

FIGHT

Incorporating THE RED FLAG

ORGAN of the REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE, AFFILIATED to the BUREAU for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 1. No. 1.

LONDON, APRIL, 1938.

ONE PENNY

LABOUR AND WAR

The "Social" Patriots Prepare for National Service

THE offensive of fascism in Europe during these last weeks—Hitler's invasion of Austria and Franco's advance in Spain—has stirred the masses to activity. The imminent danger of a new bloody conflict is being perceived with ever greater clearness by even the most backward sections of the workers. In these critical days, are there signs that the socialist movement is going to withstand the crisis and intensify the struggle for socialist power? If the line pursued by the leadership of the Labour Party, both in Parliament and throughout the country, passes unchallenged, our movement will be lined up behind the Government in a new imperialist war.

When Chamberlain declared that the scale of British rearmament must be further increased, the *Daily Herald* editorially reported: "Almost everyone in the House of Commons' debate was crying for arms, arms, arms!" If in that debate the Labour M.P.s sounded a different note, it was even more bellicose than that of the Government's supporters. The fact that the unprecipitated rearmament programme throws a crushing burden on the workers and will still further reduce the standard of living is cynically omitted from Labour speeches. Capitalist economists and politicians acknowledge this fact, and euphemistically call it "common" sacrifice.

It is clear that the Chamberlain Government is utilising the widespread alarm which is manifest throughout the working class movement at the developing offensive of fascism to bind organised labour tighter to the war machine of the Government.

Churchill, the most brilliant representative of the ruling class, recognises that the blatant imperialist policy of the defence of the existing property relationships throughout the British Empire is scarcely likely to inspire a thirst for "sacrifice" in the working masses, "without whom," as he justly observes, "armaments and munitions cannot be made." He therefore urges the Government to sugar the pill, to establish a "moral (!) basis for British rearmament." Such a basis, for the purpose of deceiving the masses, he sees in a "renewed, revived, unflinching adherence to the Covenant of the League of Nations" — the League which Lenin rightly called the "thieves kitchen." With this policy the Government could proceed to build a military alliance of the "democratic" states. And the plans of this arch-imperialist Churchill, the prime mover in the British intervention against the Russian Revolution, the worst enemy of the working class, are vociferously applauded by the Labour Party in Parliament and by the Communist Party in its press.

Having won Labour's support for the military budget, the Government, without resistance, proceeds to make more demands from organised labour. What form will these new demands take? Conscription, the lifting of the regulations by the unions on overtime, the dilution of labour—the precise content of the Government's proposals have not yet been made public. What, however, is publicly stated is that the organised labour movement is again committed, as in 1914, to a policy of more production, more arms and munitions.

The workers in the Labour Party rank and file, particularly among the Labour youth who, after Hitler came to power in Germany, believed they saw a renewal of socialist faith among the leadership of the Labour Party, have been cruelly deceived. The National Council of Labour, while making anti-fascist gestures, has given up all effective struggle against fascism. Italy's aggression in Abyssinia was

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FRANCO is threatening Catalonia. The whole Spanish working-class movement is threatened with extermination by fascism. Once again the truth is being hidden from the workers under patriotic phrases and they are not being roused to the real danger of the situation.

What is above all necessary is a mass mobilisation to obtain working-class action. The problem is not only military but political. It is not a question of guaranteeing "our" communications with North Africa, but of giving the Spanish proletariat the power to resist Franco and to rouse the workers in that part of Spain over which he dominates. It is not a question of tons of bombs, but of the power of socialist ideas and propaganda to disintegrate the basis of fascist might.

All the phrase-mongers who talk about peace and beg favours from the High Command, take good care not to urge the workers to the least ACTION in favour of the Spanish working-class!

WORKERS, ACT! DEMONSTRATE IN THE FACTORIES, IN THE STREETS, AT MEETINGS!

1) THE COMPLETE OPENING OF THE FRONTIER TO

TROTSKY'S LIFE AND ASYLUM IN DANGER

SEE PAGE 4

SAVE THE SPANISH WORKERS FROM CATASTROPHE!

MANIFESTO of the FRENCH TROTSKYISTS

EDITORIAL

Franco's drive into Catalonia has deeply stirred the French proletariat. The working masses of France have risen with the desperate determination to stop the empty talk of Blum, Jouhaux and the other "socialist" traitors and to take direct action to help their Spanish brothers. Addressing a meeting at Caen, Jouhaux, the trade union leader, was hissed down by 10,000 workers demanding action instead of words. In the forefront of this new surge of revolutionary militancy stands the P.O.L., the French Section of the Fourth International. The activity of this small but intrepid party has roused the fury and terror of the capitalists... and of the Communist Party. From the fascist press on the Right to "Humanité," the "communist" organ, on the "Left," our comrades are being denounced for their revolutionary solidarity with the Spanish workers against fascism and for the socialist revolution. The London "Times," never slow to sense a threat to the sacred rights of the ruling class, reported on 28th March that the "trotskyists" were responsible for the case of "surrender" among the French working class. The P.O.L. in its weekly organ, "La Lutte Ouvrière" for 24th March, has issued a declaration calling upon the workers to take practical steps toward helping their Spanish comrades. This manifesto has found a prompt response among the masses and since it is no less important and useful to English workers than to French, we are publishing it herewith.

THE WORKERS: the frontier to be under workers' control.

2) In talking of sending FRENCH OFFICERS AND ARMY CORPS to Spain, Gamelin (the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces — Ed.) wants to "maintain order" in Catalonia, that is, to do Franco's work for him! ABSOLUTE CONTROL BY THE WORKERS' AND SOL-

To transform the War of the Nations into Civil War is the only task for Socialists during the armed conflagration of the international bourgeoisie. Let us have done with sentimental declamations about "Peace at any price." LET US RAISE THE BANNER OF THE CIVIL WAR!

Lenin. 1914.

THE LESSON of AUSTRIA

"AGAINST the STREAM"

THE sands of the Armed Peace are swiftly running out. The world stands to-day on the threshold of a new conflagration. The Versailles Settlement is in ruins. The hungry and rapacious "younger" Imperialisms have carried fire and rapine through China, Abyssinia, and Spain, but these wars will prove mere skirmishes contrasted with the slaughter and destruction of the second World War. For we have now entered a period in which force has become the inevitable arbiter of the conflicts of contending Imperialisms.

Only the international working-class could have averted the impending catastrophe. But the working-class in all countries is disoriented, betrayed by its leaders, swept along on the flood-tide of the new social-patriotism, which masks itself in the cunning phrases of Collective Security and National Defence. We had hoped that the Spanish Revolution might prove to be the toxin which would rally the forces of working-class internationalism. But the Spanish Revolution has for the time being been defeated. Of working-class internationalism there remain only the forces of the Fourth International, still weak, but growing, steadily battling against the stream that threatens to sweep our movement to perdition.

March 11th, 1938, may well prove

a landmark in World History. German Imperialism, boosted and spurred, re-emerges as the strongest military power on the Continent. The alignment of forces becomes daily more clear. On the one side Germany and Italy with their ally Japan, gradually blackmailing or bullying into acquiescence the small states of Central and South-East Europe, who formerly looked to France; on the other France with her adventitious ally, the Soviet Union. Even at this late hour Britain maintains her traditionally equivocal position, makes a last despairing effort to marshal Europe, under the Four Power Bloc, for a new Holy Alliance against the Soviet Union, attempts to break the Berlin-Rome Alliance by concessions to Italy.

Chamberlain's plan, to carry through which he was prepared to sacrifice Eden, the best asset of his government, has miserably failed. The crisis of British Foreign Policy is more marked to-day, than ever it has been since 1914. But it is impossible for Britain to maintain a neutral, isolationist position in European affairs if it is to retain world supremacy. Those clear-thinking, far-seeing champions of the British ruling-class, Winston Churchill and Lloyd George, stress this fact with energy. Eden's policy is the same, and the British Labour Party, who to-day represent British Imperialism's second line of defence, are not slow to follow suit.

It is with good reason that the British ruling-class is panic-stricken by the terrifying event of March 11th, the German invasion of Austria. For Germany now dominates Central Europe, holds the strategic key to the Danube and the Balkans, to the vast cattle-raising, wheat growing plain of Hungary, and the rich oilwells of Rumania. The annexation of Austria adds 7 millions to the population of the Reich, a reserve of man-power for War, and the mineral and agricultural wealth essential for the hinterland of War. The Drive to the East, the traditional road of German Imperialism, interrupted by the collapse of 1918 and the interregnum of the Weimar Republic, has recommenced.

In itself the collapse of Austria need occasion no tears. While the sentimental bourgeois laments the last faint strains of the delicate culture of Vienna and Salzburg, the working-class sees in this event the definitive ending of the Versailles Settlement, the attempt by the Imperialist victors of the first World War to bind history in a strait-jacket. We do not mourn for the independence of Austria. We mourn for our devoted and heroic Austrian brothers and sisters, who have been handed over to the foul brutalities of the Hitler regime.

As in Germany and Hungary defeat for Austria in 1918 brought Re-

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DIERS' COMMITTEES MUST BE IMPOSED ON THE SENDING OF ARMS AND TECHNICIANS TO SPAIN!

3) French soldiers and sailors must fraternise with the Spanish workers.

4) Demand the IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL THE REVOLUTIONARIES AND ANTI-FASCISTS imprisoned in Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid.

5) Help the sending of FOOD AND ARMS directly and under the control of the workers' Committees.

6) Help the Spanish workers to declare the proletariat in danger, to expropriate the bourgeoisie, to declare the assumption of power by their Committees, to make a direct class appeal to Franco's soldiers.

The defeat of the Spanish proletariat will be the defeat of the proletariat of France in particular.

The "National Union," the prelude to fascism, will be the first result of this defeat.

The French workers must rise against these capitulations. The class struggle, the struggle for socialism — or the crushing of the workers both in Spain and in France. That is the choice!

YOUTH and the REVOLUTION

WAR AND THE YOUTH

Betrayal at L.L.O.Y. Conference

THE recent conference of Labour Youth was characterised by the final capitulation of the Stalinist leaders to the chauvinist policy of Transport House.

From the day when the "Memorandum" which bound Labour Youth even more tightly to the apron-strings of the bureaucracy, was first mentioned, Organiser Willis and his henchmen had spoken bombastically of the determined fight they would put up if the memorandum was carried. They would call an immediate emergency National Conference to discuss the situation, they said.

In 1937 Willis issued a pamphlet, *Youth Appeals To Labour*, in which we read the following:

"At the beginning of this year (1937!) the officials of the Labour Party were approached (!) and asked (!) to call an official National Conference of the League to discuss plans for the future."

So this was all that the worthy promises of *Advance* had produced! No emergency conference immediately following October; in fact, no action at all until "the beginning of this year" when, says Willis, Transport House was "asked" to do the L.O.Y. the favour of calling an "Official" Conference. But *Advance* was not yet sufficiently under the heel of Transport House. No "Official" conference was called. Eventually, in May 1937 (seven months after October!) *Advance* called an unofficial conference, at which the future betrayals were prepared.

WILLIS STEAM-ROLLERS OPPOSITION

Enough of the past. At the March 1938 conference the Willis clique, breaking finally with all semblance of militancy, has fulfilled its role as faithful servant of Transport House. Slavish capitulation was the order of the day, and at no time could any opposition raise its head without being ruthlessly steam-rolled. We cite one glaring example. The "opposition" introduced an emergency resolution stating their position on the latest Moscow Trial. The resolution made mention of the implication of A. V. Alexander. Faced with the alternative of branding Alexander as a British Intelligence agent (by allowing the Stalinists to defeat the resolution) or of having a "Trotskyist" victory on his conscience, chairman Dallas got out of the dilemma by tearing up the resolution!

But another "emergency resolution," framed in typical C.P. terms, calling for Mr. Chamberlain's removal and (*inter alia*) supporting the gallant fight of the Spanish and Chinese "people" gained the blessing of the platform, and was passed by an overwhelming majority, as a matter of course.

BETRAYAL OF YOUTH

A criminal betrayal of the Labour Youth manifests itself in the conference decisions on armaments, recruiting, etc. Let us first recall the stages in *Advance's* evolution towards complete harmony with Smith Square. In April 1937 *Advance* could still warn the young workers against the "warmongers of Transport House." In the issue of October, Charles Gibson could only regret that "It is a pity that the policy of the Party . . . on armaments is not as lively, or its campaign so well planned as the campaign around the short-term programme." Already these shameless yes-men have ceased to offer any opposition. Willis in his already-quoted pamphlet is, indeed, shocked by "Army recruiting posters mocking from the walls," and asks us, "Is it any wonder that Youth . . . are beginning to murmur?" But having posed this important problem, does he now warn the young workers against the "Transport House warmongers," who he must know, are leading the workers along the 1914 road? No, he has already gone too far along his own road—that of complete political degeneracy and servile lackeyism.

How was this demonstrated at the Conference of March 1938? When an opposition delegate proposed an

amendment to the Statement of Policy, expressing opposition to the arms and recruiting campaign of the National Government, Willis and his minions, in terror lest their political bankruptcy be laid bare, so completely obscured the issue by a lavish use of their notorious demagogic tricks (giving voice *en route* to the amazing view that such an amendment should not be included in a statement of policy), that a large proportion of delegates in sheer confusion, bewilderedly followed Willis and few votes could be mustered for the amendment beyond those of the *Youth Militant* group.

What is the lesson that the young worker must draw from this orgy of abject capitulation and unashamed betrayal? The salient fact that must be firmly grasped is that the road of Stalinism, with its criminal record of betrayals, of political cretinism, of servility to the bourgeoisie, is the road of DEFEAT for the workers! With its acceptance of the Arms Policy of the National Government, *Advance* is revealed unmistakably in its role of recruiting-sergeant; but if further

evidence is needed, then *Advance* will provide it yet again.

It is necessary to refer again to the March Conference of the Youth, more specifically to the resolution demanding the removal of Chamberlain and pledging support for the fight of the Spanish and Chinese "people." Chamberlain's removal is demanded on the now familiar C.P. lines: he has "betrayed collective security" (as we always prophesied), his betrayal means "support of Hitler," hence the demand now is, "Save Peace!" etc., etc. The Stalinists are beating the War-Drum, "Comrades of the Labour Youth! you must defend Democracy against Fascism!" (and Austrian fascism against German fascism, under the leadership of Chamberlain-Blum?). The clarion call is going forth, the Willis and Gollans point the road! It is almost impossible to conceive a more wanton and foul betrayal of the workers in the name of Socialism.

Against this revolting denial of the class-struggle we take our stand.

IVOR CRESWELL.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

The National Passenger Workers' Union

Is It the Solution?

THE growing grip of the trade union bureaucracy over the unions has been a matter of great concern to militants for a considerable time. Instead of serving the interests of the workers who maintain these officials on their backs, these trade union bureaucrats have more and more converted the trade unions into machines that provide them with cushy jobs and the workers with a strait-jacket on their militancy. From organs of the class struggle, as the trade unions should be, they became organs of restriction and conciliation with the employers.

The great spread of "unofficial" strikes during recent times is the result. Workers, exasperated to the point of despair, without any hope of their battle ever being taken up by their union, take matters into their own hands, and foregoing the advantage of strike pay and other privileges that a trade union normally offers to its members, throw themselves into the struggle against great odds.

The Transport and General Work-

ers' Union is an outstanding example of a union in which the bureaucracy headed by the arch-bureaucrat Bevin, has gained a complete grip over its machinery and is using it to stifle every form of militancy that arises in its ranks. The crimes of Mr. Bevin committed against the interests of the workers are enormous. It is enough to mention the role he played in the struggle of the busmen in recent years.

Who with any sincerity would nowadays dare to deny that the busmen's struggle of May, 1937, was lost because the tramwaymen and underground workers were forced to scab on their fellow busmen at a time when a display of solidarity in action would have brought the London Transport and Passenger Board to its knees? Who would deny that the chief, if not the entire responsibility for thus splitting the ranks of the transport workers rests with Mr. Bevin?

Bevin has adopted a cool and calculated policy of stifling the class struggle and chaining the workers to the capitalist system of society. That is the cause of his fanatical hatred of all militants. To be an open militant in the Transport and General Workers Union is nowadays almost as dangerous as to be a Trotskyist in the Soviet Union. For leading courageously a strike against great odds, Bevin's sentence is—expulsion from the Union; for the Rank-and-File Movement which gathered around itself a number of the finest militants of the bus workers, Bevin's sentence is—dissolution. The position of the rank-and-file militants in the union becomes ever more difficult. To function properly militants are compelled to resort to all sorts of "conspiratorial" methods of propaganda. The Transport and General Workers Union has, without exaggeration, become more and more an instrument of the London Passenger and Transport Board to crush every form of militancy on the part of the workers.

THE N.P.W.U.

It is for this reason that the formation of the National Passenger Workers' Union must receive the greatest attention of every militant worker. Is that, the question will be asked, at last the solution that many militants have been striving to reach for a long time?

The case of the National Passenger Workers' Union cannot be dismissed lightly. The appearance of such a body is not surprising. The suspension of the busmen's leaders, the dissolution of the Rank-and-File Movement, the criminal indifference of Bevin and his crew to the terrible speeding-up of the busmen which ruins their health, all this is enough to make every militant feel bitter against such a Union.

But the crucial question is: Is the Transport and General Workers Union a hopeless case, or can it be turned into a real instrument of the class struggle? It is the answer of the N.P.W.U. to this question that we feel it necessary to criticise. But before we do so, we wish to assure the militants of the National Passenger Workers' Union that we have nothing in common with all those who brand them as mere splitters.

We do not deny that if a union cannot be made into an instrument of the class-struggle it should be abandoned and a new one built.

But is the situation really so hopeless in the case of the T.G.W.U.? We believe that at present, the move of the N.P.W.U. is, to say the least, ill-advised. The chief argument of the N.P.W.U. is that Bevin utilizes the other sections of the T.G.W.U. against the busmen who find themselves in a "hopeless minority"; that today there is not a single London busman or tramwayman on the Executive of the T.G.W.U.

It is a serious argument but, we believe, not a decisive one. It is true that the more advanced busmen are being "swamped" by the "less advanced section" such as grave diggers and charwomen who, as yet, have not displayed the same degree of militancy as have the busmen. But this

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LEON SEDOV

LEON SEDOV is dead. His brief but revolutionary life was brought to an end by a sudden, inexplicable disease. The working-class movement has lost one of its ablest, one of its most devoted fighters. Our first thoughts go to his bereaved parents, to Lev Davidovitch and Natalia Ivanova, to whom we express our profoundest sympathy and our determination, so far as in us lies, to make good their truly irreparable loss by our increased service and devotion to the cause to which Sedov's life was consecrated.

Sedov was in a very literal sense the son of revolution. Born in the midst of the Revolution of 1905, he spent his early years in emigration in Europe and America. Returning with Trotsky to Russia in 1917, he threw himself even as a child of 12 into the seething revolutionary life of Petrograd before and after October. He joined the Komsozols—adding a year to his age in order to do so,—and soon took a leading part in the political and cultural work of the communist youth. From the first moment he identified himself with the workers, with the "rank and file"; he left his parents' comfortable apartments in the Kremlin and lived in a cold and cheerless students' dormitory so that he might share the life of the workers. Both his character and his experience led him to throw himself whole-heartedly into the struggle of Lenin and Trotsky against the bureaucratic tendencies in the Party, against the "rule and disloyal" methods of Stalin.

In 1928 he left behind—forever, as it turned out—his wife and infant son and voluntarily accompanied Trotsky into exile in Central Asia. "During that year," writes Trotsky, "his work was truly peerless. We called him our Minister of Foreign Affairs, our Minister of Police, and Minister of Communications." "Without my son," Trotsky adds, "I could not have accomplished even one half of the work actually carried out at Alma Ata." When Trotsky was deported from the Soviet Union, Sedov accompanied him to Turkey where he continued this magnificent collaboration. Later he went to Berlin as editor of the Russian "Bulletin of the Opposition" and leader of the Russian Section of the International Communist League. With Hitler's advent to power, the "Bulletin" was suppressed and Sedov was forced to flee to Paris where he has lived ever since.

Sedov was far more than merely "Trotsky's son" or even Trotsky's collaborator. An enthusiastic and indefatigable worker, a keen and able organiser, he was at the same time a writer of great brilliance. His articles which have appeared in English on the Stakhanovist movement and the Red Army are marked by unusual analytical ability and a power of marshalling facts and drawing conclusions. But readers of his "Livre Rouge sur le Procès de Moscou," the first unanswerable refutation of the Livnovie trial, written when Trotsky was imprisoned in Norway, will have recognised the extraordinary power, originality and critical genius which that work displays. This book will last as the first decisive blow struck at Stalin's massacre of the revolution. If the Moscow trials are now universally admitted to be frame-ups, this is in no small measure the result of Sedov's pioneer work.

His last illness was sudden and mysterious. The very day before his first operation, in a letter addressed to the present author—Sedov's last letter—he writes with the greatest optimism, does not mention the least feeling of illness but outlines the work he hoped to accomplish within the next few days. The ruthless and ubiquitous agents of the G.P.U. had been hounding him for years, but since the appearance of the "Livre Rouge" they had been definitely planning his assassination. "They are tracking me night and day," he writes in an earlier letter; they rented a flat adjacent to his where they could spy upon him; they followed him to his holiday retreat at Antibes meaning to poison him; they laid a death-trap for him at Mulhausen which he only avoided by accident. In these circumstances, a sudden attack of intestinal paralysis which after two operations proved fatal imperatively demanded an inquest. The results of the preliminary autopsy were negative; but if Stalin's henchmen did not succeed in administering physical poison, they nonetheless bear full responsibility for his death by the poison of slander and persecution which systematically undermined his young and robust constitution and made him incapable of withstanding the onslaught of disease.

Two thousand Paris workers, singing the "Internationale" and bearing the banners of the workers' organisations, followed him to the cemetery of Père Lachaise. There, beside the heroic fighters of the Commune, whose dauntless revolutionary spirit breathed again in him, his ashes find a fitting resting place. He has achieved the only immortality: by his inspiring service and his devoted faith to live forever in the minds of men.

Charles Sumner.

Revolutionary Socialist League

FIGHT, hitherto the organ of the Marxist Group, now makes its reappearance in a new form and under new control. It is the organ of the Revolutionary Socialist League, an organisation formed by the fusion of the members of the Marxist Group and the majority of the members of the now dissolved Marxist League.

For many years the movement for the Fourth International in this country has suffered from the division of its forces. This division has been a source of internal struggle or at least disharmony, of disappointment to our friends and derision to our enemies. Against this disunity a great blow has been struck by the fusion of the two oldest trotskyst groups in the country. The *Red Flag* was the pioneer journal of trotskism in Britain; *Fight* came into existence more than a year ago, and the two papers worked side by side. To-day that duality is over. The two organisations have joined forces and present one paper and a common programme—the programme of the Fourth International.

Our policy is to-day familiar to many. We stand for Socialism, the abolition of landlords and capitalists by the workers in collaboration with the oppressed colonial peoples. We believe that society has reached a stage where it is possible to organise production as to end poverty, unemployment, inequality and war.

The "constitutional" method of achieving socialism, supported by the Labour Party, is for us obvious nonsense. As soon as property owners feel that their property is in danger, they will arm fascist bands and seek to bludgeon the workers into slavery. The capitalists respect democracy only so long as democracy respects the capitalists. That is the history of post-war Europe, and Britain sooner or later will face the choice. Nothing will save the workers but the organisation of a revolutionary party which will lead them with a full consciousness of the struggle that lies ahead.

This was the purpose of the Third International. But that body has degenerated under the guidance of the rulers of Russia. To-day, when bullets and slander are destroying the memory and traditions of the October Revolution in Russia — which they rightly call "trotskism" — they are seeking to turn the workers of the world away from the class-struggle and make them into servants of Soviet foreign policy. Hence their advocacy of alliance with Liberals (called the Popular Front), their abandonment of the class-struggle, their faith in the League of Nations, their assassination of the Spanish revolution, their frenzied hate of the trotskysts. To-day the Third International is an enemy of the revolution. Hence the necessity for the Fourth International.

FAILURE OF CENTRISM

Here arises the question of the I.L.P. which professes enmity to the counter-revolutionary policies of the Third International. They claim to be for a new International. Why, then, are we not with them, or they with us? The Marxist Group worked for years in the I.L.P. where there are so many good comrades; but the leadership of the I.L.P. is corrupt. On the Abyssinian question they betrayed their principles; they embarked on the folly of the unity campaign in which, as we predicted, they were deserted by their allies, the Socialist League and the Communist Party, while their representatives in Spain were persecuted by the Third International; it has taken them nearly two years to come to a decision on the Moscow trials, and even now all they do is to beg Stalin to stop it, as for years they begged the Third International to mend its ways. Maxton, McGovern, and Brockway, take years to declare a principle but need only a few hours to break it. And these shifty, oily phrasemongers will not in the day of crisis be suddenly transformed into men able to deal with great events. They live on the traditions of the I.L.P. and inspire confidence in no-one, not even in themselves.

Nothing is left for revolutionaries in this country, therefore, but the building of a new revolutionary party. The danger of war and of fascism make this an imperative necessity. We know that the workers in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions are decisive in the struggle against fascism and war. At present these workers are tied to Transport House, but when the crisis comes, they can be torn away from their treacherous leaders, but only on the basis of lessons learned in their daily struggles and not by talk about the "democratisation" of the Labour Party or by asking Bevin and Citrine to adopt

a "really socialist programme." A revolutionary party fighting for a revolutionary programme side by side with the workers in the Labour Party, on the job and in the streets, can convince them that there is a way out and that we know it. All else leads to catastrophe. That is the lesson of the whole history of the post-war world.

DEFENCE OF THE U.S.S.R.

What are the chances of our success? Granted that we are on the correct road, what chance have we of building a party strong enough to lead the workers of Britain? If the question is the preliminary to defeatism and renunciation, it is not worth answering. Against war and fascism we must struggle or perish. But correct strategy must be grounded in a sober estimate of possibilities. We do not start in a vacuum. Our heritage is mixed. We have marxism; the theoretical weapons and tradition of Babeuf, of Marx and Engels, of Lenin and Trotsky, of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. We also to some extent carry the burden of stalinism, its crimes and its errors. For many, the nightmare of stalinism proclaiming itself as socialism condemns every form of marxism. It is not without irony that we who, for many years and still to-day, are denounced as the enemies of the Soviet State, now increasingly have to stand between the U.S.S.R. and a devastating disillusionment. As people turn in disappointment and disgust from the loud shouting and charlatany of the stalinist megaphones, they pay more attention to us and for the first time are beginning to distinguish between the solid gains of the October Revolution, the failure of the world revolution and—direct result of this failure—is now fathered on the Russian workers and peasants. They see at last the danger that this bureaucracy represents for Russia, the immense catastrophe that it prepares for humanity by repeating the crime of 1914, driving the workers into the coming war for the sake of "democracy and peace."

NECESSITY FOR ACTION

That—the historical truth of our analysis—has hitherto been our main strength. To-day it is more than ever valuable and is forcing its way among all sincere socialists. Recent events not only in Russia but all over the world are creating conditions for a favourable reception for the doctrines of the Fourth International. Where the Duchess of Athol, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Winston Churchill, Citrine, Bevin and Harry Pollitt are all united on the way to achieve peace in their many-keyed chorus for a war to preserve peace, the voice of marxism can be heard more clearly if only by simple contrast with the prevailing mass of lies and hypocrisy which stands for 1914 all over again. Every day shows people more and more ready to hear us. We have proved it during the last year; we prove it every day.

But propaganda is not enough. Marxism can clarify; it cannot create. The workers may listen, but they can only be convinced by experiencing our capacity to translate theory into practice, to assist them in their daily struggles. That time has proved or will prove us right is of little value.

We are revolutionaries, not prophets, and it is through our actions that the workers will learn to respect our theory. It is through practical work only that our theory will remain vital, constantly checked and renewed, a living weapon in the class-struggle, and not the vain repetition of abstract formulae.

A work of patient struggle and unremitting organisation is before us. We know it. In that knowledge and in our historical background lies the guarantee of our future.

APPEAL TO REVOLUTIONARIES

We are fortunate that the fusion has brought together some of the best and most reliable comrades in the British trotskyst movement. For us, this first step is but the beginning of unceasing efforts toward the fusion into one united organisation of all the trotskyst elements in this country. We are convinced that with such a fusion it would not be long before the Workers' Party, the British Section of the Fourth International, could be definitely established.

Let those who are hesitant or faint-hearted remember this: we do not need to create all our cadres. The work of the Communist Party in its early days has not been without results. There are thousands of good revolutionaries scattered all over the country who are sunk into disillusionment for varying periods but are stirred into life again at the approach of war and the increasing bankruptcy of capitalism. For long our analysis of the Soviet Government kept them from us; the Moscow trials have opened their eyes. It is to them in particular that we appeal not to stand aside but to rally to our banner. The workers are ready as they always have been. When in history have the workers ever fought more heroically or more persistently than they have fought in Spain since Alfonso fell, seven long years ago? The occupation of the factories in France is a landmark in working-class initiative and solidarity. The Arabs have fought a guerilla warfare against British imperialism with immense courage, skill and resource. The Abyssinians strike great blows at Mussolini's pretended domination. The Indians daily show unexampled militancy and staying power. In the U.S. the workers, led though they are by reformist leaders, achieve tremendous strikes. It is the revolutionary International only that is wanted; and it is the British section that we must build. We summon all our comrades and allies to unite with us in the struggle for the revolution — to lift the worker out of his poverty and narrow range of life, to cure unemployment, to smash fascism, to abolish war, to assist the colonial peoples in their task of liberating themselves, in short, to end the chaos and misery that is capitalism.

Down with Imperialist War!
Down with Capitalism!
For the Social Revolution!
For the defence of the U.S.S.R.!
For the Fourth International!

C. L. R. JAMES.

TROTSKY'S ASYLUM IN DANGER

(Continued from page 4)

less he is a relative or friend of a member of the household or has credentials that Trotsky and the police recognise. A policeman stands by during interviews, which, except when Trotsky receives the Press, are always conducted just within the gates. All who are admitted are carefully but politely searched, and there is a strong guard of policemen on hand with rifles and bayonets. The branches of trees near the building have been lopped off since a detective saw a suspicious character trying to climb one of the trees late at night."

It is time to act! This merciless persecution of Leon Trotsky must not only be thwarted, but brought to an end. The workers not only of Mexico but of all countries must unite to force Stalin to abandon his murderous plans, and to demand from Cardenas a guarantee of continued and free asylum for Trotsky!

CHARLES SUMMER.

Published by Revolutionary Socialist League, 97 King's Cross Road, W.C.1, and printed by The Nated Press, (T.U.), 129/131 Bedford Street, London, E.1.

The Lesson of Austria

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

olution without a Party of the Revolution. When the Hapsburgs fled, Austrian Social Democracy, the famed Austro-Marxism of Bauer and Adler, saved its country for Capitalism, only to be thrown on the scrapheap when it had served its turn. A succession of clever and unscrupulous clerical politicians, Seipel, Dollfuss, Schuschnigg, endeavoured to animate the corpse. In 1931 the plan for a Customs Union with Germany, which might have led to political union, was defeated thanks to the machinations of France and Britain. The Anschluss then might have saved Germany from fascism, but the paralytic and complaisant Weimar Republic could not execute even this elementary and necessary task. It has been left to Hitler to make an Anschluss of blood and terror.

The rise of Hitler threw Austria into the arms of a not-unwilling Italy. In February 1934, at Mussolini's dictate, Dollfuss smashed the Social Democracy, in spite of a gallant rearguard action fought without revolutionary leadership by the Schutzbund, the workers' defence formation. In the summer there followed the abortive Nazi putsch and the assassination of Dollfuss. Mussolini rushed up his legions to the Brenner Pass,

crude statement illustrates the nadir of political intelligence to which the Communist Party has sunk.

The Austrian working-class could have opposed Hitler, if it had not been for the defeat of 1934. But it could only have opposed Hitler in spite of and against Schuschnigg and his like. The alternative, Hitler or Schuschnigg—is a false alternative, but the present line of the Communist Party leads inevitably along that road, the road of support for one set of capitalists against another. The working-class will receive no thanks for such support, and destroys itself by offering it.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA NEXT?

Within a week Mussolini has had his reward for his silence over Austria. Franco, strengthened by enormous concentrations of men, artillery and airplanes, which he has received from Italy and Germany, is making a tremendous effort to break through the Government lines to the Mediterranean. If he succeeds in this objective, he can then deal with Barcelona and Madrid singly at his leisure. The bitter fruits of Stalin's policy in Spain are being gathered. Long ago we said that only the victory of the Revolution in Spain could

BUY FIGHT!



READ FIGHT!



SELL FIGHT!

and loudly proclaimed: "Austria shall be free!" Mussolini has swallowed his words, and for good reason. Since 1936 when his adventure in Abyssinia brought him to the brink of war with Britain, Mussolini has turned to Hitler for assistance against the older imperialisms. He is prepared to hand Austria over to Hitler in exchange for support in the Mediterranean.

When on February 14th Hitler presented his first ultimatum to Schuschnigg, Mussolini was silent. The Austrian Chancellor was compelled to admit the Nazi Seyss-Inquart into a key position in his cabinet. This gave the signal for the Austrian Nazis to create disorders in their strongholds of Graz and Linz. Schuschnigg wavered, proclaimed on March 8th his intention to hold a plebiscite the following Sunday at which the Austrian people would be asked to vote for independence. Hitler was furious, presented his two sudden ultimatums of March 11th and in the evening his troops began to invade Austria according to plan. Schuschnigg gave way and abdicated his office. He had been negotiating with the Social Democracy and the Trades Unions for their support, but it was too late.

At this late hour an attempt is being made to represent Schuschnigg as a friend of the workers, as an "honest democrat." In reality he was their bitterest enemy, a good pupil of the Vatican school of Dollfuss. Harry Pollitt knows this well, but in his Popular Front dementia, he is prepared to go to the utmost limits of evasion. In his recent pamphlet, *Austria*, which suitably bears on its cover the Red-White-Red flag of Schuschnigg's Austria, he represents that Schuschnigg's plebiscite would have been a democratic plebiscite. Nothing could be further from the truth. Schuschnigg had learned all of Hitler's tricks and a good many more. Pollitt purposely conceals Schuschnigg's responsibility for the events of 1934. It is true that Schuschnigg opposed Hitler, just as the Pope opposes him, or as Major Fey opposed him, who carried his opposition into self-murder. Yet Pollitt conveniently forgets that it was Schuschnigg and Fey who brought up artillery against workers' Vienna in 1934, and sent thousands of workers to their prisons and concentration camps. According to Pollitt, the most reactionary of the Austrian bourgeoisie have suddenly become friends of the workers. "Chamberlain refused to help Schuschnigg just as the National Government betrayed Spain, China, Abyssinia, and Manchuria." This

guarantee victory in the war against Franco. Those in Spain who pointed out this vital truth are to-day in prison, if they have not been murdered by the agents of the GPU. The Comintern hamstringing the Spanish Revolution, with the willing aid of the Second International. For them Spain was but a pawn in the game of power politics played by the Soviet bureaucracy, an incident in the World War which its policy has rendered inevitable.

So we have seen in the last few weeks a lightning deterioration in the international situation. A rapid alignment of forces is taking place. On all sides the rumours of war impel the imperialist powers to manoeuvre frenziedly for suitable battle-stations, to prepare in fevered haste the armaments for slaughter, to seek alliances, to build up "national unity." Nowhere is this clearer than in France and Britain. In France Blum's new Popular Front government is regarded as a step towards the *Union Sacrée* for war. The long-postponed conversations between the French and Soviet General Staffs are taking place in view of the threat to their ally Czecho-Slovakia, now held in pincers-grip between German Silesia and Austria. Guarantees have been given. The Czech Communist Party has proclaimed its readiness to fight for French Imperialism. The Sudeten Deutsch have pledged their allegiance to Hitler. Czecho-Slovakia, the most heterogeneous, the most unstable of the succession states of post-war Europe, may easily be Hitler's next objective.

As the shadows lengthen, the British working-class must decide which road it must travel. Shall it be the road of war, a war in which the issues will be mightily confused by the chatter of Collective Security and the League of Nations, of the Rights of small nations, of the Defence of the Soviet Union? The Labour Party and the Communist Party, unheeding the consequences, point along that road of war for British Imperialism. Or shall it be the road of class-struggle, of revolution, of the ending of the brutal system which breeds wars and profits by them.

We take the course against the stream, which Lenin plotted out in 1914. We say with Liebknecht: "The enemy is in your midst." We proclaim and shall continue to proclaim the only course for the working-class in time of war:

"Turn Imperialist War into Civil War!"

J. GLASGOW.

MURDER IN MOSCOW

Another Gigantic Frame-Up

JUST as the Moscow Trial of August 1936 and the Trial of January 1937 demonstrated that the ruling bureaucracy was forced to show its fear of criticism by brutally murdering its one time collaborators, so the Trial of March 1938 makes obvious that it can only sustain itself in power by foully exterminating parts of its own bureaucratic body. Conscious that it had overdone the number of its victims for the Kirov assassination, it had to find ways and means of building up other 'crimes', other 'murders'; and it had to extend the sphere of its "spy plots" in order to incriminate further victims for its blood bath. Each new Trial has to be more sensational. So obviously there can be no surprise that the latest Trial was the biggest purge so far staged in the Public Court. Twenty-one "confessions" had been concocted, over which the Supreme Public Prosecutor, "Comrade" Vishinsky, gloated from March 3rd, to March 13th. Three of the prisoners will remain prisoners for a number of years, in other words for life; the remaining eighteen were sentenced to death, and were shot on March 15th.

Are we to imagine that now, at long last, the curtain has rung down on the final scene of this lurid "Moscow Drama" with its too numerous "Acts"? It would be foolish to suppose any such thing. There is one figure that the bureaucracy cannot put into its confession forcing-house, cannot prevent from exposing its infamy, a figure mentioned in the indictment of this Trial as "the peoples enemy, Trotsky." In each of these Trials the same stupid rignmarole is gone through, as is to be expected in such frame-ups, of trying to implicate Trotsky—the rignmarole of trying to prove that first this "accused" was a "close associate of Trotsky," then this "accused" was a "very close collaborator with Trotsky"; but all these friends sooner or later in the course of the Trial, curse the day that they first laid eyes on the villain. In making such confessions there is one very obvious thing—they confess their own weakness. History will demonstrate that very clearly.

Notice how these Trials are styled. The August 1936 affair was termed "The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre." The January 1937 account was titled "Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre." Now we have "The Trial of the Group of Conspirators, the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists." Yet in all three cases there were neither centres nor blocs of such a character existing between these conflicting groups and Trotsky (or Trotskyites).

TROTSKY— THE "GERMAN SPY"

What we are now asked to believe, or accept from the "confessors," both the living and the late, is that Trotsky was a spy from the year 1921 for the German Intelligence Service. How did Trotsky make his connections, and why? He was a living moving figure in a successful revolution, a member of the Political Bureau of the C.P. of the S.U., and chief of the Red Army. He had played no small part in bringing the civil war to a satisfactory conclusion. In June of the year 1921 he gave a report on "The World Situation" in the Kremlin to the delegates of the Third Congress of the Communist International, which was an optimistic report, by the way, because Russia at that time had overcome a number of her difficulties. German Social Democracy had little to offer Soviet Russia—by what channel of reasoning is it possible to imagine that Trotsky would want to weaken Russia by betraying military or other State secrets of the Soviet Union to the German State? Put that way it is glaringly absurd.

But like all these "confessions" there are little points which poke out that afford a peg upon which to hang a plot: if the police and State archives are searched sufficiently, there is bound to be something which will serve as a basis for incrimination. There were certain measures which the Soviet State took in relation to the German Reichswehr. Whilst Trotsky was fully occupied with the civil war, beginnings were made in granting German concessions in Russia. This played some part in improving the war technique of Russia, and representatives of the Red Army visited Germany where they were shown, under the cover of secrecy, of course, military "secrets." This work was

not conducted by Trotsky personally, not on his responsibility, but by the Political Bureau acting on behalf of the Soviet Government.

Although it was an official "secret" news of it leaked out, and prominent papers like the *Manchester Guardian*, reported it at the time, as anyone can confirm by looking up a file over this period. Naturally, Trotsky was aware of many of the details, but so were others, all the members of the Political Bureau in fact—which included Stalin himself, because Stalin was a member of the Bureau. Yet to-day, in the Soviet Union, on the basis of this sort of material Trotsky is charged with having connections with the German Intelligence Service in 1921. If that is how it is described then obviously Stalin too was in "connection" with the German Intelligence Service, so his place should have been along with his victims! But we are dealing with a frame-up, that is a pretence of a Trial upon the false testimony of witnesses who are themselves incriminated by enemies and by false evidence.

TROTSKY AND BRITAIN

To return to Trotsky once more, we are expected to believe that Trotsky was acting as an agent for the German spy service during the very time he held one of the highest posts in the Soviet State, in order to assist his friends the Social-Democrats, and he continued to play this role for the rest of his career, even when Hitler came to power, and even though he was no longer in the Soviet Union, having been driven out by his enemies—not for charges of spying but for political opposition.

But, as if that were not a full-time job, he also linked himself up with the British Intelligence Service, with which he has had close connections since 1926, according to the indictment. Why 1926? In that year Trotsky's famous book, *Where Is Britain Going?*, was published in England, a book so important for the English reader that R. P. Dutt, in his journal, *The Labour Monthly*, April, devoted nineteen pages to extolling the merits of Trotsky's analysis of English politics, and defending Trotsky against his critics. It was the year of the General Strike, an event which Trotsky had partly predicted in his book, a year when organised Labour was at its peak. How can Trotsky's activity on behalf of the British movement be reconciled with this charge made in the indictment that "The investigation has definitely established that Trotsky has been connected with the . . . British Intelligence Service since 1926"?

It cannot be reconciled. It isposterous. The only people who can see the funny side of this is the British Intelligence Service itself.

Equally base is the charge against the late Michael Farberman, who wrote a valuable exposition of the Five Year Plan, published in 1930. Another fantastic story relating to the British Intelligence Service is the use made of the name of the Co-operative leader, the Rt. Hon. A. V. Alexander, M.P. It is interesting to note here that the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee published in April, 1936, a pamphlet on "Soviet National Economy," to which A. V. Alexander wrote an introduction praising the success of the experiment in the

U.S.S.R. The authors of the pamphlet, W. P. and Zelda K. Coates, in their foreword pay special attention to the subject of the defence forces of the U.S.S.R. quoting with approval the frank way in which Marshal Tukhachevsky describes the measures taken to strengthen the Red Forces and make the Soviet Union impregnable, and reproducing the actual speech, delivered in January 1936, by M. N. Tukhachevsky,—who has since been shot along with other Russian Generals.

Just as Trotsky has been linked up with other elements in previous Trials, in spite of the fact that he has had nothing in common with them for years, so now in this Trial he has been linked up with Bukharin, Rykov, and all the rest. And an endeavour is made to suggest that he has been writing and receiving correspondence from various members of these conspiratorial groups—an endeavour which has countered all obstacles, even though he has been on the high seas when he was supposed to be writing and receiving this guilty correspondence. But a trifle like that is not important in a "Moscow Trial"! For in spite of all the experience which the G.P.U. staff have had at concocting these frame-ups, this latest one is just as stupid as its predecessors; blunder upon blunder has been committed in the so-called evidence.

STALIN BETRAYS THE REVOLUTION

One thing is fairly obvious in this Trial however: everything suggests that there was considerable discontent within the ranks of the bureaucracy itself over a long period. It seems quite evident that Stalin played one section off against another, and in so doing brought up against himself a hostility which broke into the open at some time or other. It is extremely doubtful however to conclude from this that there was concerted action or unified effort. The machine of the G.P.U. by its corrupt methods—and how corrupt it is has been shown in the case of Yagoda—has managed to trap its victims. Long periods of imprisonment and punishment, which can only be guessed at, have done their work and the bureaucracy has added another achievement to its shameful list. Considerable harm has been done to the International working-class movement. As has happened previously, the enemies of the Soviet Union have gloated over this Trial; they see in it a weakening of the forces of the proletarian revolution.

Stalinism betrays the revolution, destroys the faith of the workers, and makes Socialism a mockery.

HENRY SARA.

LABOUR and WAR

(continued from page 1)

met not by the class action of the workers but by support for League of Nations' sanctions. The intervention of the fascist powers in Spain was confronted not with the unfolding of the revolutionary struggle for socialist power in Spain, but with the bolstering up of an outworn bourgeois-democratic Government which, it was alleged, would rally the support both of the Spanish "people" and of the "democratic" powers. Instead it has led the Spanish workers to defeat. The Japanese invasion of China was countered not by the class action of organised labour in an international embargo, but by appeals to the imperialist governments of Britain and the United States to intervene in defence of their own imperialist interests. This treacherous policy of the Labour Party at home and the Second International on the continent is now being consummated by the crowning betrayal of support for the war preparations of imperialist Britain, and the working masses are being purposely deceived by the hope that fascism will be defeated by the armed power of the "democratic" countries which, in reality, have only their own imperialist interests in view.

The leadership of the Labour Party and the General Council of Trade Unions, although at the moment opposed to entering a new National Government, are ready for a scheme of "national service." The hope that by an emergency conference of the Trade Unions and the Labour Party this policy will be reversed is illusory. The social traitors are already at their posts. However, in the mass movement which has developed during the last few weeks there is, unexpressed, mistakenly directed, a deep hostility to a new imperialist war. To organise this opposition and to direct it into revolutionary channels is the duty of all those in the organised labour movement who are conscious of the critical need of the time.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

(continued from page 2)

is not an insurmountable obstacle to the conquest of the Union by the militants. The enormous difficulties of the militants are the result of the fact that at present the militant spirit of the general mass of the working class is at a low ebb. This is due first to the present economic "prosperity" which has enabled the capitalist to grant certain sections of the workers slightly higher wages, thus making their condition a little less intolerable; and secondly, to the Communist Party's abandonment of its militant policy. With no militant leadership to pull them out of their slumber, the general mass of the working class remains for the present quiet.

But only for the present. The rapidly changing conditions brought about by the present rearmament policy of the Government, far from bringing "prosperity" and improved

conditions to the workers, is going to do the very opposite. Already the cost of living has risen considerably; rent is rising, and wages remain the same. The charwoman, the tin-plate worker, even the grave diggers, all those who, according to the argument of the N. P. W. U., are at present "swamping" the militancy of the transport workers, are going to ask for higher pay to meet the rise in the cost of living, and in order to obtain it they will have to struggle for it like the busmen. There is no other way for the worker, whether he is a grave-digger, a tin-plate worker or a busman. Then it might well be that the charwomen will be in the vanguard of the struggle!

THE STRUGGLE IN THE T.G.W.U. MUST CONTINUE

It is in this inevitable rise of the

Trotsky's Asylum In Danger

STALIN is redoubling his efforts to silence the voice of Leon Trotsky either by imprisonment or by death. Stalin's Mexican lackeys are bringing pressure to bear on the Cardenas Government for Trotsky's expulsion from Mexico, and are carrying on an intensified campaign of slander and vilification in order to render him odious in the eyes of the Mexican workers. Toward the end of February, just before the announcement of the third Moscow trial, a frontal attack was launched against him by Lombardo Toledano, head of the Mexican Federation of Trade Unions, who got the Federation to pass, without discussion, a resolution attacking Trotsky and repeating all the stalinist slanders. Just after the trial, the leader of the Mexican Communist Party, Hernan Laborde, opened a bitter offensive against him, definitely calling for his expulsion and hinting at some connection between Trotsky and the Mexican fascists. (The C.P. has not yet learned that fire burns: just such another accusation made by the Mexican C.P. a few months ago was crushingly refuted by Diego Rivera and perished in the contemptuous ridicule of Mexican public opinion.) Although the working class is under no illusions as to the honour or political integrity of such persons as Toledano or Laborde, yet such attacks, continually repeated, cannot fail to make Trotsky's position in Mexico somewhat precarious. Counter-pressure must therefore be brought to bear upon Cardenas by the world proletariat in order to ensure that the right of asylum for Trotsky shall not again be turned into a trap, as it was in Norway, or completely withdrawn.

To make assurance doubly sure, Stalin is actively preparing Trotsky's assassination. Rossi, the G.P.U. agent, now definitely established by the Swiss courts as the murderer of Ignaz Reiss, has utterly disappeared, but among his belongings found at Lausanne, were papers and maps indicating that his next move would be Mexico. It is greatly to be feared that he is already on the spot working out plans for a murderous attack on Trotsky. Meantime, Georges Fournial, another secret agent of the G.P.U. has openly gone to Mexico on the flimsiest of excuses, his real object, beyond all doubt, being the assassination of Trotsky. That these inferences are in no way the hysterical and unfounded accusations of Trotsky or the "trotskyists" is shown by the fact that in recent weeks the Mexican Government has greatly increased the strength and vigilance of the guard at Diego Rivera's house where Trotsky is living. A few days ago, the "Times" reported on the extraordinary precautions taken by the authorities: "Trotsky himself and his household of ten persons are all armed with pistols, and a score of policemen and detectives guard his home day and night. There is a police cabin before each entrance, connected by telephone with the police stations of the neighbourhood and with central headquarters. No one is allowed even within the gates un-

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general mass of workers that we place all our hopes of conquest of the trade unions by the genuine militants. This rising tide of militancy for great industrial and even political battles, if properly utilised by the militants, will be the finish of the Bevins and Citrines. No power on earth can stop it from its rise. And once risen, all the rules and constitutional clauses of the Union which Bevin has built up to safeguard his position, will be swept away together with him, and the victory of the militants will be assured. This time is coming. It is for that reason that militants should remain in their unions patiently waiting their turn. It is this faith in the potential militancy of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Transport and General Workers' Union which gives us strength to continue with our work under the present terribly difficult conditions.

To abandon our position in the Union we consider to be an error. We shall continue our struggle against Bevin, until we have driven him out of the working-class movement.

S. FROST.