

THE 3RD INTERNATIONAL IS BURIED!

LONG LIVE THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

SOCIALIST WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

APPEAL

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

VOL. 5. No. 12. JUNE, 1943. TWOPENCE.

END THE TRUCE

LABOUR TO POWER

THIS LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE MEETS WHEN THE WORLD WAR HAS BEEN ON FOR NEARLY FOUR YEARS AND THE LABOUR MINISTERS HAVE BEEN IN THE GOVERNMENT FOR MORE THAN THREE OF THOSE TERRIBLE YEARS. IT IS A SUITABLE TIME TO DRAW UP A BALANCE SHEET OF THE RESULTS THIS HAS HAD FOR THE WORKERS OF BRITAIN, AND OF THE WORLD.

The Labour and Trade Union leadership entered the Government claiming that this action was necessary in order to destroy fascism and in order to exert the maximum pressure to ensure social advance, both now and in the better world that should come after the war.

Every worker naturally wants to see the wiping out of fascism from the face of the earth once and for all. But can this be obtained by support of the Government?

What are the results of the coalition? At the present time the armies of Britain and America are being prepared for the terrible slaughter that still lies ahead. Millions of lives will inevitably be lost in the battles that are to come. The destruction and the carnage of 1914-1918 are causing more devastation and suffering than even in 1914-1918.

The Labour leaders have pointed to the atrocities and horrors that have been committed by the Nazis, and the Japanese militarists, which have aroused the justified horror and indignation of the working class throughout the world. But we see that by their actions the Anglo-American imperialists have demonstrated irrefutably their aims and objects are entirely different from the aims of the working class. Churchill and Roosevelt at the time of the "liberation" of N. Africa installed in power some of the gang of quislings and gangsters who betrayed France into the hands of the Nazis and who

Continued on page 2

3,500 CLYDE AERO STRIKE

By TOM BURNS

For quite a while the workers in the foundry at a large West of Scotland Aircraft Factory, have been smarting under a number of grievances. Not only were the general conditions below standard, but to bring it home to the workers the manager controlled affairs in a ruthless fashion. One pin-pricking measure of his was to fix wire netting to a part of the lavatory doors, so that the workers could be watched!

On Thursday, May 20th and the following day, a total of 3,500 workers in the foundry stopped work in sympathy with the furnace men who had received a wage reduction. 22 furnace men were involved.

Due to pressure from the furnace men, who demanded more time for each "heat", a temporary agreement to last 3 months, was made between the Union and the employers, extending the period for each "heat" from 82 minutes to 97 minutes. Even on these terms the worker had a task to make a suitable wage. Now that the agreement has expired, the boss is attempting to enforce the men to revert to the old conditions. It is this attack of the management which was the cause of the big strike.

If the manager's time limit is enforced it would mean a loss of approximately £1.1.0 per week.

The workers have learned the hard way what "Production Weeks" have meant to them. The manager's promise of "the sky is the limit for earnings" is now shown to be nothing else but a manoeuvre to force down the wage rates. The firm now throws it to the workers: "You did so many castings on such and such a time—why not regular?" It is evident that the General Works Manager will apply this principle to all blocks. Already the prelude of more rigid shop discipline is being pushed through the works which is simply paving the way for a drive against piece-work earnings.

WORKERS: DEMAND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE PROSECUTIONS AGAINST THE 22 FURNACEMEN! END THE VICIOUS ESSENTIAL WORKS ORDER!

TO THE WORKERS OF BRITAIN—

MANIFESTO OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE (FOURTH INTERNATIONAL).

COMRADES!

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL, LONG DEAD AS AN INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY FORCE HAS BEEN FORMALLY BURIED. THE ORGANISATION WHICH LENIN AND TROTSKY FOUNDED IN 1919 TO ACHIEVE THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS AND TOILING MASSES THROUGH THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, HAS BEEN DISSOLVED IN IGNOMINY AND DISGRACE.

THE EVENT, WHICH INEVITABLY RESULTED FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CONSERVATIVE AND NATIONALIST THEORY OF "SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY," WAS FORESEEN AND PREDICTED BY THE TROTSKYISTS WHO REMAINED TRUE TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST IDEAS OF MARX, ENGELS, AND LENIN.

The founding of the Comintern took place in face of the organised terror and hatred of the ruling classes of all countries of the world. Its leaders were hounded and branded as "terrorists" and "murderers" who sought to destroy civilisation.

To-day the jackals howl with glee over the corpse of the Comintern. They hail the capitulation of Stalin and his blow against internationalism, as a magnificent and statesmanlike act. By this victory, the capitalists know that a great blow has been struck at the international working class. They believe that they have laid the spectre of Communism, which Marx proclaimed was already haunting Europe in 1848. They know that Stalin has dealt a blow to the Soviet Republic, where the spectre took flesh and blood through the October Revolution in 1917.

BUT THE HOWLS OF THE CAPITALISTS ARE PREMATURE. LONG BEFORE THE OFFICIAL BURIAL OF THE COMINTERN, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL HAD ALREADY BEEN BORN.

By its international socialist programme and actions, the Third International under Lenin and Trotsky continued the great traditions of Marx and Engels, who founded the First International; it continued the great traditions of the Second International when it collapsed, having besmirched the banner of internationalism by support of their own capitalist governments by its national sections in the first world imperialist war.

Continued on Back page.

THE FOUNDERS OF THE COMINTERN—STALIN THE EXECUTIONER ALONE REMAINS!



LENIN'S GENERAL STAFF — THE BOLSHEVIK CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF 1917

These pictures depict the General Staff of the Bolshevik Party which, under the leadership of Lenin, led the victorious October Revolution of 1917. Stalin destroyed the entire generation of the Old Guard. Not only that. He also decapitated the entire leadership of the Red Army, the trade unions, the Youth organisations. Lenin attached tremendous significance to the Old Guard of Bolshevism. He regarded these men—the living embodiment of the experience of three revolutions (1905, February 1917, October 1917), of the struggle against World War I, the Civil War, the post war period of reconstruction, as the only guarantee of correct policies. "If we do not close our eyes to reality, then it must be recognised," Lenin wrote in March 1922, "that at the present time the proletarian policy of our party is determined not so much by its social composition as by the enormous and unlimited authority of that thin layer which may be called the Old Guard. Even a minor internal struggle within this layer would suffice if not to undermine, then, in any case, to weaken its authority to such an extent that the decisions would thereafter no longer depend upon it."

Stalin and the bureaucracy have not stopped at "weakening its authority". They have annihilated it, and with it the programme of international Socialism for which it stood. Having destroyed the whole generation of Communist leaders, and having destroyed the Communist International which these outstanding revolutionaries were responsible for launching as an instrument of world Socialist Revolution, Stalin has now formally buried the corpse of the Comintern, which has befooled the international labour movement for the past 10 years.

STATEMENT OF THE BARNSELY TRANSPORT STRIKE COMMITTEE

The nation-wide discontent among the transport workers at the insulting and provocative findings of the "Arbitration" Court with reference to their recent wage claim is now beginning to show up clearly from the barrage of strikes which accompanied the decision.

As the following statement by the Barnsley workers shows, the strike is two fold. The most important reason is the obtaining of the demands. The other is the failure of "arbitration courts" and other machinery.

The dispute originates from a claim staked on January 4th, 1943, which the employers rejected completely. The claim was for a flat 15/- per week increase, which, considering the wages paid, is not an excessive demand. A top rate man receives £4 2s. 0d., without deductions, and takes home a little over £3 usually. It must be remembered that transport workers get no overtime pay of any type; that because of lengthy "split" duties they are often compelled to spend some 62 hours in working a normal week of about 30 hours. It must also be pointed out that, unlike other industries, the transport workers are "at it" nearly all the time; they start before other workers and finish later. They are working on holidays and Sundays. Despite these conditions which are only a few of the many bad ones, they are among the very lowest paid sections of the workers.

In these circumstances, the Union took the claim from negotiation to arbitration. After a lengthy sitting, which lasted some 19 weeks, due in part to the Chairman's illness, the answer was still negative. The temper of the men had meanwhile risen to boiling pitch and they were clamouring to stop the wheels. When the vehicles were run in, last Tuesday night, the decision was taken. At almost the same time, similar decisions were taken by the Wakefield and West Riding Company, the South Yorkshire Motors, Pontefract, and Bullock & Sons, of Featherstone. This proves that the issue is no local one.

The strike is "unofficial" and the Barnsley workers wish to emphasize that it is not against the principles of trade-unionism that they have struck, but rather to strengthen it. The official channels have been tried and failed; the men have no further confidence in them and believe that direct action is the only way left open. A dispute committee, democratically elected by the mass of employees, has been formed to safeguard the local union officials, and to ensure co-ordinated action.

This committee has contacted the local M.P.s and asked them to intervene on the workers' behalf. It has also telegraphed Mr. Bevin demanding that he immediately open an enquiry into the dispute.

The Barnsley workers emphasise that they are out solid, no matter who goes back, and believe that solidarity with them would bring results in a matter of days.

They are pleased to record contributions of some £18 which have been welcome in view of the expense of pre-paid wires, etc.

In reply to the criticisms and arguments of certain individuals about "patriotism," the Barnsley workers consider that they have efficiently and loyally "done their bit." They have brothers, sons and sweethearts in the front line, who will have to return to the conditions the workers have fought for. It is, further, their opinion that refusal to grant just demands, and thereby provoking a disruption of industry, is the employers' own method of assisting their Nazi class-brothers.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE BARNSELY WORKERS. FOR THE YEARLY RE-ELECTION OF ALL UNION OFFICIALS, IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE MILITANT INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE-UNIONS. FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE T.U.'S FROM THE ARBITRATION MACHINERY AND THE RE-INTRODUCTION OF INDEPENDENT BARGAINING.

Send your financial help to:— Mr. Brown, The Treasurer, 5, Wesley Street, Barnsley. Don't forget a resolution of support at your T.U. Branch Meeting.

END THE "SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY" TRUCE

Labour to Power

Continued from page 1.

collaborated with them in the suppression and exploitation of the French people! Such is their method of fighting fascism! When the Spanish workers were fighting for their lives against the forces of Franco, Mussolini and Hitler, not a single cartridge or rifle was sent to their aid by the Anglo-American "democracies". Today loans and supplies are being liberally doled out by the Anglo-American imperialists to the Spanish fascists in order to prop up the regime. Such is their "democracy"!

Churchill and Roosevelt have claimed that they stand for the liberation of Poland, Norway, Holland, France, etc. from the shackles of Nazi domination. But what do they intend to put in its place? Both in Europe and Asia they intend replacing the present control by the Axis powers by that of Anglo-American quislings and Darlans. Not only domination and occupation of Italy and Germany, but the occupation of the whole of Europe. Even now in America a million administrators are being trained in the task of administering Holland, France, Belgium and the other countries in Europe.

THE SITUATION AT HOME

But what is the situation at home? The capitalists have used the war as a means of enriching themselves and increasing the power of the monopolies and combines. The mineowners, armament manufacturers, railway companies, banks and insurance companies are making enormous profits at the expense of the standard of living of the masses. While the food combines and railway companies have been securing enormous subsidies from the Government, the cost of living has risen steeply, and the wages of the workers have either remained stationary or have not risen to compensate for the increases in the cost of living. The standard of living of the workers and of the middle class has dropped considerably.

While yelling for increased production the capitalists have shown that their chief interest lies in increased profits; while the Labour leaders have shouted about "equality of sacrifice" it is the masses who have done all the sacrificing and the capitalists have reaped the benefits of this. It is time that those who can afford it, made the sacrifices! The workers in the armed forces who have to do the fighting and dying have had niggardly and insulting increases in pay, in spite of the resolution of last year's Labour Party Conference passed unanimously, for tradesmen's rates for the Forces! The old age pensioners are allowed to rot and suffer with miserly increases in their allowances.

The capitalists have the workers in overalls and uniform by the throat! That is the position now! What of the future? While the Labour leaders are lulling the workers into a sense of security, the capitalists are making their preparations for an onslaught on the working class. Today they are spending £15,000,000 or more a day for the purpose of waging war. Yet they are not prepared to implement even the miserable and grudging proposals of the Beveridge Report, which even if carried out would mean an actual reduction in the standard of living of the working class. So determined are the capitalists to drive down the workers standards as low as they can

of the worst war in history they are preparing for future wars! Such is the reward for blood, toil, tears and sweat of the masses of the people!

Such a programme could only be imposed on the people by force, could only be maintained by the method of brutality and fascism. The ruling class will quickly resort to such methods, as did their counterparts in Italy and Germany.

Meanwhile throughout the country the masses are growing more and more restive and dissatisfied with the control exercised by the capitalist class. A feeling of frustration and exasperation is growing within the ranks of the working class at the rule of Big Business. More and more the miners and engineers, transport workers and others have been provoked into striking by the savage attacks on their standards by the bosses. The workers and even the middle class are looking for a way out of the impasse in which they find themselves. The Tories have less support today than they have had for a generation. Every bye-election has seen a big vote against the Government especially in Constituencies where a pseudo-Socialist case has been put forward. The success of Common Wealth has indicated the move to the Left on the part of the middle-class. If Labour came forward with a fighting Socialist policy they could win the overwhelming majority of the masses to their banner!

It is time to end the Truce! The Tories have preparations for a coup election when it suits them. And some of the Labour leaders are preparing to assist them! Bevin has threatened to "do a Ramsay MacDonald" on the Labour Movement if the truce is broken. Some of the Labour leaders want the coalition to be continued after the war is over! Those who stand with the class enemy must be driven from the ranks of the Labour movement! If there is to be a split let it be now, when the workers can prepare and it can have the least demoralising effects.

The British working class stands today at the cross-roads. To support the ruling class does not at all mean a victory over fascism. The reason why

Continued at foot of next Column.

"SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY"

TROTSKY PREDICTED OUTCOME

The dispute within the Russian Bolshevik Party between Stalin and Trotsky on the question of "Socialism in One Country" at the time of its inception seemed to many observers as an abstract and academic discussion. In reality, what was in question was a struggle against the revision of Stalin of the fundamental theories of Marxism. We print below an extract from Trotsky's brilliant analysis, made more than 15 years ago, which has been confirmed by the events of the last few days.

The first two extracts show the orthodox Marxist position taken by Stalin during Lenin's lifetime, side by side with his revision in which he justifies the theory of "Socialism in One Country," the full fruits of which can be seen to-day.

Trotsky predicted the inevitable consequences that would flow from the violation of Marxist theory on a fundamental question of this character. Involved here was the question of NATIONALISM versus INTERNATIONALISM. What is immediately striking is the vindication of Marxist theory and method. Trotsky, on the basis of Marxism, could predict the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the Comintern, once internationalism was abandoned.

Stalin on "Socialism in One Country"

1925

"The Theory and Practice of Leninism"

Reproduced from pages 45 and 46 of by I. Stalin, price 1/6, C.P.G.B., 1925.

"But to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and establish that of the proletariat in a single country is still not to assure the complete victory of Socialism. The chief task, the organisation of Socialist production, is still to be accomplished. Can we succeed and secure the definitive victory of Socialism in one country without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? Most certainly not. The efforts of a single country are enough to overthrow the bourgeoisie: this is what the history of our revolution proves. But for the definitive triumph of Socialism, the organisation of Socialist production, the efforts of one country alone are not enough, particularly of an essentially rural country like Russia; the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are needed. So the victorious revolution in one country has for its essential task to develop and support the revolution in others. So it ought not to be considered as of independent value, but as an auxiliary, a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries.

Lenin has curtly expressed this thought in saying that the task of the victorious revolution consists in doing the "utmost in one country for the development, support, awakening of the revolution in other countries." (Vide The Proletarian Revolution.)"

1926

In his concluding remarks on the report "The Opposition Bloc and the Inner-Party Situation," Stalin, at the Fifteenth Conference of the C.P.S.U. in November 1926, made reference to Friedrich Engels' first draft of the Communist Manifesto which was subsequently published under the title *Grundsätze des Kommunismus*. Engels listed the points in the programme of the communist party of his time, the execution of which would usher in the new order, and he emphasised that these points could not be realised in full except under conditions of a proletarian revolution and victory in several countries. Listing these points, Stalin sought to buttress his theory of "socialism in a single country" by arguing that Soviet Russia alone had carried out virtually all of them. "That, comrades is the programme of the proletarian revolution set up by Engels in his *The Fundamental Principles of Communism*. You see that nine-tenths of this programme has already been carried out by our revolution," Engels said that the proletarian revolution with the above programme could not succeed in one single country alone. The facts however show that under the new conditions of imperialism such a revolution in its most essential parts has already been carried through in one single country alone, for we have carried out nine-tenths of this programme in our country." (International Press Correspondence, Vol. 6, No. 78, Nov. 25, 1926, p. 1350).

COMINTERN DISSOLVED

OFFICIAL REASONS ARE LIES!

The official reason given (by analogy with the First International) for the burial of the Comintern, was that it had "fulfilled its historic mission" and the "Third International" "no longer corresponded to the needs of the situation"; added to which, it was difficult to "convene a Congress of the Communist International . . . owing to the conditions of the world war."

This cynical statement is a cover for the final capitulation to American imperialism. The Comintern had long been killed, not only as an instrument of Socialist Revolution, but even as a functioning body. The initial Congresses of the Comintern met under much worse conditions than exist at the present time. All the capitalist countries—Britain, Germany, France, America, Japan, alike, with all their satellites, were waging a war of intervention on 21 fronts to destroy the young Soviet Republic. Several of the delegates to the First Congresses lost their lives attempting to get there.

In Lenin's time, congresses of the Third International took place on the average of once a year, despite the extremely difficult domestic and foreign position of the Soviet Republic. The First Congress was held in March 1919; the Second Congress in July 1920; the Third Congress in June 1921; the Fourth Congress in November 1922. With Lenin removed from participation in the leadership, the interval between Congresses steadily increased. Thus the Fifth Congress was held in June

1924. But four years elapsed before the Sixth Congress was held in July 1928. Section 8 of Article 11 of the Constitution of the Comintern adopted at the 1928 Congress definitely provided that "The World Congress shall be convened once every two years" (Eng. ed. C.P.G.B. 1932). Despite this provision, the Seventh Congress did not convene in Moscow until August 1935, that is, more than seven years after the Sixth. No official explanation was ever vouchsafed for this explicit violation by the leadership of the Comintern of the constitution which it had itself adopted in 1932.

Since the Seventh and last World Congress the French Popular Front has been in power and has been destroyed. The Spanish Revolution has been drowned in blood. World War No. 2 has engulfed Europe, the Americas and the Far East. Stalin has made a Pact with Hitler—which Hitler broke) and now a pact with Churchill and Soviet Russia itself has been the victim of Nazi imperialist intervention. The Congress of the Comintern has been called. Four peace years passed between 1935 and the outbreak of the present war without a Congress of the Comintern. But no explanation has ever been made to the workers for these further violations of the Constitution of the International. The Comintern has been dead since it betrayed the workers by allowing Hitler to take power without a struggle. This cynical "deceit" is only its burial notice.

workers tolerate Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado is not at all that they are "Huns" and murderers, but the fear of an Allied victory.

If the British workers support the capitalists and imperialists of Britain, how can they expect the workers of the Axis countries not to support their rulers?

The rights we have won by a century of struggle are not yet completely destroyed. It is for the British workers to give the lead!

A campaign among the masses of the people round a fighting Socialist programme could not fail to win the overwhelming majority of the population. The German, Japanese and Italian

Labour must end the coalition and fight for Power!

Labour must demand the dissolution of Parliament and for a general election with the voting age limit reduced to 18 years. The lads and girls good enough to work and fight at 18 must have the right to vote as well! A government that came to power on the programme put forward by the "Socialist Appeal" could immediately appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe and Japan to overthrow their rulers and join with the workers of Britain to build a new world—a Socialist Federation of the peoples.

Workers' International League believes that this programme is the sole

LENIN ON "SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY"

"In the U.S.S.R. state power is already in the hands of the working class. In the course of three years of heroic struggle against world capitalism, the proletariat has maintained and strengthened its Soviet government. Russia, although it possesses enormous natural resources, is nevertheless, from an industrial point of view, a backward country, in which a petty bourgeois population predominates. It can arrive at socialism only through the world proletarian revolution, which epoch of development we have now entered."

Trotsky Warns of Outcome of Stalin's Theory

The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state if only there is no intervention. From this there can and must follow a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism, that is to say, will solve the main historical question. The task of the parties in the Comintern assumes, therefore an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power. It is, of course, not a question of the subjective intentions but of the objective logic of political thought.

"The difference in views lies in the fact," says Stalin, "that the party considers that these (internal) contradictions and possible conflicts can be entirely overcome on the basis of the inner forces of our revolution, whereas comrade Trotsky and the Opposition think that these contradictions and conflicts can be overcome 'only on an international scale, on the arena of the world-wide proletarian revolution.'" (Pravda, No. 262, Nov. 12, 1926.)

Yes, this is precisely the difference. One could not express better and more correctly the difference between national reformism and revolutionary internationalism. If our internal difficulties, obstacles, and contradictions, which are fundamentally a reflection of world contradictions, can be settled merely by the "inner forces of our revolution" without entering "the arena of the world-wide proletarian revolution" THEN THE INTERNATIONAL IS PARTLY A SUBSIDIARY AND PARTLY A DECORATIVE INSTITUTION, THE CONGRESS OF WHICH CAN BE CONVOKED ONCE EVERY FOUR YEARS, ONCE EVERY TEN YEARS, OR PERHAPS NOT AT ALL. Even if we were to add that the proletariat of the other countries must protect our construction from military interventions, the International according to this scheme must play the role of a pacifist instrument. Its main role, the role of an instrument of world revolution, is then inevitably relegated to the background. And this, we repeat, does not flow from anyone's deliberate intentions (on the contrary, a number of points in the programme testify to the very best intentions of its authors), but it does flow from the internal logic of the new theoretical position which is a thousand times more dangerous than the worst subjective intentions.

way out for the British working class and for Socialism. The Labour leaders claim to stand for the interests of the working class. Then let them break with the Government of bankers and capitalists! Restore the independence of the working class. Labour must take power!

Workers' International League will fight side by side with the Labour workers to put this programme into force. In the struggle to achieve it we believe that the workers will become convinced that our programme and the methods of Lenin and Trotsky which led the Russian Revolution to victory are the sole means of achieving Socialism in Britain and the World.

LENIN Speaks on Third International

In March of this year, 1919, there took place an international congress of Communists in Moscow. This Congress founded the Third, Communist International, the Union of the Workers of the whole world who are striving for the establishment of Soviet power in all countries.

The First International, founded by Marx, existed from 1864 to 1872. The defeat of the heroic Paris workers—the famous Paris Commune—meant the end of this International. It is unforgettable, it is eternal, in the history of the struggle of the workers for their emancipation. It laid the foundation of that building of the World Socialist Republic, which we to-day have the happiness of constructing.

The Second International existed from 1889 to 1914, until the war. This period was the period of the quietest and most peaceful development of capitalism, a period without great revolutions. The labour movement grew strong and mature in that period in a number of countries. But the leaders of the workers in the majority of parties, growing accustomed to peaceful times, lost the capacity for revolutionary struggle. When the War began in 1914, which for four years has

drenched the earth with blood, a war between the capitalists for the division of profits, for power over the small and weak nations, these socialists passed over to the side of their governments. They betrayed the workers, they helped to drag out the slaughter, they became enemies of Socialism, they passed over to the side of the capitalists. The mass of the workers have turned away from these traitors to Socialism. Throughout the world a turn to revolutionary struggle has commenced. The War has shown that capitalism is doomed. A new order is taking its place. The traitors to Socialism have disgraced the old word "Socialism."

Now the workers who have remained faithful to the cause of the overthrow of the yoke of capital call themselves Communists. Throughout the world the Union of Communists is growing. In a number of countries Soviet power has already been victorious.* It will not be long before we see the victory of Communism throughout the world, before we see the foundation of the World Federal Republic of Soviets. (Made in March 1919.)

* Lenin refers to the Soviet revolutions in Bavaria and Hungary.

TROTSKY Speaks on Fourth International

RECORDED SPEECH, 1938

Dear Comrades and Friends: I hope that this time my voice will reach you and that I will be permitted in this way to participate in your double celebration. Both events: the tenth anniversary of our American organisation as well as the foundation congress of the Fourth International deserve the attention of the workers incomparably more than the war-like gestures of the totalitarian chiefs, the diplomatic intrigues, or the pacifist congresses.

Both events will enter history as important milestones. No one has now the right to doubt that. It is necessary to remark that the birth of the American group of Bolshevik-Leninists, thanks to the courageous initiative of Comrades Cannon, Shachtman, and ABERN, didn't stand alone. It approximately coincided with the beginning of the systematic international work of the Left Opposition. It is true that the Left Opposition arose in Russia in 1923, but regular work on an international scale began with the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.

WORK BEGAN IN 1928

Without a personal meeting we reached an agreement with the American pioneers of the Fourth International, before all, on the criticism of the programme of the Communist International. Then, in 1928, began that collective work which after ten years led to the elaboration of our own programme recently adopted by our International Conference. We have the right to say that the work of this decade was not only persistent and patient, but also honest. The Bolshevik-Leninists, the international pioneers, our comrades across the world, searched the way of the revolution as genuine Marxists, not in their feelings and wishes, but in the analysis of the objective march of events. Above all we were guided by the preoccupation not to deceive others nor ourselves. We searched seriously and honestly. And some important things were found by us. The events confirmed our analysis as well as our prognosis. Nobody can deny it. Now it is necessary that we remain true to ourselves and to our programme. It is not easy to do so. The tasks are tremendous, the enemies—innumerable. We have the right to spend our time and our attention on the jubilee celebration only insofar as from the lessons of the past we can prepare ourselves for the future.

THE PARTY IS EVERYTHING

Dear friends, we are not a party as other parties. Our ambition is not only to have more members, more papers, more money in the treasury, more deputies. All that is necessary, but only as a means. Our aim is the full material and spiritual liberation of the toilers and exploitation through the socialist revolution. Nobody will prepare it and nobody will guide it but ourselves. The old internationals—the Second, the Third, that of Amsterdam, we will add to them also the London Bureau—are rotten through and through. The great events which rush upon mankind will not leave of these outlived organisations one stone upon another. Only the Fourth International looks with confidence at the future. It is

the world party of Socialist Revolution! There never was a greater task on the earth. Upon every one of us rests a tremendous historical responsibility.

THE DEMANDS UPON US

Our party demands each of us, totally and completely. Let the philistines hunt their own individuality in empty space. For a revolutionary to give himself entirely to the party signifies finding himself.

Yes, our party takes each one of us wholly. But in return it gives to every one of us the highest happiness: the consciousness that one participates in the building of a better future, that one carries on his shoulders a part of the fate of mankind, and that one's life will not have been lived in vain.

The fidelity to the cause of the toilers requires from us the highest devotion to our international party. The party, of course, can also be mistaken. By common effort we will correct its mistakes. In its ranks can penetrate unworthy elements. By common effort we will eliminate them. New thousands who will enter its ranks tomorrow will probably be deprived of necessary education. By common effort we will elevate their revolutionary level. But we will never forget that our party is now the greatest lever of history. Separated from this lever, everyone of us is nothing. With this lever in hand, we are all.

STALIN CANNOT FRIGHTEN US—WE KNOW NO FEAR

We aren't a party as other parties. It is not in vain that the imperialist reaction persecutes us madly, following furiously at our heels. The assassins at its services are the agents of the Moscow Bonapartist clique. Our young International already knows many victims. In the Soviet Union they number by thousands. In Spain by dozens. In other countries by units. With gratitude and love we remember them all in these moments. Their spirits continue to fight in our ranks.

The hangmen think in their obtuseness and cynicism that it is possible to frighten us. They err! Under blows we become stronger. The bestial politics of Stalin are only politics of despair. It is possible to kill individual soldiers of our army, but not to frighten them. Friends, we will repeat again in this day of celebration . . . IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO FRIGHTEN US.

Ten years were necessary for the Kremlin clique in order to strangle the Bolshevik party and to transform the first Workers' State into a sinister caricature. Ten years were necessary for the Third International in order to stamp into the mire their own programme and to transform themselves into a stinking cadaver. Ten years! Only ten years! Permit me to finish with a prediction: During the next ten years the programme of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and these revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heaven.

LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES!

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

L. TROTSKY,

Coyoacan, D.F. October 18, 1938.

Socialist Appeal
ORGAN OF WORKERS'
INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

EDITOR: E. Grant
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SOVIET BUREAUCRATS LIVE LIKE LORDS

By JOCK HASTON

The Need for the International

BY TED GRANT

The Third International was created by Lenin and Trotsky as an instrument of world revolution. It was born in the midst of the revolutionary cataclysms which followed the last world war, and was inspired by the victory of the Russian revolution.

This was conceived by its founders, as the first step towards world Socialism, which would soon be followed by victories in the more advanced countries of the West.

Lenin described the last world war as marking the beginning of the definite decline and disintegration of capitalism. We had entered the epoch of imperialism, he said, when the progressive role of capitalism was at an end. Imperialism was the epoch of wars and of proletarian revolutions. The contradictions of capitalism had reached their extreme limit.

But, the decay and disintegration of capitalism of which Lenin wrote, has not only not ceased since the time when he analysed this phenomenon, but has assumed more and more frightful forms. The rise of Fascism and the Second World War, are not evidence of a change in conditions, but a symptom of the aggravation of the decline and break-down of capitalism. They were the definitive outcome of the failure of the old organisations of the working class to solve the problems which history had placed before them.

The full scope of the Comintern degeneration can be seen in the announcement of its dissolution, which is typical of the lies and sophistry of Stalinism:

"The historic role of the Communist International, organised in 1919 as a result of the political collapse of the overwhelming majority of the old pre-1914 war workers' parties consisted in preserving the teachings of Marxism from vulgarisation and distortion by opportunist elements in the working-class movement, in helping to unite in a number of countries the vanguard of the advanced workers into genuine working class parties, and in helping them to mobilise the masses of the workers in defence of their economic and political interests, for the struggle against Fascism and the war which the latter was preparing and for support of the Soviet Union as the main bulwark against Fascism."

This is a tissue of lies from beginning to end. "The historic role of the Communist International" consisted, in the eyes of its founders, in preparing the toilers of the world for the inevitable revolutions which would mark the end of capitalism. The solemn reference to the preservation of Marxism from vulgarisation and opportunism, is humorous indeed. As if the British, Amer. and other "Communist" parties have not drained the limits of opportunism and degradation, in committing in a far more exaggerated fashion, the crimes and betrayal of the Second International, in supporting the capitalist class in the war; crimes which were the essence of the differences which Lenin claimed separated the old parties of the Second International from the Marxism of the Third International. The reference to Fascism, without explaining its class content as one of the forms of capitalist rule, is merely in obedience to the present interests of Kremlin diplomacy. It only remains to be contrasted with the policy of the Comintern during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact when the Comintern and its national sections denounced the capitalist "democracies" as having caused the war and demanded peace on Hitler's terms. Thus the argument is revealed in all its cynical nakedness.

The Comintern statement reads: "The deep differences in the historic paths of development of the various countries of the world, the differences of character and even of the contradiction in the level and tempo of their economic and political development and finally the differences in the degree of consciousness and organisation of their workers, conditioned the different problems which faced the working class of each particular country."

The entire course of events for the past quarter of a century as well as the accumulated experiences of the Communist International, have convincingly shown that the organisational form for uniting the workers chosen by the First Congress of the Communist International and which correspond to the needs of the initial period of the rebirth of the working class movement, has more and more become outgrown by the movement's development and by the increasing complexity of its problems in the separate countries, and has even become a hindrance to the further strengthening of the national working class parties."

Thus the theory of "Socialism in one Country" has had its final and logical culmination. The argument here turns everything upside-down. Precisely because of the differences, the revolution will not begin in all countries simultaneously. But that does not at all mean that a world party of the working class is not needed. On the

Continued on back page.

Economic Reasons for Abandonment of World Revolution

The Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky was the most progressive and world shaking step in the history of man. The destruction of the old regime; the expropriation of the land and the basic means of production from the ruling class; the beginnings of a socialist economy, all these found an immediate and widespread support among the revolutionary socialists and the oppressed toilers of the world. Soviet Russia became the intellectual and practical directing centre for the world socialist revolution and the emancipation of the world working class.

The basic conquest of the revolution: nationalised property was to be defended by the revolutionary masses of Russia; aided by the revolutionary action of the workers of the world. The defence of the socialist conquests in the Soviet Union in the final analysis, lay in the socialist victory of the workers in the advanced countries of capitalist Europe. This is what gave emphasis to the internationalism of the Comintern.

This nationalised property still exists under Stalin as a basic gain of the revolution. This factor gives the war of defence on the part of the Soviet Union a revolutionary and progressive character in contradistinction to the war of the capitalist imperialist countries, fascist interventionists and allies alike.

To defend the Soviet Union without placing conditions on the Stalin leadership therefore, is the first duty of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia and of the world.

But this does not mean that we must accept Stalin's policy of reliance on Churchill and Roosevelt and his programme of defence. It does not mean that we must cease to fight for the overthrow of our own capitalist class. To defend the trade unions in Britain does not at all mean that the workers must support the policy of Bevin and Citrine. So, to defend the Soviet Union does not mean to support Stalin's policy. On the contrary, Stalin's abandonment of revolutionary methods is a great blow against the Soviet Union. It is a victory for the world capitalists who howl with glee at the formal abandonment of the last vestige of internationalism.

The turn from internationalism and world communist revolution to "national" socialism on the part of Stalin, and the subsequent degeneration of the Soviet State and the Comintern, can only be properly understood if the economic basis of this degeneration is examined.

That basis exists in sharply diverging standards of life between the broad masses of the workers and peasants on the one hand, and the state bureaucrats and intellectuals on the other. It exists in the different amounts and quality of goods consumed between these two groups as well as in the direct exploitation of man by man, which is assuming some proportions in the Stalinist Russia.

The fairy tale which the Stalinists have so widely propagandised in the working class movement; that Russia is a heaven on earth for the workers, or is about to become so; that the differences which do exist are socialist differences, in line with Marxist thought, are rapidly exploded when we examine the real situation that exists in the Soviet Union with a critical and scientific eye.

RUSSIA A TRANSITIONAL REGIME

The overthrow of the old regime did not automatically give rise to a socialist society overnight. The new regime had a transitional character. Either it would evolve towards socialism as part of the world movement, or inevitably,

it would degenerate along capitalist lines and the counter-revolution would rise triumphant.

Politics, is economics expressed in terms of class struggle. Each sensational political purge in Russia since 1927 has signified a new stage in the economic degeneration of the Soviet regime: a new stage in the class struggle.

Writing on the question of the dual character of the Soviet State, Lenin established that the Soviet state was a workers' state insofar as it defended nationalised property. On the other hand, the inevitable differences in the distribution of articles of consumption in the first stages of communism were remnants of capitalism. To the extent that these rights existed they were capitalist rights, and to the extent that the state existed to protect these capitalist rights, it was a capitalist state. In his pamphlet "State and Revolution" he formulated this aspect of the question as follows:

"Bourgeois rights, with respect to distribution of articles of CONSUMPTION, inevitably presupposes, of course, the existence of the BOURGEOIS STATE, for rights are nothing without an apparatus capable of ENFORCING the observance of the rights."

Consequently, for a certain time not only bourgeois rights, but even the bourgeois state exists under Communism, without the bourgeoisie!"

For Lenin, therefore, the differences were an inevitable evil in the first stages which would have to be eliminated as the communist society developed. Lenin also took great pains to explain that the new regime had taken over a great portion of the old state bureaucracy and while articles of consumption were scarce, there was always a grave danger of the bureaucracy separating itself from the popular masses as an antagonistic social strata. In this event, the bureaucracy would play a reactionary role in Russian development. To cleanse the ranks of the worst bureaucrats and limit their privilege, Lenin insisted that the state officials and functionaries be paid "workingmen's wages."

Any step which the Bolsheviks took whilst Lenin was alive, that accentuated the differences of the amount consumed between sections of the Soviet population, was regarded as a step backwards. The Bolsheviks openly stated that such steps were a necessary concession to capitalism, because of the backwardness of Russian economy and

the resultant shortage of goods of consumption. In the extension of the world revolution to the advanced European countries, Germany, France and Britain lay the salvation of the Russian Revolution.

Under Stalin, however, steps have been taken which at each successive crisis in Soviet economy have widened the gap between the consumption of the masses and of the few. But these concessions to capitalism have been glorified as socialist progress by the Stalinists, who have embalmed the mummified Lenin, only to distort his life's ideas and work.

Although the Stalinists are forced to admit that differentiation exists, they have carefully avoided giving a full accounting of the growing disparity of the masses. Nevertheless, in recent years in particular, there is plenty of authentic data from official Soviet statistics and from "Friends of the Soviet Union" to indicate to what proportions this "bourgeois" degeneration has taken place.

Under Lenin, the wage differences in industry, were one in three. The outstanding figure who was idealised in Soviet life was the "Subbotnik"—the Communist worker who voluntarily gave the proceeds of his Sunday work to the Socialist State.

Under Stalin, the wage differences in industry within the one plant is one in twenty. The "Subbotnik" has been replaced by the self-seeking "Stakhanovite" as the popular figure of a national hero.

HOW THE PRIVILEGES OF THE BUREAUCRACY OPERATE IN INDUSTRY.

In 1935 with a new and very sharp turn to the right, the Soviet press introduced a campaign for the struggle for profit in industry and the elimination of state subsidies. On April 19th 1936, a Decree which gave this campaign full legal expression, established what was known as the "Directors Fund". This fund is made up from 10 per cent of the planned profits of the enterprise, plus up to 50 per cent of all profit over and above the planned profit. The distribution of this fund which is mainly used to line the pockets of the directors, administrators and Stakhanovites, increases the personal motive of the leading administrators and impels them to cut the wage costs of the workers to the minimum, as in capitalist enterprise. For

the lower the costs of production, the greater the "directors' fund" to be distributed.

Meanwhile the control of the process of production has been firmly centred in the hands of the director of the plant who is responsible only to the Commissar of Planning and not to the workers. All semblance of dual control or workers control has been eliminated. This feature of Soviet industry was most glaringly exposed by Edgar Snow, pro-Soviet journalist, who recently wrote:

"I asked, (a factory manager) if he had some kind of workers' advisory council helping to run the plant. 'How do you share your responsibility for factory administration?' I asked."

"There is no sharing," he replied. 'I am solely responsible here for the operation of the factory. No, there is no workers' advisory council. We find it neither necessary nor desirable. The workers do their jobs and I do mine.'

"Do the Labour unions have no voice in the direction of your plant?"

"No," he said, 'they have other work to do. They cannot interfere with my management in any way.'

Not even the "joint production" committees which the Stalinists clamour for in Britain!

Since the control of production is firmly held in the hands of the director, who is responsible only to his superior and cannot be questioned by the workers in the plant, a struggle inevitably takes place within the plant over wages and prices.

WAGE DIFFERENCES IN INDUSTRY AND INCOME

Formally, since 1937, the minimum wage in Soviet industry is 110-115 roubles, whilst the highest wage is 2,000. When on his recent tour in Russia, Wendel Willkie asked the superintendent of a plant: How much his wage differed from the average skilled worker in the plant, the superintendent replied, that he earned about 10 times as much. Working this out, Willkie calculated that this was on a par with wage differences in a modern American plant for similar jobs! (Reported in the "Daily Telegraph") If we take an average wage of an engineer in Britain today as £5 per week, a superintendent of the factory, according to the figure noted by Wendel Willkie, would earn £50 a week! On this basis alone, it is evident that the



ALEXEI TOLSTOY

He is Russia's richest man, a rouble millionaire with a fortune estimated at upwards of 2,500,000 roubles. He can invest his earnings at 4% in U.S.S.R. State bonds. He owns a dacha only three miles from Orlova's, where he lives and writes all the year round. He owns a large and valuable art collection.

difference between a superintendent in a Soviet plant and a worker is about the same—and even greater than in capitalist Britain!

In practice, however, the differential in actual income is many times more than the wage differential and the maximum earnings are increased many times. This is done . . . through the directors' fund!

The despotic weapon which this fund can become and must be in the hands of a factory director can be clearly seen if we examine how it is operated.

According to Ambassador Davies, the Directors' Fund is in the hands of " . . . the Director, who distributes his 'Directors' Fund' in premiums, bonuses, et cetera to engineers and so forth or in such manner as he may determine." (Our emphasis).

But even these differences are but a minor example of the polarisation of Russian life. According to Boris M. Stanfield (in "Private Property Rights in Russia"—International Conciliation, No. 375, December, 1941), the latest published Soviet income tax returns show that whereas the average annual income in Russia is 3,467 roubles a year, a minority have incomes exceeding 300,000 roubles a year!

Apart however, from the registered income of the state bureaucrat, "specialist", or intellectual, they receive all kinds of unregistered privileges denied to the ordinary worker. Luxurious cars and running costs, modern apartments, meals and entertainments—all at the expense of the state.

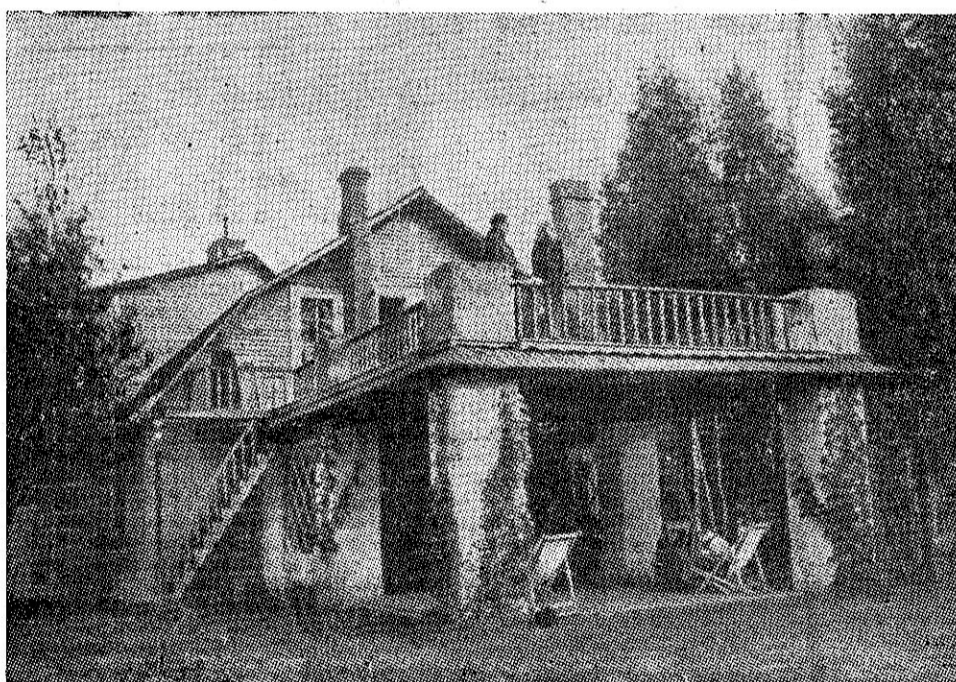
BUREAUCRATS LIVE LIKE LORDS!

All the contemporary works and memoirs of the period, show that in the early days of the revolution under Lenin and Trotsky, the state leaders lived modestly and simply. Under Stalin, however, things are different. The state officials are no longer paid "working men's wages", but 40 and 50 times as much.

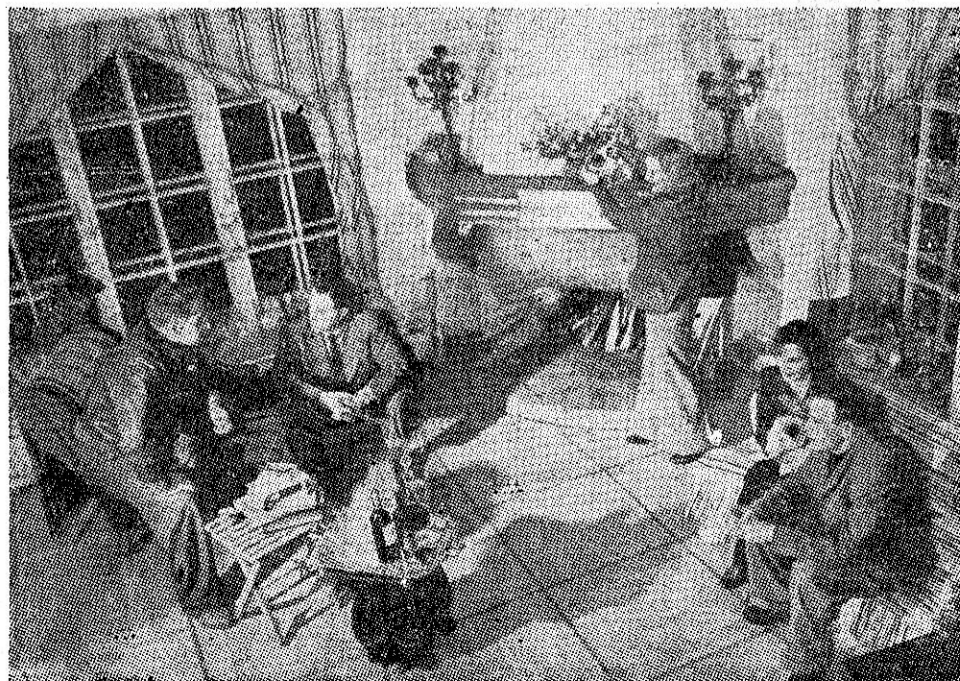
Ambassador Davies, who is reckoned to be the world's wealthiest diplomat and is a new found friend of Stalin, lifts the lid of how the "leaders" live in his book "Mission to Moscow":

"After dinner, Marjorie and I . . . found five dipstick and perfume shops and three flower shops in five blocks on the Arbat or main business street near the Embassy . . . Mrs. Davies and I often talked about these flower and perfume shops. It is one of the significant indications of the drift of this Government away from the principles of Marxian Socialism. Here were shops owned by the state, selling flowers in baskets at prices

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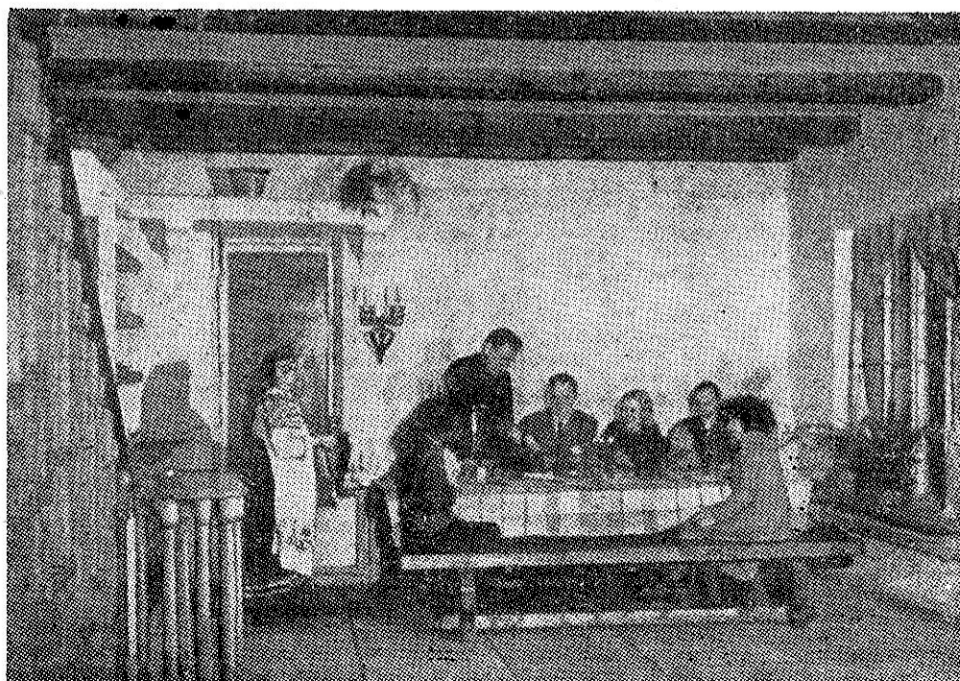


THE DACHA — or Country House of Movie Director Gregory Alexandrov, Russia's leading film director and his movie star wife, Lynbov Orlova. Alexandrov and Orlova have an apartment in Moscow as well, but prefer to stay in the dacha 35 miles from the capital.



A SCENE AT THE DACHA

At the dacha there were six servants before the outbreak of the war and two automobiles. But since the war, as a patriotic gesture, she sent four servants into the factories, and gave one car to the Government. The only people in Russia with such comforts are the top ranks.



AT DINNER — Orlova served Caldwell (the American reporter) and Miss Bourke-White ("Life" Photographer) a meal which included caviar sliced onions, cucumbers, safted fish, ham, several vegetables, salads, chocolates, cookies, cakes, a choice of ordinary or Turkish coffee, Georgian vodka. It is well known that the Russian masses are living under conditions of extreme hunger and suffering.

BREAK THE COALITION

LABOUR TO POWER on the following Programme.

1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.
6. Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
7. Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
9. Establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
10. Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or Petainism.
11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the Colonies.
12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe on the basis of this programme in Britain to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

YORKS. OWNERS PROVOKING MINERS

For two weeks, over 2,000 miners at the South Yorks pit, near Doncaster, Bentley, have been on strike. This action was taken in reply to the alleged victimisation of a lad of 17 who was sent out of the pit bottom and sacked.

According to the management; to Dr. Holdsworth and to the Union officials at Barnsley, he was guilty of a serious breach of misconduct. In fact he was sacked because he... swore!... at a deputy!

Every miner or lad who works on the pit bottom learns to swear sooner or later. And who would not, working as they do in the body and soul tearing conditions of modern mining? Possibly Dr. Holdsworth, himself, the regional controller would also learn to swear if he worked in these conditions.

But for swearing, the lad is now treated as if he were a waster of the worst sort! On going to another pit for work, the manager informed him that they did not want his kind in the pit, when the lad replied quite honestly and naively to a question, that he might do the same thing again.

When the workers at Bentley heard what had transpired, they demanded the reinstatement of the lad immediately and informed the management that they were prepared to strike to have him reinstated. On the refusal of the management to reinstate the lad the workers came out to a man.

Whilst the management, government and officials all chorus "bring up the Coal," their present action clearly exposes their real lack of concern for coal getting. It demonstrates their very real concern for dictating to the workers and "disciplining" those they do not like.

For months in the South Yorks area the management have been attacking the working conditions to price lists to cut wages. Of the 11 pits in this district, which are about the largest pits in the country, all have had partial or total stoppages in the last 12 months as the result of these constant managerial attacks. Added to the attacks of the management the local magistrates

have been imposing the heaviest of fines on miners for alleged "absenteeism." When this is invariably accompanied by the government officials supporting the owners, the miners conclude that capitalist solidarity is the first concern of all who are in control and that coal getting plays an entirely secondary role.

One instance of the vicious manner in which the miners are being attacked is shown by the fines imposed on 77 miners for alleged unlawful striking. This took place at the Hatfield pit, in the same area as Bentley, and several months afterwards the miners were summoned and fined £3 a day for two days. To terrorise the miners, the magistrate cut out the alternative of imprisonment to the fine and made it possible for the police to seize and sell the miners' homes to pay the fines! By threats to break up the workers' homes, the government will certainly not get the collaboration which it claims to seek.

Recent anti-labour activities of the bosses have been so blatant that even Joe Hall, the miners' "leader" was forced to state to the Press that he had never seen so much perverseness. But this observation of his did not impress him to conduct a struggle against the owners. Instead, this windbag has counselled the miners to take it on the chin and climb down.

The actions of the management in the Bentley dispute, clearly express the reactionary character of capitalist coal management and demonstrates irrefutably their total lack of concern for production.

If we accept the management's story that the lad had committed a serious breach of discipline, after all he is only a boy.

The answer is not to treat him as if he were a criminal waster or mad dog but to teach him that to swear at bosses' funkeys in the pit is not one whilst the bosses are on the top!

Faced with a hard attitude on the part of over 2,000 miners and the possibility that another 25,000 miners would come out in support, the attitude of any group of controllers who seriously wanted coal production would be to make a concession to the men.

The failure of the government to insist on this step is evidence that capitalist discipline, not production is their first and foremost concern in the Bentley dispute.

The Need for the International

Continued from page 3

Contrary to it is the interdependence of world economy, which is expressed in differences and in the "law of uneven development" which makes the workers of all lands dependent on one another. The interests of the Russian, German, British, French and other workers are not separate because of the different problems with which "their" nations are faced, but on the contrary, are thereby bound even more indissolubly together. That does not mean to say, as Trotsky remarked of the Comintern, that simultaneously throughout the world the national parties must march forward with the Left foot; different policies will be operated in different countries, if the conditions are different at certain periods, as it was with the Comintern in its best days under Lenin. But, the basic principles which unite them into one international still remain. Far from the "initial period" of the international being out-moded, the tasks for which it was called into being to solve, have reached a new intensity. But of course this does not apply to the Comintern of today, which degenerated into a kept whore of the Stalinist bureaucracy, applying its policy according to the changing moods of Kremlin policy.

In reality the creation of the international was not a question of sentiment or convenience, but arose directly from the objective tasks posed in front of the international working class. More than ninety years ago Marx and Engels indicated that the movement of the working class for liberation cannot remain within the confines of a national shell, but must be international in character because of the international nature of world economy. The historic mission of capitalism which created the national state in its progressive phase as against feudal particularism, consisted precisely in developing the productive forces to the limit of which the national state and private ownership of the means of production would allow. It was capitalism's great progressive task to create the world market. But in doing so, the means of production were developed to a point where the national state and private ownership of the means of production, have become a hindrance to the further development of society. That is the cause of the impasse in which capitalist society finds itself today and which is expressed by the rise of fascism and of imperialist wars. The capitalists today clearly recognise the contradiction in which capitalist society finds itself. The pious bleatings of Churchill and Roosevelt on the outworn character of "national sovereignty" in the epoch of the telegraph, wireless and airplane is one indication of this. The recognition of the contradiction between the productive capacity of the world, and the poverty of its peoples, which has been characterised by them as an "anachronism" is another. They recognise it, but are impotent to take any steps to solve it, as the present war demonstrates. It is precisely the objective maturity of the conditions for

Continued next Column.

MANIFESTO TO THE BRITISH WORKERS

Continued from page 1

Today these great ideas and traditions of International Socialism are carried forward only by the Trotskyist parties, for the programme of World Socialist Revolution is inscribed only on the banner of the Fourth International.

Faint hearts and half reformists will now talk of the "New" International... to be founded some time in the years to come! But in 32 countries Parties and groups of revolutionists, adherents of the Fourth International live and fight on.

Persecuted and assassinated, under Hitler and Mussolini in Europe; murdered and exiled under Stalin in Russia; illegal-

ised, imprisoned and hounded in India, Ceylon and the colonies of British Imperialism; illegal in Australia and Canada, and hounded and persecuted in the U.S.A. In these parties and their programme lie the future emancipation of the workers and toilers of the world.

Labour Reformism; National "Communist"; Internationalism, "tomorrow"; these are the roads to further betrayals and defeats.

Workers, soldiers, sailors and airmen, place yourselves under the banner of internationalism. Fall in and swell the ranks of the organisers and builders of the Parties of the World Socialist Revolution.

Long Live the Fourth International.

**THE COMINTERN IS BURIED
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!**

A MEETING will be held at the CONWAY HALL on
WEDNESDAY, 9th JUNE 1943. Doors open at 6.30 p.m.

Speakers: **AJIT ROY JOCK HASTON TED GRANT**
Called by **WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.**

the overthrow of capitalism, which called the Communist International into being. The decay and disintegration of capitalism, which now assumes monstrous forms, threatens all human culture with destruction. Thus, far from the mission for which the Communist International was formed being fulfilled, it has assumed a new intensity. The "maturity" of the National Parties to which the resolution refers pertains to the maturity of a diseased youth, who has been infected with syphilis in infancy and in whom the disease has progressively increased its grip.

The Soviet Union has been bled and exhausted in the struggle against German imperialism. The only way in which the Soviet Union could be saved from further destruction and degeneration is in an extension of the October Revolution to the rest of Europe. This road Stalin has closed. Consequently he has become more and more dependent on his Western "allies"—above all mighty American imperialism.

The war against German imperialism is now entering a decisive phase. Before passing to the offensive American imperialism is demanding guarantees against the possibility of social revolution in Germany and Europe. Stalinism is providing those guarantees. It is revealing openly that it stands on the other side of the class trenches. But Stalinism has been reluctant to abandon a useful auxiliary of its foreign policy in the Communist Inter-

national; one which also guarded it against the danger of a new international arising to represent the interests of the world working class, Anglo-American imperialism, which remains irreconcilably hostile to the Socialist basis of the Soviet Union, has exerted pressure to force the abandonment of the Comintern, as an open abandonment of the programme of world revolution. Thus they believe they have safeguarded themselves in the upheavals they believe will follow the post-war period.

History reveals itself in ironical contradictions. Stalin has undoubtedly dealt the Soviet Union and the world working class severe blows with this new perfidy. However Anglo-American imperialism just when it imagines it has secured a new basis for world capitalism in this victory over the Soviet Union, in reality has undermined it. The disintegration of the national "Communist" Parties can only be speeded up by this step. It is not yet clear whether the subsidies of the Comintern to the national sections will now cease. If so, the collapse of the national sections will take place very soon. If, on the other hand Stalin still continues the substitution of the "International" in case of difficulties with his "democratic" Allies, the blow will still be far-reaching and have profound consequences. The perspective of post-war victory for the Allies, with the continuance of capitalism in Europe and the world, will leave Russia at the mercy of Wall Street. In this case it is more probable that the International will never be re-constituted even in the formal sense, in which it existed for the last decade.

But in striking this weapon of the foreign policy of the Kremlin out of its hands, the Imperialists are clearing the way for a return to the real ideals for which the Third International was founded. After an initial period of confusion and bewilderment the rapid re-groupment of the vanguard of the international working class will take place. By giving the quietus to the Third International, world imperialism merely clears the way for the Fourth. Could they but realise it, as Trotsky points out, the Comintern has rendered them inestimable service, by disorganising, demoralising and leading the workers' revolutions to defeat in country after country. They have now destroyed it. But the period which was ushered in by the present war, far from ensuring the tranquil growth of capitalism, ensures a period of revolutions and disturbances unprecedented in the history of the world. Capitalism is doomed. The Third International has followed the Second into oblivion. They have tied their fate to that of world capitalism and will be destroyed with it. The long years of isolation and swimming against the stream for the International-Communists is beginning to end. The meaning of their struggle will now be discerned by broad masses. The pre-history of the Fourth International is over. It will now enter into its own. Many times has the bourgeoisie slain the spectre of the revolution, only to see it rise again. We can repeat to the capitalists the good words of Rosa Luxemburg: "You fools! Your 'order' is built on sand! Tomorrow the revolution will arise again in all its majesty and to your terror will announce with a voice of thunder: 'I was, I am, and I shall be!'"

The banner of International Socialism is now carried on the shoulders of the Fourth International. Proudly it unfurls the slogan: "Workers of all lands unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to win!"

**DEBATE
WHICH WAY FOR THE
WORKERS—**

Workers' International League
or
Independent Labour Party?

Speakers:
WALTER PADLEY,
National Council, I.L.P.
VERSUS
TED GRANT,
Editor, Socialist Appeal.

Thursday, June 17th, 1943.
HOLBORN HALL.
Doors Open 7 p.m. Start 7.30 p.m.
Admission Free.

ary conquests and traditions of October 1917.

In the prisons are many thousands of revolutionists who led the revolution during its glorious days. Thousands have been slaughtered, but thousands more still live. Among the Soviet masses, hundreds of thousands still live who played a role in the revolutionary days.

Whatever betrayals are agreed to by the "lords" of Russia in the next period of struggle, the revolution will rise again and destroy their privileges and their reactionary nationalism. The revolutions which will sweep Europe will have the task of destroying capitalist property relations and introducing a soviet socialist form of economy. The revolution in Russia will have the task of introducing a new political regime. Together the workers and peasants of Russia, Germany, Occupied Europe and Britain will reassert their internationalism in deeds and commence the organisation of a Socialist United States of Europe and of the World.

SOVIET LEADERS LIVE LIKE LORDS

Continued from page 3

ranging from two dollars in gold value to fifteen dollars in gold value. Fifteen dollars was the equivalent of two weeks wages to the average workman!"

Elsewhere in the book, he says: "The bureaucracy all live very well and many have their country houses, or dachas in the country."

Describing a 35 mile motor trip to the Dacha of one of the bureaucrats, Davies writes: "It was a region of country estates with fences over 10 feet high, usually painted green, all with the appearance of being smartly kept up. The winding approach from the road to the dacha was attractive. The house was large and comfortable and commanded a beautiful view of snow-covered landscapes on all sides. It was well and attractively furnished after the rather heavy modern German type.

On the way home we passed Stalin's dacha. It was surrounded by a high palisade of painted fence with a few soldiers about it.

These Commissars certainly treat themselves well. They live either in the Kremlin... or out in the country homes or both."

EATING THE FRUITS OF THE EARTH

The byzantine manner in which the modern state officials and their satellites live is probably best described from the reports which appeared in the press when the Churchill delegation visited Russia. "Twenty-six courses were served. Mountains of vegetables and fruits crowded the tables" (Daily Telegraph, Aug. 18, 1942). And the drinks!!!

Another example of this modest way of life on the part of the bureaucracy is reported in the latest diplomatic feast at the Kremlin. The "Daily Telegraph" Moscow correspondent reports: "There was a demonstration of warm friendship linking Russia, Britain and the United States, at the banquet given by Marshall Stalin to Mr. Joseph Davies, President Roosevelt's special representative here.

The menu included: Caviu, back of dried sturgeon, herring with dressing, roast beef, cold ham, galantine, olive and spring salads, radishes, cucumbers, and a variety of cheeses.

Wild fowl, chicken soup, consommé, Siberian salmon, snipe and fried potatoes, turkey and cauliflower.

Strawberry tarts and vanilla ice cream, coffee, fruit, sweets, nuts and liquors.

Thirteen courses were proposed and

drunk with enthusiasm each one twice, since it was translated into English or Russian. The Russian custom of draining the glass at each toast was waived.

"There were more than 30 guests. Each had by his plate half a dozen bottles of wine and spirits from which to choose."

The "Evening Standard" said: "The 48 courses consisted of 11 courses of hors d'oeuvres and seven main courses. It took the guests 4 1/2 hours to eat it!"

But whilst this byzantine feasting is taking place at the top and the bureaucrats fraternise with the capitalist diplomats of Britain and America, and everyone is happy about the "end of internationalism", there are numerous authentic reports which show that there is actual widespread famine in Russia and that the Soviet prisoners of war in Germany receive no food parcels from the Soviet Union. The serious situation for the Soviet masses is indicated by the demands of the Soviet delegates to the food conferences in America, that greater quantities of food be sent immediately to relieve the Red Army and civilian population.

It is interesting to note in passing that the British delegate, the "ally" of Stalin... "rejected... the Russian argument that the question of more food for the Red Army and Russian civilian population should be discussed at these sessions." (Evening Standard, 25/5/43).

Summing up the differences between bureaucrats and masses in his book, "The Revolution Betrayed", written at the beginning of the new present sharp rise in differentiation, and before the present "high living" became generally known, Trotsky demonstrated conclusively that 15 to 20 per cent of the population consume about as much as all the remaining 80 to 85 per cent.

INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY RIGHTS

But the huge money wages of the Russian bureaucracy do not bring them only privileges in articles of consumption. In Stalinist Russia it also brings them the possibility of exploiting their fellow citizen through the large sums which they can invest in 4 per cent interest bearing state bonds. Let us note workers falling for the lie that the Stalinist "principle": From each according to his ability, to each according to the work performed" is really applied, it is necessary to state that the new Stalinist Constitution, while it claimed to introduce the final victory of Socialism and the turn towards Communism, gives protection to these "savings" which can be passed on to one's family through the law of in-

heritance. Property rights and privileges can therefore be inherited—by the sons and daughters of the ruling class!

But if the privileges of the bureaucracy are guaranteed by the state, blows have been struck against the rank and file of the workers. To give but one example: In the initial days of the revolution under Lenin and Trotsky, a pregnant working woman was paid for 8 weeks before and 8 weeks after childbirth. Today she is paid for a total of 35 calendar days. She does not even receive that if she had not worked for 7 months in a single enterprise!

THE GLASS STRUGGLE

Numerous other restrictive regulations directed against the worker were introduced from 1938. A decree of December 28th, 1938, introduced labour passports to stop workers clearing out of the cities. On June 26th, 1940, this regulation was amended to forbid the worker leaving his job. Absenteeism and other infractions of the law are punished by six months "corrective labour" in the factory, which means a 25 per cent reduction in pay.

But the conflict between the profit seeking management and the workers resulted in a rapid rise of absenteeism. "Pravda" of December 26th, 1940, reviewing the six months operation of the law, reported that in many enterprises, especially coal mines, absenteeism was greater in October than in the months which preceded the Absentee laws.

At the Eighteenth Conference of the Russian Communist Party, held in February 1941, it was reported that many workers still absented themselves—especially after pay day. Shvernik, the head of the Stalinist trade unions, who was in Britain some time ago, reported to the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.P. of the Trade Unions, that 22 to 32 per cent of the workers still do not accomplish their "norms".

This conflict in industry, the "directors" to increase the profit of the concern at the expense of the worker, and the worker to increase his wages at the expense of the profit of the plant, is the class struggle in a sharp form.

The richest strata of the population are undoubtedly the intellectuals who

put over the policy of the Stalinists in all forms of propaganda—writing, the cinema, etc. For blunting the mind of the masses with the official Stalinist line, they are given concessions of an even greater magnitude than in the capitalist countries of the West.

In agriculture the same situation exists. The Kolkhozian (collectivised peasants) individually own 55.7 per cent of all cows; 17.6 per cent are owned collectively by the Kolkhozy collective farms; private peasants—outside the collectives own 16.9 per cent of the cows, and only 9.8 per cent are owned by the state.

A similar situation is true regarding other live stock and with the produce of the soil. The open market, and particularly the black market under present war conditions, has resulted in almost as wide a differentiation as exists in industry.

In the army, the rise of the bureaucracy finds its most blatant expression. All the old Czarist differentiations have been reintroduced. The reintroduction of titles such as "Marshall", gold stars studded with diamonds for the top strata of military leaders, the old Czarist military form of discipline and a wide differential of income—all these have reappeared after having been abolished by the Revolution.

As the bureaucracy increases its stranglehold over all aspects of national life, and increases its privileged position, so it comes into greater conflict with the mass of the workers. "Socialism in One Country" is thus revealed as a reactionary cover for the rapacious greed of the ruling caste. The politics of Stalinism flow from this conflict.

The attack of the Nazi army has brought the revolutionary traditions to the foreground. The most heroic battles of modern war have been fought by the Soviet masses. The workers and peasants hate the bureaucracy which has risen to batten on their backs. But they hate the idea of foreign capitalist invasion which must destroy the nationalised property, a thousand times more. Not the "brilliant" leadership of "Marshall" Stalin, which the capitalist "allies" so loudly applaud, is responsible for this magnificent fighting spirit of the masses and the Red Army, but the revolution-

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