE FRUITS OF "SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY"

Ever since they usurped power in 1923, the Kremlin bureaucracy and its transformed appendage, the Communist International, have laid all their hopes on "neutralising" the world bourgeoisie while they pursued the utopian mirage of "Socialism in One Country." It was with this "theory" that the bureaucracy in Russia was enabled to consolidate its power and amass its privileges. In every country in the world, the policy of the Communist International was conditioned by the episodic and shifting needs of

united front of Socialists and Communists against Hitler, they substituted the disastrous policy of "social-fascism"—The theory that in Germany the main danger was not Hitler—but social democracy. Thus the door was left open for Hitler to take power. Civil war in Germany and its inevitable repercussions would disturb the rhythm of the Five Year Plans. Moreover, "Hitler would be too pre-occupied with breaking the chains imposed on Germany by the Versailles victors, to constitute an immediate threat to the Soviet Union", was the short sighted reasoning of these "Marxist" epigones.

With the victory of Hitler and the fear

RUSSIAN and GERMAN SOLDIERS FRATERNISING in the Last War



Hitler forgets that the German army is composed of workers and peasants. An international socialist appeal would bring them to the side of the Russian workers and soldiers. Stalin's greatest vice to Hitler has been his criminal failure to appeal for international class solidarity of the workers and peasants of all Europe.

Under the Ministry of Labour transfer of labour scheme, a census of all skilled workers has been taken throughout Parkhead Forge. Following this census, thirteen men received notice to report to the Labour Exchange, where they were told to report for work at various workshops the following week. The men concerned were all dissatisfied with the conditions of employment offered, and raised their complaints through the Shop Stewards' Committee. On investigation, the Stewards were all convinced that in every case the transfers proposed were ridiculous. The men would receive direct wage cuts they would in every case have much further to travel; they were being degraded from skilled tool fitters, to, in most cases, ordinary maintenance or repair fitters and were being sent, in most cases, to small garages and workshops where their skill could not possibly be used to the best advantage.

A decision was taken to hold a mass meeting of the workers and to explain the real purpose of the transfer scheme, which, in the view of the Shop Stewards

Russia was enabled to consolidate its power and amass its privileges. In every country in the world, the policy of the Communist International was conditioned by the episodic and shifting needs of Soviet foreign policy and not on the course of the class struggle. It was this which led to the victory of Hitler, in the first place, with all its disastrous consequences.

While Trotsky was demanding an international campaign by the Communist International, warning the workers of the world of the consequences of the coming to power of fascism in Germany; demanding a united front between Socialists and Communists in Germany to prepare for civil war to prevent it, demanding in the last resort the mobilisation of the Red Army to actively come to the assistance of the German workers, if necessary. While Trotsky was urging this, the Soviet bureaucracy and the German Communist Party complacently paralysed the resistance of the German workers and allowed this "super-Wrangel" (as Trotsky called Hitler) to take power without lifting a finger. For the Leninist tactic of the

which was imposed on Germany by the Versailles victors, to constitute an immediate threat to the Soviet Union", was the short sighted reasoning of these "Marxist" epigones.

With the victory of Hitler and the fear that the Western powers would orientate themselves on the programme he then put forward of "liberating Europe from the menace of Bolshevism", the Kremlin and the Comintern threw overboard the last vestiges of Marxism inherited from Lenin. Instead of explaining to the masses that war could only be avoided by the overthrow of capitalism, they relied upon an agreement with Britain, France and America and the League of Nations to "protect" the workers' state from imperialist attack. This was the policy which led to the stabbing in the back of the Spanish and French revolutions.

Those were the halcyon days of "Popular Frontism", "collective security", "Pacts to stop the aggressor", etc., which disoriented and confused the masses of the world working class, who, feeling themselves threatened by German fasc-

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Hitler forgets that the German army is composed of workers and peasants. An international socialist appeal would bring them to the side of the Russian workers and soldiers. Stalin's greatest crime to Hitler has been his criminal failure to appeal for international class solidarity of the workers and peasants of all Europe.

Production Falls Profits Rise!

By G. PEAD.

As the chaos and mismanagement of the war industries reaches the heights of a national scandal the Government increasingly reveals its total incapacity to halt the open sabotage of the big business combines and trusts who are demonstrating in no uncertain way that they and not the Government, are the real controllers, the real power in the land, and that the Government is only the servant of the bosses.

There is almost universal condemnation and dissatisfaction against the monopoly control of big business over national policy, but since the real power rests in the hands of finance capital nothing is being done to remedy the situation. Nothing that affects in any way the continued rule and dominance of profits over production. In spite of the chaos and outcry, profits as usual remains the order of the day.

In the past, in the days of free trade and democracy, the more the bosses cut down unnecessary expenses and the greater amount of commodities they produced, the greater were their profits. But those days are gone. Today, the more they spend, even unnecessarily, on their products, the greater their profits are! And to show that profits no longer provide the measure of productivity, we have merely to glance at the profit returns compared to output in any section of industry.

In relation to the shipping industry the "Economist" (June 28th) states: "In the short term, the largest single factor in restraining production is the hindrance to supplies of materials caused by the shortage of shipping space and the battle of the Atlantic." Yet Mr. Ben Smith, in the House of Commons on June the 24th stated that there were "17 fully equipped shipyards not being utilised."

The answer the shipping magnates have provided is directed, like the answer of all sections of the boss-class—against labour. To this, Mr. J. W. Stephenson, in his presidential address to the Confederation of Ship-builders and Engineering Unions replied, that if there was any cause for complaint about ship production or ship repair, it was not the men's fault, but was due to defects in and lack of organisation.

On the other hand, take a look at the production of profits of the big shipping interests.

Harland & Wolff.	
1937.....	£24,557
1938.....	£630,756
1939.....	£812,347
1940.....	£1,112,625

Castle Mail Steamship Co.	
1939.....	£271,607
1940.....	£713,785*

*After allowing for fleet replacement reserve of £1,202,511 against £100,000 for the previous year.

Pool Shipping Co.	
1939.....	£125,985 Dividend Nil
1940.....	£284,640 Dividend 9%

Profits of a dozen shipping companies show an increase from £3,700,000 to £5,300,000.

In other words, output is going up and up—so far as profits are concerned, whereas lack of shipping facilities and ship space are holding up the whole of the war industries.

As a concession to public feeling, the Government staged a shipping debate—in secret. Let us take a look at some of those most directly concerned with shipping control, who were protected from the public gaze behind the closed door of parliament.

Shipping magnates in leading positions include: Sir F. Vernon Thompson, chairman of King Line and Government controller of merchant shipping; Sir James Lithgow, director of Colvilles, National Ship-builders Security, Wm. Beardmore and other companies—Controller for Ship-building and Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Capacity; Sir Alan Anderson, of P. & O. Lines and Anderson Green and Co., Cereals Controller at the Ministry of Food; Lord Runciman, of Runciman Lines, influential in the Tory Party; Colonel Ropner, M.P. of Ropner Shipping Co.

In every industry it is the same. The organisation of the war industries has been placed in the hands of private inter-

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used to the best advantage. A decision was taken to hold a mass meeting of the workers and to explain the real purpose of the transfer scheme, which, in the view of the Shop Stewards Committee, is to break up and destroy workshop organisation and also to impose drastic wage cuts.

In order to delay the transfers, all the men concerned were instructed to lodge appeals. These appeals were to be heard before a tribunal the following Thursday, so the mass meeting was fixed for the day previous. The management, on hearing of the decision to hold the meeting, immediately arranged a conference between the S.S.C. and the officials of the Ministry of Labour and Supply. This conference took place next day and our objections to the transfers were ably stated by our own General Convener. An agreement was then reached to cancel all the transfers unconditionally and to hold consultation with Shop Stewards Committee before any further transfers would be carried out.

Despite this partial victory and much to the annoyance of the officials concerned, the mass meeting took place as arranged. Three thousand workers met and unanimously agreed to support any action taken by the Shop Stewards, should any further transfers take place. Most of the men concerned in the proposed transfers were known militants, two of them being shop stewards. This fact made it easier to get the workers to understand the real purpose of the transfer scheme and it was obvious by the feeling among the men, that they were not prepared to tolerate any attempt to break up the S.S.C. At the next meeting of the S.S.C., a full discussion took place on our attitude to any further transfers, and a plan of action prepared.

HOW STALIN PREPARED THE MASSES

"Even before the arrival of Sir Stafford Cripps, the British Ambassador in U.S.S.R., and particularly after his arrival, British, and in general the foreign press, began an intense dissemination of rumours on the 'proximity of war between U.S.S.R. and Germany'.

... Despite the obviously nonsensical character of these rumours, responsible Moscow quarters have still found it necessary, in view of the rumours, to authorise "Tass" to state that these rumours constitute clumsily-concocted propaganda by forces hostile to U.S.S.R. and to Germany and interested in the further extension and unleashing of war."

World News and Views, June 21.

IRISH WORKERS FIGHT ANTI-TRADE UNION BILL

By JOHN SMITH.

In Dublin on Sunday, 22nd June, between 6,000 and 7,000 aroused workers marched to the centre of the town, College Green, to demonstrate their determined opposition to De Valera's attempt to impose on the working-class one of the most reactionary anti-labour laws 'Emergency Order 83'.

The Dublin Trades Council reacted immediately and formed a Council of Action to combat this anti-trade union measure. They issued a call to all workers, organised and unorganised, to march together in a mass united front on this issue, and published a special paper, *Workers' Action*, dealing specifically with the movement and agitation against *Emergency Order 83*, known as the "Trade Union Bill and 'Stand Still' Order". The immediate response to this initial campaign was enormous. At the Sunday demonstration fifty-three unions and every section of the Labour Movement in Ireland were present; the whole movement was aroused and expressed solid opposition to the Bill.

The Order is divided into two parts, the first part lays down that no trade union may carry on negotiations for fixing wages or other conditions of employ-

ment unless it holds a negotiating license, and such license may only be obtained by an "authorised" trade union. In order to become an "authorised" trade union, the main provision to be complied with is the deposition in the High Court of a sum of money varying from £2,000 for unions with 2,000 or less members, to £10,000 where the membership exceeds 20,000!

This vicious anti-working class measure directly affects the right of the workers to organise freely and takes away the right to strike for better wages and conditions.

BOSS-CLASS TRIBUNAL TO 'ORGANISE' WORKERS IF BILL IS PASSED.

The second part of the Bill provides for the setting-up of a Tribunal composed of three persons, which is given the power to decide which "authorised" trade union shall be allowed to organise and take into membership workers engaged in various categories of employment. Although genuine working-class trade unions must comply with every drastic provision of the Bill, including the outrageous money deposit, special

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Abbyssinnia Liberated - for Barclay's Bank

"Barclay's Bank (D.C. and O.) is acting as the spearhead of our financial penetration in the former Italian colonies of East Africa. A week ago it announced the opening of a branch in Asmara, the capital of Eritrea. Today it opens for business in Addis Ababa."

(News Chronicle, City Page)

The banks march behind the imperial army and in this way provide a vivid commentary on the real nature of the war, and the aims of British imperialism. The Banca d'Italia disappeared from the scene, only to be replaced by Barclays. The profits which flow so plentifully from the exploitation of the African peasants from the monopoly of commerce and investments, the floating and management of government loans, etc. are diverted from "bad" fascist banks to the "good" democratic banks. That is the essence of the vaunted destruction of fascism in Eritrea and Abyssinia. Abyssinian peasants who fought so bravely to free themselves from the hated Italian yoke are already learning to hate their new conquerers.

Having destroyed Italian power, British imperialism now starts to consolidate its own. As a first requisite the peasants are to be disarmed. As reported in a previous issue of this paper, it is now a crime, punishable by death, for an Abyssinian other than a grandee or a regular soldier to carry arms. But the British army shows no signs of moving away. Haile Selassie's head may reappear on

Miners' Demand a Square Deal Now

By GERRY HEALY.

The situation in the mining industry grows steadily worse. The government backed up by the coal-owners—Britain's most reactionary capitalist clique—is attempting by means of compulsion to remedy the disastrous effects of private ownership upon the industry. The "Essential Work Order" is one of the main instruments which is being used for this purpose.

Following a recommendation from the Select Committee of National Expenditure which urged the government to "use the powers of compulsion at its disposal" in dealing with the shortage of labour and "absenteeism" in coal-mining, the government has applied the "Essential Work Order" to the industry. At a conference of miners' delegates held in London on May 8th, a discussion took place around the proposals governing the application of the order, and it was almost unanimous in pointing out that unless the conditions of work and wages were improved the organised mining industry would oppose it. Mr. James Bowman, Secretary of the Northumberland Miners Association issued the following comment: "We believe that once you put a ring fence round the industry and say that no man shall leave it, you must give the man compulsorily retained in the industry wages and conditions somewhat comparable with the wages and conditions enjoyed by workers in other war industries. . . . We believe that the time has come when the Miners' Federation of Great Britain should have some voice in the control and direction of the industry. . . ."

When the feeling of the conference was conveyed to the Ministry of the Board of Trade it was intimated that the coal-owners were willing to discuss the question of wages, and on June 6th, the Executive Council of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, over the heads of the membership, agreed to accept revised conditions governing the payment of the attendance bonus of 1/- a shift for men (6d. for boys). To meet the increased cost it was decided to raise the price of coal by 10d. a ton.

Apart from the inadequacy of the increase itself the reaction amongst the rank and file was on the whole unfavourable since payment was to be made on condition that every normal working day was

owners after the following six causes were laid down which would not disqualify a miner from payment of the bonus:—

1. Incapacity for work as the result of accident at the mine, or while travelling to and from work.
2. Treatment for an accident's after-effects at a hospital or clinic where it is not practicable to attend outside working hours;
3. Sickness certified by a doctor;
4. Absence as official delegate on trade union business;
5. Attending as a member of a local authority on working hours
6. Obligation to perform Civil Defence service on any day which enforces absence from work.

The Pit production committee composed of representatives from the management and the men was to handle all disputes arising out of the bonuses.

It is openly admitted by the government that the country will be faced with an acute shortage of coal in the coming winter. The 8th report of the Select Committee states: "Only about half the planned quantity was stacked at dumps. Far greater efforts are needed at once to create stocks during the coming months if next winter's supplies are to be assured". The blame for this state of affairs is being passed from one government department to another. Some say it is because of absenteeism, others say it is because of the call up of large numbers of miners for the forces and also the fact that a large number are obtaining work in the better paid war industries. The real reasons for the chaos, which is the intolerable conditions imposed upon the miners by a greedy coal-mining autocracy plus the usual red-tape at the Ministry of Labour are ignored. Instead, we have "big chief" Bevin in the House of Commons on June 19th telling the country bluntly "that he was not prepared to release men from the army for the coal-mining industry", and at the same time outlining five points which he reckons will meet the urgency of the situation:

1. Managements to concentrate on maximum production.
2. Absenteeism must stop.

WORKERS' AID for U.S.S.R.

No Trust in Churchill or the
Ruling Class

Labour to Power!

The Soviet Union now faces the greatest threat in all the 24 years of its existence. At last imperialism is attempting to satisfy its lust to destroy by force of arms the first workers' state and turn it into a gigantic colony. Hitler's fierce attack is aimed at reconquering for capitalism the initial strategic gain of the world workers in the fight for socialism. The cynical pact of 1939 and the hollow mockery of Stalin's "Peace Policy" are swept into the dustbin at a blow. The battle which the imperialists of every country have been longing for is on.

The Soviet Union must not be defeated! The workers of Britain, of Europe and of the entire world must be rallied to the defence of the first workers' state. For there is at stake in Russia not just the defence of another piece of territory but the whole future of humanity. In spite of Stalin and the treacherous policies of the bureaucracy the Soviet Union is still a workers' state. It represents something that must be defended against the imperialists if the cause of the workers everywhere is not to be lost. For if we cannot defend positions already gained, how are we to go on to the conquest of new positions?

But Churchill and the ruling class of Britain cannot be entrusted with this task! They have professed themselves allies of the Soviet masses. But that is not because they want to defend the workers' state. It is simply and solely because they want the workers' state to help in the defence of their empire from Hitler. Their war pact with the Soviet Union will only be the reverse side of Hitler's "peace pact". It will be kept in operation just as long as it suits the plans of Anglo-American imperialism—and then when the danger from Hitler is past, the noble "ally" will turn round and do exactly what Hitler is doing now.

Any illusions about Churchill's defending the Soviet Union, any illusions that he can be "used" for the purpose of defending the Soviet Union, are

—and for the same reasons. He would even form an alliance with Hitler to stop such an advance, for the march of workers' power over Europe is even more terrifying to Churchill and his entire class than the march of Hitler.

The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are looking for allies in their battle against German imperialism. But they will not find them in Churchill and Roosevelt. Only Stalin and Molotov and the bureaucracy hold forth the illusion that the leaders of imperialism can be genuine allies. The Soviet masses will find their real allies in the workers and peasants of the rest of the world. Their need to find such allies must not go unanswered. And it must not be answered by another "Popular Front" betrayal. It must be answered by the real aid that only the workers acting independently can give.

For many months we have pointed out that Churchill and the capitalist class cannot be entrusted with the leadership of an armed struggle against Hitler. This could only result in the victory of Hitler or the imposition of a fearful Anglo-American reaction on the Continent. The only way to avoid this is for the workers to take power and the armed struggle into their own hands and wage a genuine revolutionary war against fascism.

Now more than ever events point to the necessity of this! If the war remains a predatory one under the control of Churchill and the capitalist class then the Soviet masses can, at best, only look forward, even in the event of victory over Hitler, to facing the imperialist armies of the British and American war lords. For Churchill will not allow the Red Army to march over Europe without another attempt at "intervention." At best, they will be given the same sort of "help" that was given to the Poles, the Norwegians, the Dutch, the Belgians and the French. The millions of real allies throughout Britain and Europe are not being appealed to in the only way that

soldier to carry arms. But the British army shows no signs of moving away. Haile Selassie's head may reappear on the Ethiopian coin, but real power will rest in the hands of the British army and in the hands of Sir Reginald McKenna and the City of London bankers.

POSTSCRIPT:

"In the City yesterday it was predicted that as soon as military developments warrant it Barclays Bank may establish branches at Damascus and elsewhere in Syria.

(Daily Telegraph, July 3)

Siqueiros Jumps Bail in Mexico

MEXICO CITY.—Less than a month after he was freed on bail, David Alfaro Siqueiros, leader of the May 24, 1940 attack on the Trotsky house has jumped his bail. Reports in the American press say that he has flown by aeroplane to Habana, Cuba.

For more than a week preceding his flight, the newspapers carried daily stories about his preparations to leave Mexico. He openly arranged his passports and documents in spite of the publicity that each step received in the press. Each governmental agency pretended to know nothing about his legal position, thereby making his flight easy and giving it an aspect of "legal illegality". For although legally Siqueiros was not supposed to even leave the Federal District, he left Mexico with all his documents in order.

So far, nothing has been done to extradite him from Cuba. The court insists that it must wait two weeks before doing anything; until then it does not "know officially" that he has fled. This procedure only terminates with fitting cynicism the scandalous story of the G.P.U. Colonel's escape from all punishment for the attempted murder of Leon Trotsky and the actual murder of Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's young secretary-guard.

increase itself the reaction amongst the rank and file was on the whole unfavourable since payment was to be made on condition that every normal working day was to be worked and it was possible to disqualify a miner if he was a few minutes late for his shift. Further a man could be penalised for being absent when:

1. Attending to trade union duties in connection with his pit.
 2. Carrying out obligations in connection with workmens' compensation;
 3. Dealing with disputes;
 4. Carrying on important civic duties on local civic councils even when they dealt with important production questions;
 5. Attending a funeral of a relative.
- Pressure was brought to bear upon the

1. Managements to concentrate on maximum production.
2. Absenteeism must stop.
3. Men available in mining districts must be taken back into the industry immediately.
4. Men who have left the industry must volunteer to return.
5. People employing ex-miners must volunteer to release them.

He backed this up by saying that "men who did not pull their weight would no longer be reserved for military service". This undisguised threat will no doubt prove a valuable weapon of intimidation in the hands of the coalowners.

Britain's miners have in the past contributed glorious pages of struggle to the

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Irish Workers Fight Back At Anti Trade-Union Bill

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consideration is shown those unions beloved of the bosses—the 'house' or 'company unions'. They will not have to seek a negotiating license, they will not have to make a deposit, and naturally, they will receive the most sympathetic treatment from the all-powerful and 'unbiased' Tribunal; naturally, since they will represent nobody but the employing class! In this manner a special opportunity is provided for the employers to compel their workers to join a 'company union', to use these 'stooge' unions to break wages and conditions, to victimize militant workers, and to foster and create divisions in the ranks of the workers.

EFFECT OF ORDER ON STRIKES.

The Order forbids strikes for advances in wages in scheduled categories. The employer is forbidden to pay any increase, and, if the men strike, they can be arrested and imprisoned or fined for picketing. The Order attempts to cover up its purely anti-working class content by including pious provisions for limitations of dividends, but obviously, there are a hundred and one 'devices' in business for covering up and defeating any proper scrutiny of profits, as we have seen so well

in Britain after the so-called Excess Profits Tax was introduced. Completely ineffective on the bosses' sides—the Order will be effective only against the workers.

If passed, this Bill would take away from the workers the right of free association in defence of their common economic interests, which right is the first principle of Trade Unionism. This principle would be replaced by a ruling-class set-up, the 'Tribunal', composed of paid lackeys of the employers, concerned only in furthering the interest and profits of their masters. This type of 'Corporate' or State 'trade union' is not new. These employers' "unions" first flowered in Italy when fascism assumed power, after the workers' own independent trade unions had been bloodily suppressed by Mussolini's fascist thugs. Later, in Germany, under the Hitler regime the workers' unions were wiped out and a single, totalitarian "union", the so-called 'Labour Front' with Ley at its head, was formed. And this "Corporate Union" is what the Irish capitalist class are attempting to foist onto the Irish workers. In this way, the ruling class hopes to smash down the organisations of the workers, by decree, without being compelled to rely on fascist bands. But

Any illusions about Churchill's defending the Soviet Union, any illusions that he can be "used" for the purpose of defending the Soviet Union, are dangerous for the whole workers' movement. Churchill's hatred of Communism is no less than that of Hitler, and he said so in his broadcast. That is why he led the intervention against the U.S.S.R. 24 years ago. And if the Soviet Union were to have great successes over Hitler now and advance across Europe, the same Churchill would turn against the Soviet Union in exactly the same way as before.

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this is impossible. With the inevitable resistance of the workers, the capitalists will be compelled to resort to other and violent means.

WHY IRISH CAPITALIST ATTACKS THE UNIONS.

The authoritative Dublin Correspondent of the *Economist* (June 28), in an article analyzing the social policy of the Eire Government, states: "The fundamental basis of that policy is the fixation of a lowest level of means, below which nobody will be allowed to fall, by adapting the provisions of the social services to meet the situation." The reason for the attempted imposition of the anti-trade union Bill is thus made crystal clear. The workers' incomes are to be "stabilized" to the "lowest level of means". But in sharp contradistinction to this, the section of the Irish ruling-class, the industrialists, who were most directly affected by the new 'profits tax' have compelled the Government to "retreat", to quote the *Economist*, "The increase in corporation profits tax has now been postponed and the exemption limit raised from £1,000 to £2,500." As always, the decay of capitalism sees the ruling-class imposing upon the shoulders of the working class lower conditions of living, and if the workers allow their independent organisations to be crushed they will be defenceless to fight back.

THE ONLY ROAD FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

This anti-trade union Bill, *Emergency Order 83*, will be fought by the Irish workers in the same militant tradition

created by earlier struggles of the Irish masses against British Imperialism. Today, in Ireland, the attempt to stifle the independence of the trade union movement is taking place. This move toward totalitarian 'unions' is undertaken by the Irish ruling class, because Ireland is a backward, poorly industrialised country, without a world market, and her dependent position in world economy.

But let the British workers take the matter out of the hands of the capitalist class and the Soviet masses will receive a measure of real aid against which Hitler will not be able to hold out for even a month. Not only would the productive forces of the country be released from the

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lost on the British workers. Britain is fast becoming a bankrupt country. The war is costing £17,000,000 a day! and, win or lose the war, repression and totalitarianism will be on the order of the day. The first onslaughts will be launched against the already low standard of living of the workers, to smash them still lower. The fundamental lesson which the British workers in unity with the Irish workers, must learn, is the imperative necessity for the preservation of the independence of the trade union movement as organs of working-class struggle, and this can only be done if the trade unions are based on a revolutionary programme of class struggle. The old method of bargaining for reforms, is finished. The boss-class cannot afford to give the working-class any more concessions. This outworn system is a shackle, and a menace to the future of the vast majority of humanity, the working class.

We can defend our living conditions and better them, only if the trade unions are based on independent working-class lines, that is, organised as a revolutionary weapon against the capitalist system. This is the only road and the trade union movement must take it or perish!

Solidarity with the Irish Workers against De Valera's anti-trade union Order!

THE SOVIET UNION in WAR

by Leon Trotsky

Reproduced below is an excerpt from the "Revolution Betrayed" written by Leon Trotsky in 1936. It demonstrates on the one hand, the strength of the Soviet Union owing to the tradition and gains of the October Revolution, but on the other hand it points out the reasons for the dangers faced by the isolated workers' state. With unparalleled heroism, admitted even by the bourgeois press, the Russian workers and peasants are fighting to the death in the defence of collective ownership of the means of production. For, in spite of Stalin and the bureaucracy these gains have been preserved. But Trotsky demonstrates clearly that only workers' revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, even in the event of a purely military victory by the Soviet Union, can save the workers' state by extending October.

To sum up, the alternatives are—*A Socialist United States of Europe*—or the Soviet Union will be crushed and fascist barbarism dominate the world. That is why the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Communist International is so criminal. No significant military aid in the decisive months ahead can reach Russia. The Soviet Union can rely only on the Russian workers and peasants and the support of the German and European toiling masses. Only a policy which bases itself on the Socialist Revolution in Europe, can result in victory for the working class.

THE SOVIET UNION IN A WAR

Military danger is only one expression of the dependence of the Soviet Union upon the rest of the world, and consequently one argument against the Utopian idea of an isolated socialist society. But it is only now that this ominous 'argument' is brought forward.

To enumerate in advance all the factors of the coming dog-fight of the nations would be a hopeless task. If such an a priori calculation were possible, conflicts of interest would always end in a peaceful bookkeeper's bargain. In the bloody equation of war, there are too many unknown quantities. In any case, there are on the side of the Soviet Union immense favourable factors, both inherited from the past and created by the new regime. The experience of intervention during the civil war proved once more that Russia's greatest advantage has been and remains her vast spaces. Foreign imperialism overthrew Soviet Hungary in a few days, though not, to be sure, without help from the lamentable government of Bela Kun. Soviet Russia, cut off from the surrounding countries at the very start, struggled against intervention for three years. At certain moments the territory of the revolution was reduced almost to that of the old Moscow principality. But even that proved sufficient to enable her to hold out, and in the long run triumph.

Russia's second great advantage is her human reservoir. Having grown almost 3 million per year, the population of the Soviet Union has apparently now passed 170 million. A single recruiting class comprises about 1,300,000 men. The strictest sorting, both physical and political, would throw out not more than 400,000. The reserves, therefore, which may be theoretically estimated at 18 million to 20 million

out of accord with the economic basis of the country. A defeat of Germany in a war against the Soviet Union would inevitably result in the crushing not only of Hitler but of the capitalist system. On the other hand, it is hardly to be doubted that a military defeat would also prove fatal not only for the Soviet ruling stratum but also for the social basis of the Soviet Union. The instability of the present structure in Germany is conditioned by the fact that its productive forces have long ago outgrown the forms of capitalist property. The instability of the Soviet regime, on the contrary, is due to the fact that its productive forces have far from grown up to the forms of socialist property. A military defeat threatens the social bases of the Soviet Union for the same reason that these bases require in peaceful times a bureaucracy and a monopoly of foreign trade—that is, because of their weakness.

Can we, however, expect that the Soviet Union will come out of the coming war without defeat? To this frankly posed question we will answer as frankly: If the war should remain only a war, the defeat of the Soviet Union would be inevitable. In a technical, economic, and military sense, imperialism is incomparably more strong. If it is not paralysed by revolution in the West, imperialism will sweep away the regime which issued from the October revolution.

It may be answered that 'imperialism' is an abstraction, for it too is torn by contradictions. That is quite true, and were it not for those contradictions the Soviet Union would long ago have disappeared from the scene. The diplomatic and military agreements of the Soviet Union are based in part upon them. However, it would be a fatal mistake not

to see themselves of the difficulties of the Soviet Union, which will be placed between two fires, the capitalist 'friends of peace' will of course, take all measures to drive a breach into the monopoly of foreign trade and the Soviet laws on property. The growing 'defencist' movement among the Russian White emigres in France and Czechoslovakia feeds wholly upon such calculations. And if you assume that the world struggle will be played out only on a military level, the allies have a good chance of achieving their goal. Without the interference of revolution, the social bases of the Soviet Union must be crushed, not only in the case of defeat, but also in the case of victory.

More than two years ago a programme announcement, "The Fourth International and War", outlined this perspective in the following words: 'Under the influence of the critical need of the State for articles of prime necessity, the individualistic tendencies of the peasant economy will receive a considerable reinforcement, and the centrifugal forces within the collective farms will increase with every month. . . . In the heated atmosphere of war we may expect . . . the attracting of foreign allied capital, a breach in the monopoly of foreign trade, a weakening of State control of the trusts, conflicts between the trusts and the workers, etc. . . . In other words, in the case of a long war, if the world proletariat is passive, the inner social contradictions of the Soviet Union not only might, but must, lead to a bourgeois Bonapartist counter-revolution.' The events of the last two years have redoubled the force of this prognosis.

The preceding considerations, however, by no means lead to so-called 'pessimistic' conclusions. If we do not want to shut our eyes to the immense material preponderance of the capitalist world, nor the inevitable treachery of the imperialist 'allies', nor the inner contradictions of the Soviet regime, we are, on the other hand, in no degree inclined to overestimate the stability of the capitalist system, either in hostile or allied countries. Long before a war to exhaustion can measure the correlation of economic forces to the bottom, it will put to the test the relative stability of the regimes. All serious theoreticians of future slaughters of the people take into consideration the probability, and even inevitability, of revolution among its results. The idea, again and again advanced in certain circles, of small 'professional' armies, although little more real than the idea of individual heroes in the manner of David and Goliath, reveals in its very fantasticalness the reality of the dread of an armed people. Hitler never misses a chance to reinforce his 'love of peace' with a reference to the inevitability of a

WORKERS' AID for U.S.S.R.

(continued from page 2)

present dam of capitalism which is holding them up, but political forces would be unleashed which would sweep the entire Continent like wildfire and remove the entire basis of Hitler's present "national unity"—the fear of the German workers of another Versailles.

The Communist Party leaders of this country will inevitably, at the orders of Stalin and Molotov throw themselves at the mercy of the capitalists. They will discover that the war has suddenly been transformed into a just and righteous one. Any criticism, any assertion that the workers must take power out of the hands of Churchill and his gang and wage a genuine revolutionary war to aid the Soviet Union will be denounced as sabotage of aid to the Soviet Union.

But exactly the opposite is true! The leaving of political and economic power and control over the armed forces in the hands of the British ruling class will be the surest way of helping to destroy the

Soviet Union. The call for a "Peoples' Government" will merely act as a cover for a betrayal to capitalism on the part of King Street. This will be a Popular Front with results no different from those of France and Spain. And not only will the workers of Britain suffer through such class collaboration, but so also will those of the U.S.S.R., and indeed of the entire continent. For if the British capitalists remain in control, the German workers, knowing that a super-Versailles will be imposed on them if Churchill wins, will continue to accept Hitler and even the war against the Soviet Union, passively. The German workers and soldiers will be led by Hitler to regard the war against the Soviet Union as a necessary part of the war against the West—for, look! Stalin is the ally of Churchill!

But if the British workers take power and take over control of the struggle against Hitler, then the whole situation will be transformed. A genuine appeal could be made then to the German and European workers to join in a common struggle against Hitler. And it would find a response. For there would be no fear of the British workers imposing the sort of peace they know Churchill would impose. And in this way genuine aid would be rendered to the Soviet masses.

power out of their hands, Stalin and the bureaucracy will drag them over that edge. Stalin dare not make an international revolutionary appeal, for its success would overthrow him as well as Hitler and Churchill.

The Labour leaders will find new grounds for supporting the ruling class in this attack on the Soviet Union. Now they use the additional argument that in order to defend the Soviet Union it is more necessary than ever to have national unity and accept further sacrifices.

But this is not the real reason. Their attitude to the Soviet Union is shown by the *Daily Herald*, which looks at the attack only from the point of view of "our" country. That is, from the point of view of the capitalists who own the country. They do not see it from the point of view of either the Soviet or British workers.

The Soviet Union cannot be defended, fascism cannot be destroyed, by an alliance between the monopoly capitalists of Britain and America, and the reactionary usurpers who have taken control out of the hands of the workers.

On the one hand we must assist the Soviet workers to get rid of this bureaucracy which is incapable of waging a revolutionary war. But our main job consists in fighting against the capitalist class of Britain.

The rank and file of the Labour Party who sincerely want to assist the Soviet Union and to wipe Nazism and fascism from the face of the earth, must demand that the Labour leaders break with the Government of Big Business which placed Hitler in power and wage a struggle for power on the following programme:

1. The immediate dispatch to the Soviet Union of all possible equipment.
2. Expropriation of land, mines, banks, factories and heavy industry, and their operation under workers control.
3. Freedom for India, Ireland and the colonies.
4. A Socialist appeal to the German and European workers for the socialist struggle against Hitlerism for the Socialist United States of Europe.

Only by these means can we have a guarantee against a super-Petainism on the part of the rotten and corrupt ruling class. Can we expect for one moment that the City of London, which would

throw out not more than 400,000. The reserves, therefore, which may be theoretically estimated at 18 million to 20 million are practically unlimited.

But nature and man are only the raw materials of war. The so-called military 'potential' depends primarily upon the economic strength of the State. In this

armed people. Hitler never misses a chance to reinforce his 'love of peace' with a reference to the inevitability of a new Bolshevik storm in case of a war in the West. The power which is restraining for the time being the fury of war is not the League of Nations, not mutual security pacts, not pacifist referendums, but solely and only the self-protective fear of the ruling classes before the revolution.

Social regimes, like all other phenomena must be estimated comparatively. Notwithstanding all its contradictions, the Soviet regime in the matter of stability still has immense advantages over the regimes of its probable enemies. The very possibility of a rule of the Nazis over the German people was created by the unbearable tenseness of social antagonisms in Germany. These antagonisms have not been removed, and not even weakened, but only suppressed, by the lid of fascism. A war will bring them to the surface. Hitler has far less chances than had Wilhelm II of carrying a war to victory. Only a timely revolution, by saving Germany from war, could save her from a new defeat.

The world Press portrayed the recent bloody attack of Japanese officers upon the ministers of the Government as the imprudent manifestations of a too flaming patriotism. In reality these attacks, notwithstanding the difference of ideology, belong to the same historic type as the bombs of the Russian Nihilists against the tsarist bureaucracy. The population of Japan is suffocated under the combined yoke of Asiatic agrarianism and ultra-modern capitalism. Korea, Manchukuo, China, at the first weakening of the military pincers, will rise against the Japanese tyranny. A war will bring the empire of the Mikado the greatest of social catastrophes.

The situation of Poland is but little better. The regime of Pilsudski, least fruitful of all regimes, proved incapable even of weakening the land slavery of the peasants. The western Ukraine (Galicia) is living under a heavy national oppression. The workers are shaking the country with continual strikes and rebellions. Trying to insure itself by a union with France and a friendship with Germany, the Polish bourgeoisie is incapable of accomplishing anything with its manoeuvres except to hasten the war and find in it a more certain death.

The danger of war and a defeat of the Soviet Union is a reality, but the revolution is also a reality. If the revolution does not prevent war, then war will help the revolution. Second births are commonly easier than first. In the new war it will not be necessary to wait a whole two years and a half for the first insurrection. Once it is begun, moreover, the revolution will not stop half-way. The fate of the Soviet Union will be decided in the long run not on the maps of the general staffs but on the map of the class struggle. Only the European proletariat, implacably opposing its bourgeoisie, and in the same camp with them the 'friends of peace', can protect the Soviet Union from destruction, or from an 'allied' stab in the back. Even a military defeat of the Soviet Union would be only a short

impose. And in this way genuine aid would be rendered to the Soviet masses. Not the "aid" of Churchill and Roosevelt which will pave the way for their own attack on the U.S.S.R., but a real aid which will lead to the destruction of Hitler and the whole Nazi domination of the Continent. And aid which will lead not only to the defence of what is left of the gains of October in the Soviet Union but to their extension both there and throughout Europe and to the building of the Socialist United States of Europe.

The Kremlin leaders have brought the Soviet Union to the very edge of disaster. Unless the workers of the U.S.S.R. take

the part of the rotten and corrupt ruling class. Can we expect for one moment that the City of London which armed, financed and helped the growth of this Frankenstein precisely in order to use him to smash the Soviet Union has had a change of heart? As well expect the leopard to change his spots. The basic aim of Anglo-American imperialism still remains. The destruction of the Soviet Union is merely deferred to a more propitious moment. Now, more than ever, we must warn the workers that Churchill and the ruling class can only betray the Soviet Union and the British workers into the hands of fascism, whether of the German or home-grown variety.

Hitler's Armies of Occupation

(The following paragraphs are a page in Comrade Trotsky's archives, among the unfinished materials he was working on when he was assassinated on August 20, 1940 by Stalin's G.P.U.)

Hitler's soldiers are German workers and peasants. After the betrayal of the social democracy and of the Comintern, these workers and peasants in large numbers succumbed to the fumes of chauvinism, thanks to the unprecedented military victories. But the reality of class relations is stronger than chauvinist intoxication.

The armies of occupation must live side by side with the conquered peoples; they must observe the impoverishment and despair of the toiling masses; they must observe the latter's attempt at resistance and protest, at first muffled and then more and more open and bold.

On the other hand, the German military and bureaucratic caste, after a series of victories and robberies of Europe, will rise still higher above the people, will flaunt more and more its powers, its privileges, and become demoralised like every caste of upstarts.

The German soldiers, that is, the workers and peasants, will in the majority of cases have far more sympathy for the vanquished people than for their own ruling caste. The necessity to act at every step in the capacity of "pacifiers" and oppressors will swiftly disintegrate the armies of occupation, infecting them with a revolutionary spirit.

sphere the advantages of the Soviet Union by comparison with the old Russia are enormous. The planned economy has up to this time, as we have said, given its greatest advantages from the military point of view. The industrialization of the outlying regions, especially Siberia, has given a wholly new value to the steppe and forest spaces. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union still remains a backward country. The low productivity of labour, the inadequate quality of the products, the weakness of the means of transport, are only to a certain degree compensated by space and natural riches and the numbers of the population. In times of peace the measuring of economic might between the two hostile social systems can be postponed—for a long time, although by no means for ever—with the help of political devices, above all the monopoly of foreign trade. During a war the test is made directly upon the field of battle. Hence the danger.

Military defeats, although they customarily entail great political changes, do not always of themselves lead to a disturbance of the economic foundations of society. A social regime which guarantees a higher development of riches and culture cannot be overthrown by bayonets. On the contrary, the victors take over the institutions and customs of the conquered, if these are beyond them in evolution. Forms of property can be overthrown by military force only when they are sharply

the immediate threat of a proletarian revolution, so imperialist antagonisms will always find a compromise in order to block the military victory of the Soviet Union.

Diplomatic agreements, as a certain chancellor with some reason once remarked, are only 'scraps of paper'. It is nowhere written that they must survive even up to the outbreak of war. Not one of the treaties with the Soviet Union would survive the immediate threat of a social revolution in any part of Europe. Let the political crisis in Spain, to say nothing of France, enter a revolutionary phase, and the hope propounded by Lloyd George in saviour-Hitler would irresistibly take possession of all bourgeois governments. On the other hand, if the unstable situation in Spain, France, Belgium etc., should end in a triumph of the reaction, there would again remain not a trace of the Soviet pacts. And, finally, if the 'scraps of paper' should preserve their validity during the first period of military operations, there is not a doubt that groupings of forces in the decisive phase of the war would be determined by factors of incomparably more powerful significance than the oaths of diplomats, perjurers as they are by profession.

The situation would be radically different, of course, if the bourgeois allies received material guarantees that the Moscow Government stands on the same side with them, not only of the war trenches, but of the class trenches too. Availing

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episode, in case of a victory of the proletariat in other countries. And on the other hand, no military victory can save the inheritance of the October revolution if imperialism holds out in the rest of the world.

The henchmen of the Soviet bureaucracy say that we 'underestimate' the inner forces of the Soviet Union, the Red Army, etc., just as they have said that we 'deny' the possibility of socialist construction in a single State. These arguments stand on such a low level that they do not even permit a fruitful exchange of opinions. Without the Red Army the Soviet Union would be crushed and dismembered like China. Only her stubborn and heroic resistance to the future capitalist enemy can create favourable conditions for the development of the class struggle in the imperialist camp. The Red Army is thus a factor of immense significance. But this does not mean that it is the sole historic factor. Sufficient that it can give a mighty impulse to the revolution. Only the revolution can fulfil the chief task; to that the Red Army alone is unequal.

Nobody demands of the Soviet Government international adventures, unreasonable acts, attempts to force by violence the course of world events. On the contrary, in so far as such attempts have been made by the bureaucracy in the past (Bulgaria, Esthonia, Canton, etc.) they have only played into the hands of the

reaction, and they have met a timely condemnation from the Left Opposition. It is a question of the general direction of the Soviet State. The contradiction between its foreign policy and the interests of the world proletariat and the colonial peoples finds its most ruinous expression in the subjection of the Communist International to the conservative bureaucracy with its new religion of inaction.

It is not under the banner of the status quo that the European workers and the colonial peoples can rise against imperialism, and against that war which must break out and overthrow the status quo almost as inevitably as a developed infant destroys the status quo of pregnancy. The toilers have not the slightest interest in defending existing boundaries, especially in Europe—either under the command of their bourgeoisies, or, still less, in a revolutionary insurrection against them. The decline of Europe is caused by the very fact that it is economically split up amongst almost forty quasi-national States, which, with their customs, passports, money systems, and monstrous armies in defence of national particularism have become a gigantic obstacle on the road of the economic and cultural development of mankind.

The task of the European proletariat is not the perpetuation of boundaries, but, on the contrary, their revolutionary abolition, not the status quo, but a socialist United States of Europe!

American Trotskyists Charged Anti Working Class Drive Commences

By H. ATKINSON.

A report from B.U.P. states that the leaders of the American Socialist Workers Party in Minnesota have been arrested and charged by the Assistant Attorney General of the Federal Government with conspiring to overthrow the U.S. Government by force of arms.

This announcement comes hard on the heels of a series of violent attacks on the American workers which reached their culmination in Inglewood, California, when U.S. Army troops, sent by that super-democrat, Roosevelt, stormed and took over the Northern Aviation plant, bayoneting and killing workers who were striking to improve their lot.

It may surprise readers that it should be in the industrial state of Minnesota, in which the twin cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul are situated, that the arrests have taken place, and not in New York where the Socialist Workers Party's national headquarters and press are located. It is precisely in this area, that the American Trotskyists are the strongest. They have organised fighting struggles of the teamsters and truckdrivers as early as 1934 and led strikes to smashing victories. As a result the Trotskyists have won the respect and support of the organised workers of Minneapolis and St. Pauls as consistent fighters in the interests of the working class.

At the last Senatorial elections, the S.W.P. Candidate polled nearly 9,000 votes. This exceeded the combined votes cast for the Stalinist and Norman Thomas "Socialist" parties.

Since that triumph, the S.W.P.'s growth and influence has increased by leaps and bounds and we can well understand the need of the Federal Prosecutor to conceal his anti-working class act behind the age-old formula of reaction: "subversive activities". The U.S. Trotskyists have a record second to none in the struggle against imperialism and imperialist war; and it is natural, therefore, that the authorities should try to imply that such a struggle is in the interests of America's enemies, even though Wall Street has not yet instructed its Government to participate in the military struggle.

The prosecutor is forced on to the defensive right from the start as is attested by his statement that "this is not an attack against the organised working class." This is a filthy lie! This is precisely what his act consists of. Perhaps sending troops to bayonet striking workers doesn't constitute an "attack on the working class" either in the U.S.!

It is here that the S.W.P. will have a unique opportunity to expose Roosevelt's hypocritical role as defender of democracy, in open court, for they have consistently rejected all forms of pacifism: bourgeois, socialist and Stalinist. They have fought against Lindbergh and Wheeler, and they have had no connections with the Stalinist "American

Peace Mobilisation". On the contrary, they have expressed themselves over and over again in favour of a genuine **military struggle** for democracy and against fascism either of the Hitler or any other variety. To quote their own words: "**We Trotskyists, like all class-conscious workers everywhere want to see fascism destroyed root and branch, and we are ready to fight fascism arms in hand. But this is not our war. On the contrary, if we become pliant tools of the "democratic" imperialists, we would be hastening the advent of fascism in this country . . . The real war against fascism can be waged only under the leadership of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.**" (Militant, May 10th, 1941)

There you have it. In the U.S., as in Britain, the struggle against fascism; the fight for the defence of the first Workers' State means the fight for workers' power and socialism.

Fraternal greetings to our American comrades in the prison cells of Yankee Imperialism! Wall Street shudders at the spectre of our call for military training under T.U. control and the election of officers by the soldiers; the arming of the workers; for the struggle against fascism under the leadership of the working class. The toilers in all countries constitute the overwhelming majority. The fight for power by the oppressed is no "conspiracy" but a genuine struggle for democracy; for a world freed from war and all the ravages of the present exploiting classes.

Miners' Demands

(continued from page 2)

annals of British working class history. Their industry has been from the very inception of capitalism one of the worst for payment and conditions of employment in the whole of the country. All the hideous fluctuations of decaying capitalism have found their sharpest reflection amongst the mining community. The slumps found millions unemployed whilst the boom periods records exploitation at its worst. At the moment the industry is needed to supply the needs of the rapidly expanding war industry and as usual the coalowners are reluctant to grant reasonable concessions to the men. On top of this the severe conditions under which they work such as hot pits and deep coal seams means that there must necessarily be a certain amount of legitimate absenteeism. The compulsion

orders of the government, however, are designed solely to benefit the employers.

Amongst the rank and file miners, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the only way to solve the problem is to take over control of the mines and run them in the interests of the community. Already this has found its expression in the statement of the M.F.G.B. which remarked that it was "in opposition to the principle of compulsion as applies to the retention in or return to the industry of mineworkers unless satisfactory wage standards can be negotiated and some effective measure of workers control of the industry is agreed upon". The S.W.M.F. suggested that the National Joint Consultative committee should become a National Coal Board governing the affairs of the industry. This was flatly refused by the coalowners and the government.

The National Conference of the M.F.G.B. which meets this month must carefully weigh up the major problems which confront the industry. The demands of the S.W.M.F. for a pound a week increase and membership of unions to be made a condition of employment must be fully supported, whilst a nation-wide campaign is inaugurated to demand workers control over the mining industry. Only in this way can the interests of the working-class be served and the coal-famine averted.

- The time seems ripe to re-print the following verse which appeared in *Youth for Socialism* a year ago.

*Comrade Pollitt made an error;
Comrade Dutt now sits in terror,
Lest he do the same as Harry
And be sacked as Secretary.*

* * *

And perhaps we might even add a few verses to bring it right up to date.

*Less than half a year ago,
Dutt was high and Pollitt low;
'Stop the War' the former said,
The latter simply hung his head.*

*But now it is another story,
And Harry sits in smiling glory,
Dutt must put on sack-cloth now;
Harry's line is law—and how!*

*So now the "People's Front's" the cry
The day of Dutt is nearly by.
They've dropped the 'Stop the War'
campaign,
And Harry Pollitt Blums again.*

* * *

Production Falls Profits Increase

(continued from page 1)

ests and their representatives. The "war persons who have reached their positions because of their expert manipulation on the stock exchange, and in the share market. Is it any wonder that their effort" in fact is in the hands of titled practical attempts to organise the war industries has seen an enormous increase in the profits of their companies, the ruin of the small business man and the complete dislocation and disruption of production? Whilst on the other hand unprecedented attacks have been made upon the rights and privileges of organised labour and all attempts undertaken by the Factory Committees and the Shop Steward Movement have been deliberately sabotaged by these people.

We could fill volumes with the immu-

DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

WORLD FASCISM OR THE EXTENSION OF OCTOBER

(continued from page 1)

ism, turned, under the influence of these slogans, to the support of their own bourgeois governments. It was during this period that Churchill established his reputation for "anti-fascism", not with-

could lead to the complete smashing not only of Hitler, but of world imperialism had we at the present time in the Kremlin, a leadership which based itself firmly on the masses of Russian workers and peasants, and had the perspective of the international revolution as the sole means

Stalin's foreign policy has succeeded in isolating his Western frontiers from the Western powers. Every German plane, tank and soldier is being thrown in full force from the Black Sea to the Baltic. Aid from Britain and America, even in the best case, could not come till the decisive

But, despite the treacherous role of the degenerate and corrupt ruling clique, the Soviet Union has tremendous potentialities. The workers and peasants of Russia will fight with a fervour and enthusiasm unparalleled by any other of the armies engaged against Hitler. In spite of the

ism, turned, under the influence of these slogans, to the support of their own bourgeois governments. It was during this period that Churchill established his reputation for "anti-fascism", not without the zealous assistance of the Communist Party in Britain, who appealed to him to form a government of "Churchill, Attlee and Sinclair" to stand up to Hitler.

This period was ended by the pact of August 1939 between Germany and Russia which shocked and disgusted the masses throughout the world and discredited the Soviet Union and the ideas of Socialism among hundreds of millions. Stalin and the Communist International oriented their policy on the pact with Hitler and demanded that the "war be stopped" by negotiated peace, which meant victory for Hitler. So indifferent were they to the fate of the workers under his heel! Hitler could allow himself the luxury of striking against the Western rivals of German imperialism first, only because of the counter-revolutionary role which the Kremlin bureaucracy and the Comintern had played in the last period. Freed from the threat of revolution by Stalinism, Hitler marched ahead with confidence. He was able to unleash the full fury of the German war machine with the knowledge that the German masses were disoriented by the pact, and that the proletariat in the Western democracies, particularly in France, had been rendered completely apathetic and indifferent by the swift change of front by the Kremlin. It was in this soil that the astounding victories of Hitler were achieved.

But after the lightning collapse of France the Comintern rediscovered the imperialist character of the war and impartially thundered against both sets of belligerents. But all the twists and turns and squirmings of the bureaucracy, caught in the iron vice of the contradictions of world economy and the conflicting interests of world imperialism, could not isolate the Soviet State from the fate of the rest of the world. History has now inexorably presented its bill for the crimes, lies, treachery and stupidity of the Kremlin bureaucracy. The theory of Socialism for Russia alone has borne its inevitable fruit.

In the light of these events how miserable are the justifications of the sycophants of the Kremlin—the Dutts, the Pollitts, the Gallachers. "The strength of the Soviet Union assured its socialist neutrality", they chorused only yesterday. The Soviet Union was a citadel of peace while war raged over the greater part of the world. A Fifteen-Year Plan was inaugurated on the basis of a peaceful co-existence of the capitalist world with the Soviet Union. But today it is clear that Socialism is indivisible; the cause of the workers in all countries is one. The harvest is now being reaped by the policies of the bureaucracy over the last eighteen years, who wished only to be left alone to enjoy their privileges unmolested by the march of events.

This review of the developments of the past years is necessary if we are to have a clear perspective and guide to the development of forces in Europe and the world in the immediate future.

MOLOTOV'S NATIONALIST APPEAL

The attack of Germany upon Russia

by Hitler, but of world imperialism had we at the present time in the Kremlin, a leadership which based itself firmly on the masses of Russian workers and peasants, and had the perspective of the international revolution as the sole means of salvation. The supreme test is here and already the Bonapartist clique which holds the reigns of power in Moscow, has revealed its complete worthlessness. Trembling before their own masses; and with contempt and fear of the revolutionary possibilities of the world proletariat, above all the German and European proletariat, these contemptible flunkys are clutching at the coat-tails of Roosevelt and Churchill to save them.

The appeal they issued to the Russian and German people is almost incredible. It contained all the old outworn liberal phrases regarding the "aggressor", the "megalomaniac" Hitler, etc. Bloody Czar Nicholas could have appended his signature to this disgraceful appeal without altering a single word. Corroded through and through with Nationalism, not a trace of revolutionary socialism or internationalism even by implication pervaded this speech.

So corrupt, so degenerate have this perfidious Bonapartist clique become, that in their appeal to the Russian masses to rally in defence against the invader, they can go back only to the "magnificent" example of the defeat of Napoleon by reactionary feudal Czarism! It were as though the October revolution and the revolutionary war against intervention had never taken place. They dare not, they cannot appeal to the traditions dearest to the hearts of the Russian and international proletariat—to the tradition of the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky, the army which was the child of October.

The Red Army has a tradition of courage, sacrifice and heroism unexampled in history. Ragged, ill-equipped, starving and militarily unskilled masses succeeded in beating back, despite the ruined and exhausted condition of Russia, the armies of intervention of twenty one different capitalist countries, as well as the traitor armies of Russian capitalism. They emerged victorious because they were inspired by the consciousness that they were fighting for a better world; for the cause of international socialism. It is this tradition which is deliberately avoided by Molotov. Decisively they have turned their backs on the internationalist mould from which the Soviet Union emerged and substituted for it bankrupt nationalism.

Stalin is doing this for reasons of self-preservation. A revolution in Europe would soon lead to the Russian proletariat settling accounts with the bureaucracy. It will not be long before their agents of the Communist International will attempt to pacify the uneasiness among their members by pointing to the need to keep Britain and America from joining with the Nazis against the Soviet Union.

Having led the proletariat to disaster in one country after another, the fate of the Soviet Union and their own heads is now at stake, and all they can do is to look for succour from the Western powers. While loud in offers of assistance and protestations of sympathy, the British and American imperialists offer "clothes and shoes" in place of planes and vital equipment in the decisive period. The bombing of Germany by the R.A.F. is not of decisive importance.

isolating his Western frontiers from the Western powers. Every German plane, tank and soldier is being thrown in full force from the Black Sea to the Baltic. Aid from Britain and America, even in the best case, could not come till the decisive battles had been fought. Moreover, even a military victory under these conditions will not save the Soviet State. It is a significant fact that the Moscow radio, in transmitting Churchill's speech, omitted the passage in which he referred to his hatred of Communism. Instead of unequivocally pointing to the nature of their "ally", the bureaucracy hopes to deceive the Soviet people.

The first successes of the Red Army which threatened to destroy completely the power of German imperialism, would result in an immediate agreement of all the imperialist powers, including Britain and America, to crush the Soviet Union. If imperialism emerges from this war intact, the Soviet Union is doomed.

THE REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIALITIES

Yet the revolutionary possibilities inherent in the situation have never been greater. The German people have suffered under the iron heel of Nazi totalitarianism for nearly nine years. The peoples of Europe are being oppressed with unexampled horror. Hitler retains his stronghold only because of the fear of the German masses of an even worse fate under a super Versailles if British imperialism were to emerge victorious. From reports appearing in the more sober bourgeois papers ("Times" and "Telegraph") it is clear that there is universal detestation of the Nazi regime and the victories occasion no enthusiasm. But the masses, fearing the consequences of a Churchill victory, grimly fight on. The Communist Party press has correctly pointed out that this alone has paralysed the German workers' struggle against Hitler.

Suddenly and without ideological preparation among the German masses Hitler has executed another reversal of policy and ordered the armies to march. This will reveal to even the most fanatical Nazi youth, the lie that they are waging a socialist crusade against "capitalist pluto-democracy," and it cannot fail to have caused deep consternation in the minds of the German people. Only yesterday Ribbentrop had acclaimed Molotov's assurance that the interests of the German and Russian peoples were "cemented in blood". Without a shadow of doubt the German proletariat were waiting a revolutionary message from the Soviet government. The German workers are the most educated and culturally advanced in Europe and have a Marxian tradition extending over seventy five years. Over 8 million Socialists and 6 million Communists recorded their votes before Hitler came to power. Thus, one in every two of Hitler's soldiers must have been either a socialist or a communist. It therefore becomes clear that a fraternal socialist appeal from Moscow could not fail to arouse this latent might of the German toilers, groaning under the Nazi yoke, and transform the entire picture. Given such a lead, the entire European continent would be aflame with revolution.

As long ago as 1927 Trotsky warned of the incapacity of the Stalin bureaucracy to wage a revolutionary war. This prediction is now confirmed by events.

But, despite the tremendous role of the degenerate and corrupt ruling clique, the Soviet Union has tremendous potentialities. The workers and peasants of Russia will fight with a fervour and enthusiasm unparalleled by any other of the armies ranged against Hitler. In spite of the policies of Stalin, it is probable that the Blitzkrieg will this time fail. Should the Nazi machine, composed of soldiers with heavy hearts, batter itself on the resistance of the Soviet masses, and fail to make headway against the defenders of what remains of Lenin's heritage, revolution must inevitably follow the demoralisation thus engendered. Given a leadership, it would open out the perspective of a socialist Europe and a socialist world. A wave of revolutionary fervour would paralyse the imperialists of America, Britain and Japan against any possibility of attack. That is why the abandonment of the class struggle by Stalin is so suicidal. By demoralising the workers of Germany and Europe, by befuddling the Soviet and Anglo-American masses, that aid can be given to the workers' struggle against German fascism by British and American imperialism only assists Hitler and serves the interests of Anglo-American imperialism. If on the other hand, the Ukraine and the Caucasus should fall, through the failure of the Kremlin to wage a revolutionary war, this would not be the end. The war would go on and plunge mankind into complete chaos and barbarism. Only complete destruction of capitalism can prevent this.

In Britain our course is clear. The Communist Party will accept the leadership of the capitalist class under the guise of the demand for a "Peoples' Government." They will sabotage the struggles of the workers, as they did in France (and as the Labour leaders are doing today) with the treacherous cry that they would help Hitler. Instead of raising the consciousness of the workers by exposing the real aims of the capitalists, they will do everything to camouflage their imperialist aims. Such a policy will lead to disaster; to the defeat of the Soviet Union and the world proletariat, and to the victory of world fascism and reaction.

The policy of the "Socialist Appeal" alone defends the U.S.S.R. and fights for the destruction of Hitlerism by the only possible method: the method of Lenin. Only by means of the conquest of power by the proletariat, can fascism be defeated, not only in Germany but in the world, and the Soviet Union be saved from destruction.

Dark days lie ahead, but the events of our epoch are ruthlessly destroying the programmes of reformism and Stalinism. Reaction is a force—but the programme of revolution, of world socialism, is an even mightier force.

The indispensable means of defending the Soviet Union and defeating fascism is:—

1. THE OVERTHROW OF THE KREMLIN BUREAUCRACY AND THE RESTORATION OF THE WORKERS' DEMOCRACY OF LENIN AND TROTSKY.
2. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE BRITISH CAPITALIST CLASS AND THE CONQUEST OF POWER BY THE WORKERS.

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the rights and privileges of organised labour and all attempts undertaken by the Factory Committees and the Shop Steward Movement have been deliberately sabotaged by these people.

We could fill volumes with the innumerable instances of chaos and waste but space permits but one example, which, however, is typical. "At the outbreak of war," a worker writes, "I was engaged in a large mass production factory in London. Full speed ahead from the moment the bell went at eight o'clock until dinnertime and the same in the afternoon. The whole factory the scene of feverish activity from morning till night. Then we went on to war work. What a change! For nine months we worked about one hour in eight and it is still the same thing today from the reports at the Union meetings. After getting fed up with hanging around doing nothing at this factory I went to a large electrical firm in North London. Here I was promised plenty of work, but the management forgot to tell me when the work was coming in. For the three months I was at this firm I didn't lift a finger as there was absolutely no work to do, yet everyone was working overtime at the management's request and getting paid for doing nothing. When on the rare occasions a government man came round we were gathered in from all parts of the factory to 'put on a show of work' until he had gone. I have since changed my job and still only get one week's work in every month. I am a skilled engineer and when I attempted to get back to my old job, where the management were crying out for men for export work they were told they could not have me as I was doing important war work."

It becomes crystal clear that "the war for democracy" is not the stake at issue so far as the bosses are concerned, and yet the democratic phrasemongers in the Churchill Coalition Government allow the monopoly combines, through their government controllers, to secure and consolidate the control of the nation's war industries in their own hands, against the interests of the majority and directed not towards greater production but primarily to increase their own power and to assure the greater production of profits for the future.

This is why the war industries are in chaos. Under these circumstances the spurious argument used by the so-called "lefts" for increased "state control" can only result in ever more power being vested in the hands of the monopolies. The only way out of the impasse lies in the nationalisation of the war industries. To take away the profit motive altogether. There is no other way.

To assure that production is not only maintained but, as would be the case, increased a hundred times over, it is essential that control be established at the point of production, by the producers themselves, in the factories and workshops, and not be left in the hands of incompetent financial gamblers.

This can only be effectively carried out by a national campaign throughout the country, for the workers to break with the capitalists in the government to take up the demand that labour take power on a programme that would win the overwhelming support of the working class and would include the nationalisation of the war industries and workers control of industry.