

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

# FI G H T

FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
ORGAN OF THE MARXIST GROUP (TROTSKYISTS)

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## EDITORIAL

### A CALL TO REVOLUTIONARIES

**W**E of the working class movement must learn, we must learn from the experiences of history, from the theories of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky; these theories are based on experience carefully analysed. But to-day we can learn from the ruling class. Never has capitalism been in such danger as it is to-day. Never has it made such profound and careful preparations to defend itself from hostile capitalisms and from the coming hostility of the masses.

The strategic political line of our period is governed by one great factor—Imperialist War. How do the British capitalists meet this? By subordinating everything to this main line and steadily, by organisation and propaganda, fortifying themselves for the struggle. Take the National Government. It has loosed on the world the most colossal armament programme that this country has ever seen. And at the same time it ensures that its own class will profit by it by raising the money from loans whereby the rich get interest, instead of by taxation, by which the rich would have to pay. The manufacture of gas-masks goes on at the rate of thousands a day. And now on February 23rd, the Home Office has issued a statement telling us that incendiary bombs are going to be dropped on our heads during the next war and stimulating us by bribery and windy propaganda to join them in all this devil's work.

For let us never forget, at the same time that they are talking about defence here, they are preparing mustard gas, incendiary bombs, and all the weapons of destruction to use elsewhere. All capitalists are in it, always have been, and always will, until the workers in every country do what the Russians did in 1917—finish with the system. Meanwhile they have to bluff us into coming in with them. Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, a member of the Government, broadcast on the night the memorandum was issued. He assured us that those who volunteered to prepare for the fire-fighting would not find the work dull. He appealed to the spirit of adventure. The patience of the working class is exemplary. But perhaps it is as well that Mr. Lloyd was not speaking at a public meeting of class conscious workers, or even persons of ordinary human decency, uncorrupted by the lusts and selfishness of a ruling class. The spirit of adventure in preparation for a war which will strike old and young, innocent and guilty alike! These are our rulers, workers! these are the people who call on us to fight for civilisation, morality, the family, democracy, and all the lies with which they disguise their stranglehold on the country and on the colonies. The memorandum itself promises financial assistance to the local authorities for clothing, training of men, etc., £2 for auxiliary firemen, £3 for this, £5 for that, etc., etc. We need not go through the Judas list.

But the ruling class is not only mobilising its government. Far more significant, to our mind, is a series of articles by Sir William Beveridge in the *Times* of February 22, 23 and 24. His plans for organising the whole nation on a war basis do not concern us here. We want to draw the attention of the workers to the attitude of the ruling class to the great problem which besets the whole socialist movement and every working woman:— the problem of nutrition, in simple words, the problem of getting enough food to eat. On February 23rd, Sir William Beveridge says.

*"Another possibility lies in peace-time increase of our flocks and herds, with a view to killing them down in war. If, for instance, our dairy herds were brought to a point much higher than at present, with correspondingly increased consumption of milk and dairy products in peace-time, the herd itself would form a reserve stock of meat for war-time."*

Every worker should paste this into his mind and reread it often. Increase the dairy herds for the benefit of workers' children? A pint of milk a day for every worker? Extravagance and socialism. Increase it for war-purposes, to enable the workers to fight for British Capitalism? That is another thing. That is foresight, patriotism, and all the civic virtues. The article in the *Times* of February 22nd called for a halt in the unplanned growth of London. Why? Not for the sake of the health and comfort of the millions of workers. No. To have London less vulnerable to air attack, to prevent armament and other vital factories for war being bombed with too much ease. The ruling class is anxious about our food and comfort only when they want us to fight for their property. We must learn, workers, we must learn.

Most important of all, however, are the measures Sir William Beveridge proposes for keeping the workers in subjection during war.

*"Behind this issue of military pay versus munition wages lies the problem of munition profits. With war in Britain, and with the desire to get safety for their families, skilled workmen may well feel willing to make munitions on military pay on military terms without boggling about trade union customs, in national factories. They will hardly do this to swell the profits of capitalist employers."*

He thinks some form of socialization may unfortunately be necessary. *"It is hardly possible to contemplate a complete replacement of capitalism by socialism for the period of war, even in munition factories, but it is likely that we shall be driven to go much further in that direction than we did in the last War and that we shall find public opinion ready to go much further and demanding it."*

It is not socialism. But let us note that the ruling class in an emergency is willing to take over private property and administer it by the State in order to gain greater efficiency for war, hoping by these means also to make the workers give up their trade union rights. All these things they will do for war. But when we, the socialists, say similar measures are the only way out of capitalist chaos, they swear that the thing is unworkable. The *Times* in a leading article praises Sir William. Experience, says the *Times*, shows us *"what is involved in making the world safe for democracy."*

We wonder how the fingers that write such words do not stop and refuse to go on. War to make the world safe for democracy! After the millions slaughtered in 1914 for democracy, Fascism is triumphant over two-thirds of Europe, and now another war to make the world safe for democracy. On February 28 the *Observer* called these articles *"an outstanding public service."* The ruling class is preparing officially and unofficially, preparing for the capitalist rivals and to chain the workers at home.

Let us learn from the ruling class. Are we preparing? Are we who are prepared to fight this war to the bitter end, are we getting ready? The policy of the Marxist Group, of the Fourth International, commonly called the Trotskyists is to oppose every sort of military preparation. The Fourth Internationalists support a war waged by a Workers' State, a war by Soviet Russia, a war by a Soviet Britain. But as long as Britain is a capitalist Britain, with colonies, whether the government is Conservative, National, Popular Front or Labour, we shall oppose that war and seek to turn it into civil war for Socialism.

Many workers support us. We can tell that by the response we get whenever we put this point of view forward at meetings. But to agree with us is not enough. This is the main political issue of the day. Those who think as we do must join us, help us in the work of organisation, laying the foundation of the revolutionary party, the Workers' Party. It is a powerful organisation that is needed. We need not be afraid of the ruling class and all its vast organisation of government, press, radio, pulpit, etc. They are afraid of the workers. They are looking for ways and means to tie them to the war machine. That is their weakness and that is our strength. For the workers will come to us in time. But we must be ready when they begin to react against the mass murder the ruling class is preparing. And the best way to prepare is by unrelenting struggle against war preparations now. Every good piece of work done now, every effective piece of propaganda, every contact made, every Trade Union, or Co-op. member whom we get to listen to us, all these things are laying the foundation.

Nothing is ever lost in politics. At the beginning of the war it will seem as if all our work had been in vain. The ruling class will work up patriotism and mass hysteria. But little by little the masses will begin to swing away, and it is for that swing away that we must lay the rails now. Come in with us, comrades. Do not wait. Today the Trotskyists alone in Britain, openly and without equivocation carry the banner of *Turn Imperialist War into Civil War*.

The ruling class is preparing. We must prepare also. Once more. Do not hesitate, do not put it off. Above all do not be disheartened by the fact that we are not a large organisation. Particularly we appeal to old revolutionaries, disillusioned by the crimes and treacheries of the Stalinists. Every one who comes makes us larger. We shall carry on our anti-war propaganda but the best anti-war work is the fight against capitalism. In every Trade Union, in every Co-op., in every factory, in every mine, the every day struggle against the hypocritical, brazen and selfish ruling class is the best preparation for the struggle against war. It is not in chattering Peace Councils, but

in the mass organisations, fighting against the Public Order Bill, for wage-increases, for better unemployment scales, for better working conditions, never giving way before the employing class: there is the basis of the struggle against war. But while struggling alongside the workers we must be able to relate the day-to-day struggle to the larger political issues. We must trace the connection with capitalism, show that the overthrow of capitalism is the only way out of imperialist war, show the need for preparing legally and illegally, the certainty that the masses will ultimately come our way.

It is for this that we need a strong revolutionary party, why we who are united together on this great political issue, must without delay join our forces. Do not hesitate any longer, comrade. Come in with us. A dozen scattered individuals joined together are not twelve times as strong as each one on his own, but a hundred times as strong. In the heart of the Russian Revolution, in the great Putilov works of over thirty thousand men, there were only 30 Bolsheviks in 1917. But they were enough.

Winston Churchill, Robert Boothby, all bourgeois, the reactionary and conservative Stalinist bureaucracy, how they hate us, how they slander us. It is because we will not be caught by their Popular Front, by their League of Nations, Collective Security, War for Democracy and the old lies and the old bluff. We wonder when they open their mouths to speak of Collective Security that the stench from the corpse of Abyssinia does not choke them. Let us learn from the ruling class. Let us prepare. Every meeting we hold people come to us. Letters come from all over the country to our paper, not thousands of letters, but letters enough. Do not hesitate. Write to us or come to see us. We are supremely confident. We of the Marxist Group and the Fourth International are the direct heirs of Leninism. We are supremely confident, for history is on our side. Come in with us and help to strengthen the organisation.

FOR THE WORKERS' PARTY.  
FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

## NOTES OF THE MONTH

### MASSACRE OF THE ABYSSINIANS

The news has come through of a great massacre of Abyssinians by the Italians following the attempt to assassinate Marshall Graziani in Addis Abbaba. Says the *News Chronicle*:

"Thousands of Blackshirts and Italian workers ran through the streets throwing hand grenades, and setting fire to the toucoules (native huts) with flame-throwers.

"Scores of inhabitants were unable to escape from their blazing huts and perished in the flames. The confusion was indescribable."

And again:

"The Italians, the writer goes on to observe, try to justify the massacre by maintaining that the attempted assassination was not an isolated effort but was to have been the signal for a general uprising. There is no proof of this, and the impossibility of its success in Addis Ababa render it more than doubtful.

"The Italians at once arrested all the members of the 'Young Abyssinia' Party (numbering between 150-200). Most of these were educated in France.

"They represent the fine flower of Abyssinian 'enlightened intellectuals' who, before the war, worked with the Emperor, Haile Selassie for the modernisation of their country. It is probable that only a handful who happened not to be in the capital at the time remain alive."

The report is authenticated in the *Manchester Guardian* and the British Government has verified it in the House of Commons. This is the civilisation that Italian Imperialism is carrying to savage Africa. The Fourth International identifies itself with the struggle of the Abyssinians against Italian Imperialism. It opposes terrorism, not on moral

grounds but because it directs the attention of the masses to individuals instead of to the system. But to Africans, oppressed by Imperialism, we say that unrelenting struggle, from the day to day agitation, ending in the armed revolt must be their undeviating programme to rid themselves not only of Italian but of British, French and Belgian Imperialism. British democracy in 1919 massacred Indians just as brutally at Amritsar, Africans have been massacred by all Imperialisms, democratic as well as Fascist. In comparing this massacre with others, Lord Cranborne said that it was the worst since the Congo atrocities. These were by Belgian democracy. We warn all socialists against the hypocritical sympathy with the massacred Abyssinians by all supporters of the League of Nations, mandates, etc.

We are for the solidarity of international workers with the revolutionary struggle of the colonial peoples. And all who will not support the armed revolts in Africa are traitors to Socialism and their sympathy should be thrown back in their faces. We have had enough of all this condemnation of other Imperialisms and acquiescence in our own.

### LABOUR AND THE CORONATION

British workers will be very pleased to hear that the Parliamentary Labour Party has decided to wear evening dress at the Coronation instead of Court Dress. They thus hope to demonstrate to the suspicious rank and file critics that the Labour leadership is still independent, at least in the matter of a limited choice of clothes.

The frantic efforts of Labour M.P.'s, Trade Union leaders, local Councillors, to prove their respect and loyalty to the Monarchy demonstrates once again that they have long since become willing servants of Capitalism.

The Monarchical institution has been retained by the present ruling class because it provides a useful propaganda instrument for duping the masses. By playing on the emotions, this stupid survival of the Middle Ages, with all its infantile trappings and ceremony, endeavours to keep the working class in a servile and humble frame of mind. Particularly to-day, when the cynical capitalist class needs to prepare the workers for the next war, the stimulation of patriotism by idolatry of Kings and Princes assumes an anti-progressive character.

The Labour, T.U. and Co-operative leadership have dutifully reserved seats to see the "show," Labour Councils are celebrating the occasion with treats for children, thousands will be spent on flags and other rubbish, and in a thoroughly bourgeois way, these gentlemen are supporting this dangerous farce.

We urge the workers to remember that no Socialist or class conscious worker can have anything to do with the Coronation. The line of the "Unity" campaigners (I.L.P., C.P.G.B. and Socialist League) is to make a fuss in opposition to the attendance of the Fascist murderer Goering; *Tribune*, organ of the Socialist League, appeals to Baldwin, "the democrat," about this. The fight is not merely against the representatives of Fascist states, but against the whole business as a piece of ruling class propaganda.

Therefore strong protest must be raised inside the Labour Movement, against Labour participation, and the demand raised for a general boycott.

If we are granted a holiday, it must be with pay. Strike action should be prepared for any attempt to sack us for one day, just to celebrate the possession of an expensive figurehead for Capitalist rule in Britain.

## STRIKES AND THE BRITISH WORKERS.

Arising out of the Harworth dispute, the Miners Federation has now met the Spencer Union, in a friendly conference, with the Secretary of Mines, Capt. Crookshank as mediator. The national ballot as to strike action has been deferred, and the Harworth men left to fight on, while the negotiations continue their leisurely course. Also we have the Rolls Royce and Fairey strikes which in both cases were not recognised by the Union leadership. Further, the South Wales Miners Federation has just concluded an agreement with the Bedwas colliery that outlaws strikes for the next five years.

The above tendencies can be multiplied many times. It would appear that militancy on the economic field is growing in Britain. The trade revival, re-armament and the repercussions of the great strike waves in Europe and America are leading to a sharpening of the class struggle here. At this juncture the British Ruling Class desire the utmost co-operation with the workers to push through their war plans. It has persuaded the Trade Union leaders to enter into agreements for the avoidance of disputes. We have a combination of the Capitalist State, the employers and the T.U. leaders against the use of the strike. The T.U.C. sent out quite recently to local Trades Councils an advice to refrain from supporting unofficial strikes. The Government now speaks of every strike as a menace to public interest. Propaganda is made to turn even working class opinion against strikers. The London Busmen during their last dispute fought not only the Transport Board, but the powerful pressure of the State and Press.

In the background, the Government has ready the Emergency Powers Act (1921), and the Trades Disputes Act (1927).

# RE-ARMAMENT AND THE WORKERS

**T**HE National Government's rearmament plan represents a real menace to the working class. To succeed in modern warfare it is necessary to mobilise the industrial system for "national service." The capitalist class learnt in the last War that not only do they need workers as cannon-fodder, but also that the miner, docker and factory worker must be brought under control. As a first step in this direction the Government appointed Thomas Inskip as Minister for "Defence" last year. Of course, the British armed forces will only be used for "defence." Great Britain, the most bloodthirsty of all Imperialisms, makes a habit of only fighting for some "holy" cause, although it is found in the end to have done very well out of the scrap.

Inskip began cautiously to plan the mobilisation of industry, man-power and essential services, in preparation for war-time. Gradually, however, we have seen emerge a developed plan for the skeleton of war-time industry. The Government now announces an additional expenditure,

during the next five years, on armaments, of £1,500 millions.

The Minister for Defence and the Army Chiefs are engaged in a great deal of activity behind the scenes. From the information available we gather that the plan is to increase the existing supply of war materials by the extension of Government ordinance factories, by extension of plant in the usual Government contractors, and by subsidising new armament firms. At the same time elaborate plans have been worked out for the rapid transference of the great bulk of industry to a war basis.

The effect of this programme, already being felt, is to cause a general rise in prices, with a consequent worsening of working class conditions. Although the increase in armament production produces more employment, the diversion of labour into these non-productive channels results in a rise in the cost of living, which effects employed and unemployed alike. Already the price of iron and other armament commodities begins to rise, as do the share values of the firms concerned. The concealed inflation which is developing will hasten this process. The Capital-

ists are preparing for a very profitable time, although the Government assures us that no "unreasonable" profits will be allowed.

For the workers, all this means the possibility of a few years employment, and at the end—whether or not War intervenes—a terrible slump. The Unemployment Committee itself, in admitting that the trade revival is now mainly based on armaments, prophecies about three million unemployed at the end of the arms programme.

In 1931 there was a "crisis," brought about, they said, by a reckless extravagance in paying the Dole. The National Government "saved the country" for Capitalism, by vicious attacks on the working class. Now, in 1937, we are again asked to make sacrifices to preserve our happy and democratic country. Yet what are the conditions of the British people to-day? One and three quarter million unemployed, whole areas derelict, their populations left to rot as "scrap," thousands of men, women and children living in slums and under-nourished, blind-alley jobs for young people, a great increase in cheap, semi-skilled labour, an anti-working class Government and police system, which allows us freedom, provided we don't use it for any useful purpose. Nineteen years of poverty and struggle for the workers, since the end of the "War to end War," and now the ruling class asks us for loyalty, patriotism and co-operation in preparing for the next war to be fought in defence of the system of profit and exploitation, not only of our own workers, but also of the coloured wage slaves that toil for the glory of the Empire.

Another great danger to the British worker in the armament programme is the menace of dilution. The introduction, under Government auspices, of semi-skilled labour into the factories is increasing daily. These workers, often under economic compulsion, are paid below T.U. rates and constitute a potential army of "scab" labour. With the increased demand for engineering production, more and more factories will be organised on the basis of cheap, semi-skilled labour. The Government is quite aware of the position. Statements have been made on the need for Trade Union co-operation in the re-armament programme. At present the policy is to leave it to the employers to negotiate on Labour problems, but it has been stated in the House of Commons that vigorous action will be taken if this existing "voluntary co-operation" fails. The co-operation of the Trade Union Movement can only mean one thing—an agreement to forego the workers' hard won T.U. standards and rights.

To illustrate this, let us look at the events of the last War. In doing so we must remember that the present plan is war time industrial conscription in advance. In 1914-18, with the able assistance of the patriotic T.U. and Labour leaders, the Government persuaded the workers to give up the class struggle in the "national interest." All outstanding wages and conditions claims were waived, no strikes were allowed, no worker was to leave his job without his employer's consent and the Unions agreed to take no action which would hinder output. Dilution was rampant. Long hours, bad conditions and inadequate wages caused great unrest. The fair wage clause was scrapped in practice. In fact, the Capitalists made use of the Trade Union Movement, with its propaganda and influence, to smash all workers' rights which interfered with War production.

Despite these attempts, however, militant struggles broke out under pressure of the intolerable conditions. Arrests and deportations of Strike leaders and police spies in the Unions were used to crush these movements. Notably among the miners and engineers was the fight taken to great lengths.

Between them, these War measures and the post-war slump, dealt the T.U. Movement a crippling blow from which it has never recovered. It has, however taught us two great lessons: (1) that the workers can exercise enormous power if they are organised for work in the factories, mines and mills and (2) that to abandon the class struggle in the smallest degree is to make defeat inevitable.

The next few years will see the repetition of the events of the last War on a minor and preparatory scale. The dislocation of industry by war production, rising prices and dilution (cheap labour) will gradually undermine wages and conditions. Trade Union standards and restrictions will be steadily watered down and the workers share in "national co-operation" will be to accept all this docilely. Already the T.U. leaders are showing signs of giving way. The Labour opposition to the re-armament programme is on points of detailed criticism and on the need for a bolder Foreign Office policy. This apparently means a stronger League of Nations, collective security and an anti-Hitler policy. Even the so-called left wing in the "Unity" bloc (I.L.P., C.P. and Socialist League) attacks the Government only for not joining the Franco-Soviet bloc against Germany. Providing that the Capitalist Government of the day calls their Imperialist War a war in defence of peace and democracy, then the entire working class leadership will support them.

In the industrial field the T.U.C. are preparing a sell-out on re-armament. Speeches are being made about being ready "to fight for democracy," there are even demands that the Government shall consult the T.U.C. Despite the resolution of the National Conference of the A.E.U. on dilution, the Executive is apparently prepared to be reasonable "if a national emergency really exists," etc., etc. The workers will soon be faced with a repetition of the 1914 betrayal of the class struggle by the Labour leadership.

It must be clearly stated that consistent opposition to all Capitalist wars and preparations for them is vital to the political and economic future of the British workers. The next War will be fought to defend the profits and Empires of the big Imperialist powers, and for no other reason. It will cause for the workers, long hours, bad conditions, exhausting labour, hardship, suffering and death. Even should we escape the latter, the economic chaos resulting from war would set our class back years in living conditions.

To meet the oncoming menace the whole Trade Union Movement must be re-activated on the basis of the Class Struggle.

The following points are suggested as a framework for such a programme of action.

1. Intensive and co-ordinated campaigns for T.U. recruitment, particularly among the youth. This should be demanded of the T.U.C., Union Executives and District Committees. In co-operation with the local Trades Councils, special drives should be made at local factories. This

campaign should be accompanied by propaganda of an educational character pointing out the menace of re-armament and war. The basis of recruitment should be willingness to join and to stand out for the appropriate rate.

2. The organisation in the factories of militant shop committees, linked with the Unions and local Trades Councils. The committees should link up nationally in the industries concerned.

3. Immediate plans to be formulated to press for better wages and conditions and against all grievances. The Shop or Job Committee to be the fighting leadership in the enterprise.

4. Unrelenting opposition to any relaxation of the class struggle. No worsening of conditions or surrender of the right to strike under any excuse. No collaboration of the working class with the government in its re-armament or war plans. The employing classes' weakness must be our opportunity to go forward with further demands.

5. The political affiliation of the unions should be utilised to bring pressure upon the Labour Party to force it to oppose the programme from a class standpoint.

6. Co-operation between Shop Committees, the unions and the Labour movement and all anti-war forces should be sought locally and nationally to conduct a campaign against war.

In the carrying out of this programme, the revolutionary socialists will be the most active workers. We are convinced that the joint experience will prove this to be the only way of defending working class conditions. In addition it will lead the way forward to the organisation of the industrial workers as a revolutionary class force. Workers control and power in the factory, docks, mines, shops, mills etc. allied with the political struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist government and state, will give us the only solution to our economic struggle to live and to work through the Workers' Revolution.

## THE SECOND MOSCOW TRIAL

**T**HE Stalinist regime has published what purports to be a verbatim account of the Radek-Pyatakov trial (Report of Proceedings in the case of the Zinoviev-Trotskyist Centre). We recommend it to our readers. Within its covers it has got the complete refutation of the whole fabrication of lies and slander.

The Moscow Trial is a political trial. There are therefore two aspects: (a) the judicial; and (b) the political.

Let us deal with the judicial first. The report shows that not one of the accused was a Trotskyist. Radek, Pyatakov, Serebriakov, etc., had publicly broken with Trotsky many years before and had submitted themselves to the Stalinist regime. Their confessed Trotskyism was therefore secret. Of those indicted, the only ones who are admittedly supporters of the views held by Trotsky are Trotsky and his son Sedov. The Stalinist regime therefore has not actually brought to trial one single Trotskyist, but only persons who for years have been members, and some like Radek, etc., highly placed members, of the party and the Government. All the shouting of Pollitt, Dutt and the *Daily Worker* are as nothing compared to this simple fact. Of those in Russia who still stand on the principles of the proletarian revolution and are not members of the Stalinist party and have not been refused membership there are thousands such, none have confessed to anything. None have been brought to trial.

The second point is that in all the hundreds of pages, there is not one single scrap of evidence brought forward to substantiate the voluminous confessions. There is a lot of talk about evidence, there is a lot of talk about prisoners confessing only when faced with the proofs of their guilt. But what do these amount to? Zero. They do not exist. Not on one page of the book is there any hint of anything like a proof except the confessions of this, that or other of the accused. Train-wrecks took place. Various of the accused say that they engineered them. That is a confession. It is no proof. Why did

they confess? We shall deal with that in time. For the moment, we merely wish to point out that this trial proves that Zinoviev and Kamenev, on whose confessions so much in the last trial depended, are now proved by this trial to have been lying. They said in the last trial that the Trotskyists had no programme. Now it turns out that the programme was the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. and the giving of territory to Germany and Japan. Obviously such persistent liars cannot be the persons whose confessions can be taken as evidence against others. Trotsky and his son Sedov have totally denied the charges. Anyone who is not a Stalinist must see that something a little more substantial is necessary before Trotsky and Sedov are branded as agents of Fascism.

But nothing is brought forward. How simple it would have been for the Soviet authorities to clinch their case by the publishing of some evidence, by laying before the court some conclusive piece of material proof. There is nothing. Not a scrap. They have not done it, because they cannot do it. How convincing it would be. Hundreds of conspirators took part in these wrecking and terrorist acts. But never before have conspirators carried on such a gigantic conspiracy leaving not the slightest clue behind them.

The curious thing is that Radek admits this. On page 542-543 he says that the wrecking was established by technical experts. (It is strange that all these technical experts did not see that wrecking was being committed all these years, and if they had seen it, then what were the Soviet authorities doing?) Radek then says that the testimony of the wreckers "apart from material evidence" presents an absolute picture. His "material evidence" we have seen. He then, however, goes on to the whole purpose of the trial—to discredit Trotsky and all that Trotsky stands for. "But the trial is bicentric, and it has another important significance. It has revealed the smithy of war, and has shown that the Trotskyite

organisation became an agency of the forces which are fomenting a new world war." That is what the Stalinist regime wanted to prove.

Now for the proof. There is none. And Radek admits it. "What proofs are there in support of this fact? In support of this fact there is the evidence of two people — the testimony of myself, who received directives and the letters from Trotsky (which unfortunately I burned) and the testimony of Pyatakov, who spoke to Trotsky. All the testimony of the other accused rests on our testimony."

Some day the peculiar nature of Radek's testimony is going to be understood. His gaolers could hardly have asked him to say this. For the burnt letters are no evidence and Radek, saying this at the end of the trial, must have known that the Pyatakov trip to Trotsky had already been exposed during the trial for the crude and clumsy lie that it is. Obviously if the Soviet authorities could have given evidence of Pyatakov's having gone to see Trotsky in Oslo in an aeroplane, they would have done so. Instead this very question on which Radek insists the whole proof of the connection with Trotsky must now rest, is the very question on which the whole frame-up broke down.

Giving evidence on January 23rd, Pyatakov says about his trip to Oslo (page 60): "We got into an aeroplane and set off. We did not stop anywhere, and at approximately 3 p.m. we landed at the airdrome in Oslo. There an automobile awaited us. We got in and drove off. We drove for about 30 minutes and came to a country suburb. We got out, entered a small house that was not badly furnished, and there I saw Trotsky, whom I had not seen since 1928." They then talked for two hours while Trotsky detailed to Pyatakov all the wicked things he was to do. But alas! An aeroplane is not a letter. It cannot easily be burned. The Norwegian press at once stated that no aeroplane had landed at Oslo from Germany on that day. That was the lie direct. On January 27 therefore Vishinsky, the public prosecutor, attempted to patch up this gaping hole. On page 442 we read.

"The President. The examination of the accused is finished. The examination of the witnesses is also finished. Are there any supplementary questions?"

Vishinsky: I have a question to put to Pyatakov. Accused Pyatakov please tell me, you travelled in an aeroplane to Norway to meet Trotsky. Do you know in which aerodrome you landed?

Pyatakov: Near Oslo."

He moves from Oslo to near Oslo. Now airdromes are not taxi-stands. Pyatakov is lying now or he was lying before (in fact he is lying both times). But both accuser and accused have to get out of this somehow. They go on.

"Vishinsky: Did you have any difficulties about the landing or admission of the aeroplane to the airdrome?"

Pyatakov: I was so excited by the unusual nature of the journey, that I did not pay attention."

Any fool can see that this is pretty poor stuff and Vishinsky knows that this is not good enough. He continues:

"Vishinsky: Have you heard of a place called Kjeller or Kjellere?"

Pyatakov: No.

Vishinsky: You confirm that you landed in an aerodrome near Oslo.

Pyatakov: Near Oslo, that I remember.

Vishinsky: I have no more questions."

Indeed he could have no more. Pyatakov, on a journey which could have cost him not only his life but the imprisonment of all his relatives and dependents, an old revolutionary and at one time head of a great Soviet department of state, does not know whether he landed in or near Oslo, or whether there were difficulties about landing. An aeroplane is not a ship or a train. Pyatakov was the passenger who mattered. Yet in the space of four days he gives this ludicrously contradictory evidence, and Vishinsky has no more questions to ask. Instead he makes a ruinous attempt to give some legal covering to the lie.

"I have an application to the Court. I interested myself in this matter and asked the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to make an enquiry, for I wanted to verify Pyatakov's evidence from this side too. I have received an official communication which I ask to have put in the records."

Why, in the name of law and justice, was not Pyatakov examined about all these things before and the enquiries made? Why do reports have to appear in the foreign press before Vishinsky interests himself in this matter? The volumes of evidence extracted from the prisoners run to 36. The accused are examined on all manner of things. But on this, the key question, it takes a denial from Norwegian papers to make the prosecution bestir itself. And what does Vishinsky produce? Evidence of the arrival of a plane on the day in question? Nothing of the sort. He reads the following:

"The Consular Department of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs hereby informs the Procurator of the U.S.S.R. according to the information received by the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in Norway, the Kjellere Aerodrome near Oslo receives all the year round, in accordance with international regulations, aeroplanes of other countries, and that the arrival and departures of aeroplanes is possible also in winter months. (To Pyatakov) It was in December?"

Pyatakov: Exactly.

Vishinsky: I ask that this be placed in the records . . ."

That is the end of this crucial link.

Who says that he wants to believe all this can do so. Who will convict Trotsky and Sedov of wishing to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union and planning with Hitler and Japan to dismember Soviet Russia, on the evidence of this visit, can do so. But I say quite frankly, that apart from the official Stalinists themselves, A. J. Cummings of the *News Chronicle*, Sir Bernard Pares (in the *Observer*), D. N. Pritt, K.C., all who are satisfied with all this, are showing not their capacity to analyse evidence, but the bias of their political views. Trotsky and Sedov have not confessed to anything. And no one could convict a dog on such evidence.

In regard to the letters written by Trotsky, this trial contains also a glaring departure from the last that is sufficient by itself to discredit all the volumes of confessions.

It will be remembered that in the Zinoviev-Kamenev Trial Vishinsky made great play with a letter written by Trotsky in March 1932 in which he called for the removal of Stalin, i.e. Vishinsky insisted, by terrorism or in plain words, murder. This in the first trial was "evidence." But it was quickly shown that in March 1932 Trotsky had indeed written a letter calling for the removal of Stalin and published it openly in a bulletin of the Left Opposition (from which has developed the sections working for the Fourth International). Trotsky had written that the Bolshevik Party should do what Lenin had recommended in the Testament—remove Stalin. This was widely noted in the European press. Now at this trial Vishinsky has dropped that letter altogether. This main prop of the last trial has vanished. Instead we have accounts of other letters in which Trotsky unfolded his schemes, all of which were burnt. So that the only piece of concrete evidence (and the letter was not shown) which the prosecution adopted in the first trial has been abandoned without a by your leave and for the same reason for which Pyatakov abandoned the airdrome in Oslo for another elsewhere. It is no wonder that the prosecution prefers confessions and burnt letters. The moment

they attempt to base the charge upon material other than burnt letters they burn their fingers.

Let us now examine the grave charge of terrorism. Trotsky is accused of urging insistently that terrorists attacks against the leaders should be undertaken. Now it is easy enough to point to train wrecks and say that they were due to the activities of wreckers. The wrecks took place and here are people who say they did it. But a terrorist attempt is a terrorist attempt. It could hardly be anything else but a terrorist attempt. There is the murder of Kirov in 1934, but in the trial in August 1936 not one other terrorist attempt could be brought forward. This conspirator confessed that he intended to murder Stalin, but was seated too far from him, etc. etc., and another wanted to murder Voroshilov but Voroshilov's car went too fast—the whole collection of rigmarole which drew so much suspicion and derisive laughter from the ordinary intelligent person.

In this new trial Vishinsky made an attempt to produce at least some actual terrorist attacks. He had better have left it at intentions. On page 302, the examination of Arnold begins. Arnold is made to tell us where he went to school, beginning at the age of seven, what countries he travelled in, where he fought in the war, his views on Protestantism, Freemasonry, Roman Catholicism (page 325) and much information of equal interest and value. All this no doubt was very convincing and it is not improbable that Arnold spoke the truth. Only on page 327, however, he begins to tell us about his two terrorist acts. The first was in 1934, "at the beginning of the year, or rather in the Spring." One Cherepukhin told him to wreck the car when driving Orjonokidze, one of Stalin's closest supporters. He drove the car at 70 or 80 kilometres an hour but *he did not have the nerve to perform the act.* That is all. The reader can get the whole dastardly crime on page 328. The second is also on page 328. He was driving Molotov, and had been told to cause an accident. Just as he was leaving the dirt road for the high road another car came dashing towards him "There was no time to think; I had to commit a terrorist act. I see that the other car is flying towards me. Then I realised that Cherepukhin had not trusted me and had sent a second car. I had not much time to think, but I got scared. I managed to turn to the side into the gully. At that moment Gryadinsky seized me and said "What are you doing?"

Vishinsky: What stopped you?

Arnold: Cowardice stopped me.

Vishinsky: And this thwarted your criminal plans.

Arnold: Yes.

And that was the second dastardly terrorist attempt. The Stalinist regime must think that the workers in Western Europe are all as stupid as the leaders of the Third International who visit them in Moscow. Are these the crimes for which one shoots people? The train-wrecks are there. One can link them up with "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists." But a terrorist attempt is on a par with a visit to Trotsky in an aeroplane. These things cannot easily be manufactured, and the attempts to do so result in these incredibly childish concoctions. And let us note that there will never

## A FUND FOR FIGHT

*After our appeal for funds in the last issue, we received a number of small sums from our sympathisers. We want here to thank everyone who sent. But this time we appeal for a larger number of readers to help us, and if possible for larger sums. We state plainly in this issue that the Trotskyists are the only organised members of the working class that call for the turn of the coming imperialist war into civil war. We are the only anti-war fighters and we are comparatively only a handful of people. Comrades, the fight against the coming war is the biggest fight that in all history the working class has had to face. Help us to strengthen our ranks. Help us by sending money to widen our propaganda. It is necessary that our journal becomes a fortnightly, a weekly, a daily. Our financial resources are miserable for the gigantic tasks that lie ahead. Measure the odds for yourself and send us what you can.*

*We stated last month that we were planning to have headquarters in London, where there would be files of working class journals and papers, where our literature would be sold, and where we would hold forums and discussion classes. Those plans are going forward and we confidently expect to be able to announce in our next issue a centre where we shall be ready to meet our readers at any time. Send what you can afford to the Marxist Group, 25 Aubert Park, Highbury, N.5.*

*In future we shall publish in the journal a list of the donations for the month.*



be any evidence of any terrorist act that is worth the paper it is written on. The prosecution has to stick to intentions. For if they attempt to give evidence, of one actually made, then they will have to answer the question: "Why haven't you said anything about it before?"

If X attempted to kill Stalin or Y attempted to kill Molotov, then surely the G.P.U., not to say Stalin or Molotov would have known something about it before these confessions? Retrospective charges of attempted terrorism cannot therefore be supported by evidence. The prosecution is in a mess from which it cannot escape.

Finally there is the question of the confessions. People ask "Why did they confess?" They cannot imagine that men not guilty of these crimes should stand up and confess to them. They think it psychologically impossible. On the psychological plane the alternatives are equally impossible. If they are guilty it means that Rykov, Bukharin, Serebriakov, Pyatakov, Radek, Tomsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Sokolnikov, having no mass support (their own confessions), seeing the astonishing victory of Socialism under Stalin, yet have all plotted for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, out of sheer spite, malice and lust for power. That is nonsense. Revolutionaries have degenerated in the past, but they were corrupted by capitalism, they had not lived in a socialist state which they had helped to build. These men are the men of 1917-1923. And it is here that the whole Stalinist case stinks to heaven. For in a pamphlet, "The Truth about Trotskyism," Harry Pollitt tells us that the real Old Guard are still at their posts and these are "Stalin, Ordjonokidze, Yezhov, Molotov, Voroshilov, Litvinov, Kalinin, Kagano-vitch, Zhedanov." He says, "The gang of enemies now being uprooted by the vigilance of the Soviet Government never were the Old Guard. If they had been, they would never have been the subject of such adulation on the part of those inside and outside the Labour movement who hate above all else Revolution and Socialism."

For cool lying and brazen effrontery, that statement would be hard to beat. We are not talking of Assyrian history or the Roman Empire. Since when were Zinoviev, Pyatakov and Co. not the Old Guard and these others have become Lenin's collaborators? Pollitt has got to write that or he'll be accused of Trotskyism. Luckily only members of the Communist Party have to believe it. Purely on the plane of psychological probability, is it not more likely that Stalin, backed by the bureaucracy, has gradually transformed the Bolshevik Party from a revolutionary organisation into a militia protecting the interests of the bureaucracy? That Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others, not seeing this process as early as Trotsky saw it, went part of the way with Stalin against Trotsky, but little by little they have realised where Stalin was leading the party, that some of them have tried again and again to fit themselves into Stalinism but that the evolution of Russia into a conservative nationalism has one by one driven them to take the road of opposition? To-day, Stalin, master of the apparatus, has brought the Soviet Union to the verge of the restoration of capitalism, and must get rid of these who, whatever their previous faults, still cannot help retaining something of the principles and ideas which helped them to achieve victory in October 1917.

Differences with Lenin they had—violent conflicts at times. But it is only Stalinism with its fascist mentality of "the Leader" which sees a difference of policy honestly fought for as a treason to Socialism.

"Why did they confess?" Confession is a Stalinist technique. If you do not confess you are not tried. A prisoner confessed in 1931 that he conspired with Abramovitch in Russia in the summer of 1928. Yet Adler has printed in his *Witchcraft Trial in Moscow*, a photograph of Abramovitch at a conference of the Second International in that very summer of 1928. Why did that man confess? We can suggest one reason. The Stalinist regime is the cruellest and most tyrannical regime that exists on the face of the globe, and to identify it with Socialism is gross ignorance or equally culpable cowardice. The proofs are there for those who want them.

On June 8th, 1934, Kalinin, President of the Central Executive Committee and Medviev, the Secretary, signed a decree which was published in *Izvestia* of June 9th. By this decree whoever attempts to leave the Soviet Union, not only a soldier but a civilian is liable to the death penalty. Section 3 of the decree states that if the criminal is a soldier, the adult members of his family who knew but did not report it, will receive 5-10 years of prison with confiscation of all goods. And the second paragraph of that section states. "The other adult members of the family of the traitor, living with him or at his expense at the time of the treason are deprived of electoral rights and deported for five years to the distant regions of Siberia." For wife, mother, sisters, that is often worse than death.

On April 8th, 1935, *Izvestia* published the decree instituting the death penalty for children of twelve. That is Stalinist law. What would Stalin's secret police not threaten, or even perform, in the secrecy of prison? The Stalinist loud speakers in this country raise a cheap applause by ranting about Dimitrov, and the Reichstag Trial. Muralov, Pyatakov, Sokolnikov would, we are sure, have stood up to a Fascist tribunal, for Socialism against Fascism. But for them to stand up and denounce Stalin after promising to confess means what? Condemning the work to which they have given their lives, and degradation and torture for their families. We do not know for certain why they confessed. But the confessions are no surprise to us. We know the Stalinist regime. And we know that it is capable of any crime.

We support the U.S.S.R. because international socialism has its basis there in the abolition of private property in the means of production. But that basis is to-day in danger.

Stalin has broken with the socialist revolution, and these trials are the culmination of the degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy. They have to crush the socialist revolution inside and outside Russia, and we who take no responsibility for the political views of Radek, Zinoviev, Sokolnikov, etc., defend them because we know that their confessions about working under the directions of Trotsky are false and have been extorted from them.

We have dealt with the judicial side of the trial. But infinitely more important is the political side. And it is to that which we shall now address ourselves.

(To be continued).

## BACKGROUND TO THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

SPAIN under Alfonso was a semi-feudal, predominantly agricultural country like Russia under Tsar Nicholas II. Industry developed late and the industrial bourgeoisie was tied up with the old feudal landlords. The Church owned one third of the country's wealth. It controlled "agricultural credit" banks on the countryside, usurers of the peasants, and it also controlled many of the city banks. It conducted regular industrial establishments (flour mills, laundries, etc) with unpaid labour (orphans and students) competing with great advantage against industry. Its official control of education meant that the student was kept safeguarded from radicalism and the peasantry kept illiterate. Half the population could neither read nor write in 1930. The superstition bred by the church can be realised from the fact that until recently papal indulgences sold for a few pesetas each: signed by an archbishop they could be purchased in shops displaying the advertisement: "Bulas are cheap to-day." There was also the army which had a privileged rôle and a pampered officer class. A great deal of the colonial administration and that of the peninsula itself, including the police force and the Civil Guard, was entrusted to the Army officers.

The division between the oppressed and the oppressors was sharp. Seventy per cent. of the population was on the land, but the five million peasants owned only a third of it. Very few of these were even moderately comfortably off, for they were subject to the oppression of the landlord, the usurer who financed the crop, and the merchant who bought it. Most of the "owner" peasants starved with the landless and at certain periods of the year, hired themselves out for day labour. For the landworkers themselves who numbered over 1½ millions, a good wage was about three shillings a day. The conditions under which millions lived were so terrible that they compared only with the living conditions of the Chinese and Hindu peasantry. Starvation between harvests was a regular occurrence.

The industrial workers numbered less than 2 million and 45 per cent. of the whole working class was concentrated in Barcelona and the other towns of Catalonia. Wages were low; conditions poor; unemployment rife, and there was no dole. In 1930 the unemployed town and landworkers with their dependents accounted for a quarter of the whole population of the country.

During the war, by remaining neutral, the Spanish ruling class achieved a certain prosperity. When, however, the war was over, the imperialist nations took back their markets, and the world crisis finally finished off Spain's short period of industrial progress. In an attempt to squeeze lost profits out of the workers and peasants, the ruling class financed Primo de Rivera's coup and he set up a reactionary dictatorship under Alfonso. But in 1931, the workers, in a desperate condition, came out into the streets, hoisted red flags, engaged the police in rifle fire and threatened a general strike. The bourgeoisie, seriously frightened, decided to sacrifice Alfonso, and the Republic was proclaimed. Certain of the shackles of centuries were broken by getting rid of the monarchy, but the problems

for the workers and peasants remained to be solved, and would remain until the whole capitalist system was swept away.

With the monarchy gone, and the socialists in the Republican government, the workers naturally looked for results and were prepared to carry forward the struggle against the Church and the Monarchists, its chief oppressors. But the new Republican government, with Azana at the head, declared martial law, called out the Civil Guard to fire on the workers. This was their first taste of the Republic. Strikes were forbidden and arbitration boards set up with employers sitting on them. On the countryside, peasants resisting the Civil Guard were also shot down. Thereafter the drama moved to its inexorable ending in reaction.

At the next elections, Lerroux, a right Radical, came to power, and the Socialists were driven from the government. Lerroux promised to keep out Gil Robles, the Fascist, but when the time came he brought into the Government Robles' men.

But as the Right had gathered together its forces again after the expulsion of the Monarchy, so had the workers once more. By 1934, there was a general cry for unity. This was resisted by the Spanish C.P. who were still holding fast to their theory of Social Fascism, in which the Social Democrats and not the Fascists were the chief enemy. But the instinct of the masses was sound, and with the entry of the Fascists into the government, the Workers' Alliance and the U.G.T. (the Trade Unions) declared a nationwide general strike.

Everyone remembers the stirring history of the fifteen days that followed, and the glorious struggle that the miners in the Asturias put up. The movement was ferociously crushed. However, a period of depression in the workers' ranks did not follow. There was a general feeling that this was only the first encounter. They would fight again very soon, and the next time they would know better. Gil Robles had become the Minister of War when the reaction followed the insurrection. He realised that with such a high pitch of feeling among the workers he could not remain long in the government. He used his post for the purpose of preparing the army, arms depôts and secret storing of arms, for the struggle which is now waging.

At the February elections in 1936, the workers and peasants swept away the right government, put Azana again into power at the head of the Popular Front government, and again came out into the streets to show that something must be done. But Azana pleaded with the workers to go back to work, banishing any spirit of vengeance, repeating the phrases and pursuing the policies of 1931-1933. For the Popular Front government was only another name for another Liberal-Labour coalition government, supported by the Communist Party, and working within the capitalist system that was responsible for the misery of the workers.

So the workers had a second taste of such a govern-

ment. It did not even give the dole to the unemployed. It prohibited demonstrations and meetings unless authorised. In the last three months before July 18th, in desperate attempts to stop the strike movement, hundreds of strikers were arrested, local general strikes declared illegal and headquarters of working class organisations closed for weeks at a time. When a Moorish deputation came asking for concessions, the government flatly refused and the Moors listened to the demagogy of Franco. It was prepared even after the *coup d'état* of the Fascists to come to terms with them: only the workers prevented this by mobilising themselves, going out to meet the enemy in those first days with nothing in their hands but kitchen knives and paving stones.

It is for a third taste of a liberal bourgeois government, that the leaders of the liberals, the socialists and the Stalinists say the workers are fighting and dying. A slight knowledge of the history of Spain since the Republic shows how monstrous is the slogan "For Democracy" in Spain.

To-day this liberal and reformist leadership weakens and undermines the very battles of the workers with Franco. Under the slogan of Democracy only a defensive fight can be waged. The aim is to protect the democratic rights of the bourgeois régime, not to overthrow the capitalist system. Therefore time and time again when Franco has been beaten back outside Madrid, the Spanish government instead of pressing forward to take advantage of the enemy's exhaustion and the demoralisation in its ranks, has remained waiting until Franco recovered and procured fresh aid for a new onslaught.

The masses are turning away from the slogan of

democracy. The ranks of P.O.U.M. are growing because it calls for Workers' Power. Caballero feels the pressure and says he will resign unless there is unity behind him. The government and the Stalinists while fighting Franco are attacking P.O.U.M. and the revolutionary workers who are pressing for Socialism and a revolutionary war. Outside of Spain the imperialists grow alarmed, and set out to crush the revolution by a blockade. The Italian and German fleets watch the Mediterranean coast on behalf of the counter-revolution and will see that Franco still gets his supplies. And the British navy and the British land control will naturally be vigilant only against supplies and volunteers going to the help of the workers. The plans of the foreign capitalist countries, bourgeois and democratic, are to appease the hunger of Germany by territorial concessions at Spain's expense, and "to share in the reconstruction which Spain may have to undertake, by international assistance through the technical service of the League of Nations." (Resolution of the League Council, Reuter, 14th December, 1936).

Russia agrees to the blockade. The French Communist Party votes for it in the Chamber of Deputies. The democratic government of Spain, never anxious to fight, will agree at the first moment that it can, with any face-saving offer to mediate. The Spanish working class has its back to the wall. It looks for help to its only ally, the international working class. These are the things we must bear in mind always in regard to the struggle in Spain, first so that the assistance we give is given in the right quarter, and secondly, learning the lesson which our comrades in France and later, ourselves, will need before long.

*Documents of the International, No. 5.*

## THE 4th INTERNATIONAL AND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

*(Resolution of the International Bureau for the 4th International, January 13th, 1937)*

### THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

IN their spontaneous uprising against Franco, the armed Spanish workers have paralleled every military victory against the Fascist enemy with corresponding measures for expropriating Capital and with revolutionary achievements of a sharply proletarian character. This spontaneous initiative of the heroic masses bears out all the historic experiences of Leninism; the carrying out of democratic tasks is impossible without the proletarian revolution. The armed struggle against the Fascists must be accomplished by a fight against the whole bourgeoisie, of whatever class.

A decaying Capitalism cannot grant democratic reforms, it can only produce bloody rebellions against the workers. This fact alone reduces to dust the Menshevik theory of the democratic revolution, already disproved by the Russian Revolution, but taken up again to-day by the Stalinists for the benefit of the dregs of Capitalism.

The only way to defeat Fascism, itself a product of Capitalism, is to overthrow the Capitalist System itself, that is to say, to make the Socialist Revolution. The only guarantee of a complete victory of the workers, both military and political, is the Socialist Revolution.

### THE SOVIET STATE

The accomplishment of the Socialist Revolution presupposes the complete destruction of the bourgeois State and the domination of the working class in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which means the Soviet State.

The swing of the masses in Spain towards the Socialist Revolution, the existence of Dual Power by the formation, alongside of the official State, which becomes a mere facade, of workers committees in factories, villages and the militia, the Central Committee of the anti-fascist militia in Catalonia,—none of these things have been utilised by any political party in Spain for creating a Workers State.

## STOP PRESS.

On going to press we receive the following message from our own correspondent in Spain.

"The English Column of the P.O.U.M. Militia has put the policy of P.O.U.M. into practice, by forming a Soldiers Committee at the front.

"This was done in spite of the opposition on the part of the I.L.P. political representative, and is the first standing Committee of the rank and file to be formed at the front in any militia, as far as can be ascertained.

"The news of the formation of the first front line Committee will be spread along all fronts into the factories. Our comrades of the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T. will eagerly respond once they see that the P.O.U.M. militants mean business.

"By rank and file control we can build a disciplined revolutionary army, capable of overcoming the opposition of officers who are not class-conscious, capable of overcoming political sabotage in the rear and moving forward to a general offensive under the slogans:—

FORWARD FROM THE GLORIOUS 19th JULY.

FORWARD TO WIN THE WAR AND MAKE THE REVOLUTION.

FORWARD TO VICTORY FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS OF THE WORLD."

The Stalinist and reformist parties have clung to the tail of the bourgeois democracy and upheld the Parliamentary Republic. The P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T.-F.A.I., after having recognised and even helped to create the elements of Workers' Power (the committees of soldiers, workers and peasants) have helped by their collaboration in the Government with the bourgeois republicans, to liquidate Workers' Power and restore the old bourgeois State, with certain unimportant modifications.

The task of Marxist revolutionaries in Spain is to reconstitute the committees of workers, soldiers and peasants, the elements of Workers' Power, in order to oppose them to, and finally substitute them for, the official State power. To break down the old machine and substitute for it the State forms discovered by the Paris Commune—this is the lesson of Marxism, applied by Lenin and Trotsky, but neither learnt nor applied by any of the parties at present existing in Spain.

### THE ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

The programme of action for a Workers' State is the expropriation of Capital, the socialisation of the banks, heavy industry, transport and the land. In addition, the institution of a monopoly of the import and export trade. From the beginning the whole tendency of the armed workers has been in this direction, particularly in Catalonia, where the big industrial capitalists and the landlords have been expropriated.

But the State power, still under the control of the Republicans, which was forced by the sweep of the Revolution to recognise the expropriation of the factories and large estates, nevertheless torpedoed the socialisation of Capital and the monopoly of exports and imports by decreeing a so-called State control.

The collectivisation of industry and the land without the complete possession by the Workers State of finance Capital, and the monopoly of import and export trade, which will allow of economic planning on a national scale by protecting it from internal crises and external

attacks, becomes a hybrid and quite unworkable system, whereby each enterprise, linked with the others only by organisational chains, has to function on its own economic basis. Once the financial resources of any single enterprise are exhausted, it has to call on finance Capital, either inside or outside the country.

This is the moment that the enemies of the Socialist Revolution (Stalinists, Reformists or "loyal" Republicans) are waiting for, in order to profit by the state of financial and economic panic to restore finance Capital and consolidate the bourgeois democratic *status quo*. The new Catalan Government, in which the Anarchists participate, but where the dominant policies are Republican and Stalinist, is preparing to return to the Capitalist system, just as it existed before July 19th, on the pretext of bringing about a military victory. But the preceding Government, in which the P.O.U.M. participated, have made their task far easier.

The lesson is: without complete seizure of power by the proletariat, and without complete appropriation of the chief means of production, exchange and transport by the proletarian state, no durable socialist economy can be built up. Neither the C.N.T. nor the P.O.U.M. have paid attention in their actions to this elementary principle of Marxism.

### THE QUESTION OF THE LAND

The Stalinists pretend to oppose the Socialist revolution in order to defend the democratic Republic, but in fact they are sabotaging the realisation of the first of all democratic tasks: to give the land to the peasants. This measure is not even envisaged by the Republican-Socialist-Anarchist-Stalinist Government of Valencia.

Nevertheless, everywhere the peasants have taken the land, particularly in Catalonia, where the large estates have been collectivised by a decree recognising the already accomplished fact. It is the same with the collectivisation of the land as with industrial collectivisation. A proper living cannot be assured to the poor and medium peasant, and wherever conditions permit, the collectivisation can only be realised with success and profit by a Workers and Peasants State, which has nationalised the land, expropriated the finance Capitalists and taken a monopoly of import and export trade. Therefore, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is directly in the interest of the Spanish peasants.

### THE COLONIAL QUESTION

A people which is oppressing another people cannot be free. Yet the Republic of Azana and Caballero refuses to break with the system of Colonial oppression. This is shown by their refusal to give her liberty to Morocco, which allows Franco, by a cheap demagogy, to accord a facade of autonomy to the Moroccan Nationalist chiefs, and so to line up the Moroccan workers against the Spanish workers.

The revolutionary policy, and in fact the only democratic measure of importance, is immediate freedom for the Colonial peoples, including the right to separate themselves from the mothercountry, particularly for Morocco.

The Spanish revolutionaries, from now on, must develop and sustain with all their forces the movement of the Moroccan people to throw off the yoke of Imperialism, and their struggle against the native feudalists and Capitalists, the accomplices of Imperialism. The Spanish revolution will thus make a powerful ally to attack its Fascist enemies in the rear.

READY ON APRIL 12TH

C. L. R. JAMES

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**THE SPANISH NATIONALITIES**

The same thing applies to the oppressed nationalities inside Spain, who freed themselves at the time of the insurrection (Basques, Catalans). The central Government multiplies their vexations and is organising a financial boycott against Catalonia, where the bourgeois regime has been badly shaken. In this way the supporters of the bourgeois *status quo*, on the pretext of unity in the struggle, are accentuating the division between the Catalonian people and the Iberian people, that is to say, sowing discord in the camp of the fighting masses.

This "democratic" policy of the bourgeoisie, reformists and Stalinists, is in reality deeply undemocratic. Only the Socialist Revolution can give the nationalities the right to dispose of themselves, even including the right of separation, with the final aim of forming a Union of Iberian Socialist Republics.

**MILITARISATION**

The necessities of the struggle have replaced the regular army, three quarters of which have gone over to the Fascists, by the Workers Militia. The way to victory is to reinforce, unify and weld the Workers Militia, in the form in which it first came into being, with its proletarian rules, under workers control, with elected delegates and officers subordinate to a political delegate.

The decree of militarisation, which marks a return to the rules of the regular army, now being reconstructed (the monarchical Code of Justice), shows that the democratic-Stalinist leaders wish to return to a system which was used, and will be used again, by the Capitalists to assassinate the advance guard of the Revolution. Co-ordination and discipline in the Militia must be through the Central Committee, with elected political delegates controlling the officers and technicians. During the struggle the cadres of the Red Army must be prepared.

**THE POLITICAL PARTIES**

It must be stated that there is no revolutionary party in Spain which is capable, basing itself on a Marxist programme, of leading the workers and peasants of Spain

to the conquest of power. Despite exceptionally favourable circumstances—the complete demoralisation of the Capitalist system and tremendous initiative on the part of the workers (the Dual Power was weighted on the side of the workers until the end of September)—we are now seeing, not the conquest of power by the workers, but the progressive reconquest by the democrats of their lost positions. Champions of order and bourgeois property, the reformists and Stalinists reveal their counter-revolutionary character, particularly in Catalonia, by undoing the revolutionary measures taken by the proletariat.

Even the Anarchist leaders admitted that their theories were to be put to the test in extraordinarily favourable circumstances in Catalonia, where the immense mass of the workers belonged to the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. The Anarchist leaders began by passing a series of compromises with the Catalan Republicans, from which was born the Economic Council which was to organise "collectivisation in Catalonia" (sic), also the amalgamation with the Government Council of the services created by the workers (Central Committee of the Militia, public services, etc.). Later came the collaboration in the Taradellas Government, then in the Madrid Government, finally in the second Catalonian Government, by which the Anarchist leaders sanctioned all the anti-revolutionary measures of these Governments.

Lenin's description of the Anarchist parties is confirmed. At the decisive moments, those who deny all forms of State, when they are confronted by the need for a Proletarian State, prefer to conserve the Bourgeois State, that is, prove themselves reformists. This political characteristic in no way minimises the extraordinary heroism of the Anarchist masses. It explains why the political leaders of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. have been unable to utilise this heroism to conquer workers' power, first in Catalonia and finally throughout Spain.

The P.O.U.M. has remained a centrist party by reason of its fundamental characteristics: the international policies of the London Bureau and a divorce between its phrases and its real policies in internal affairs. Seeing the need

of a Workers Government, and draping itself in the flag of Bolshevism, it yet undertook to collaborate in a Government which liquidated the Soviets and brought down the balance of the Dual Power on the side of the old state. When it was hounded out of the Government by the Stalinists, who cannot tolerate even talk of the Socialist Revolution, because revolutionary phrases are apt to be taken seriously by the masses of armed workers, the leaders of P.O.U.M. made no serious attempt at self-criticism of their past errors. Only implacable self-criticism in the fires of the struggle can produce a Bolshevik rebirth. The Bolshevik party remains to be created in Spain. Only by the criticism of errors, by the confrontation of the forthright policies of Bolshevism with the already rich experience of the Spanish revolution, by the selection during the struggle of the finest militants from the P.O.U.M.

### THE SPANISH REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The Spanish Revolution is, as was the Russian Revolution in its time, only a part, the most striking part, of the World Revolution in its present stage. Its enemies are the various Imperialisms, whether Fascist or Democratic. The tragi-comedy of the blockade, set going by the so-called democratic nations, clears the way for the assassination of the Spanish workers while it in no way impedes the Fascist nations from supplying Franco, proving that the Imperialisms are solid in their determination to prevent the Spanish Revolution from developing. The second stage, the ban on volunteers and the mediation of the democratic nations, with which the U.S.S.R. has associated herself, shows a determination to break the fresh impetus of the Revolution engendered by the successful defence of Madrid.

Conclusion: The struggle against the blockade means the struggle of the proletariat against their own Imperialisms. Through pretending to fight against the blockade while at the same time bolstering up Capitalism, the Stalinists find themselves associated with the reinforced blockade. The unity of the Imperialisms against the Revolution might, in the case of the weakening of the Revolution, be replaced by Imperialist quarrels over the division of Spain. This might cause a new world war.

The revolutionary party which will be forged in Spain from the struggle of the workers, can only protect the revolution against the blockade and against intervention, by Revolutionary Internationalism. Whether it is a question of fighting against the blockade or against Imperialist war, the only hope lies in revolutionary action of the proletariat against its own bourgeoisie, under the leadership of a New International. This, which will be built on the ruins of, and with the full advantage of the positive teachings of, the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, will not be a collection of heterogeneous groups, without a programme, like the London Bureau, but a world party, leading an intransigent struggle on the basis of a united programme.

Along the road of the victorious Russian October, in the fire of the heroic Spanish Revolution, in the vicissitudes of the class struggle in France, Belgium and Holland, and throughout the world, the 4th International will build itself and conquer.

### RESOLUTION of THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU STALINIST ATTACKS ON POUM

The Bureau for the 4th International with the support of the representatives of workers' organisations in many countries, after a fraternal exchange of views on the situation in Spain,

takes note of the dangers which are menacing the POUM, both from the counter-revolution and from its accomplices within the workers' movement in Spain,

pays full tribute to the heroic efforts of the combatants of POUM, and appreciates the sacrifices that they have made and are making for the workers cause in Spain,

considers that now is the time to discuss, through the International movement the lessons to be learnt from the Spanish Revolution, for the especial benefit of the party,

considers that now is the time to discuss, through the maximum of material and moral support at this time,

calls upon the workers of all countries to help and defend it in its double struggle against Fascism and for the proletarian revolution, considers that the victory of the workers in Spain is a fundamental necessity for a renaissance of the Revolutionary International Workers movement, and calls on this movement to establish a new International, the 4th International,

calls on the comrades in the POUM to remain united in the struggle and to accept the collaboration of all those who turn loyally towards them, seeing in them the advance guard of the International Revolution.

### RESOLUTION of THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU COMMISSION TO EXAMINE THE SLANDERS AGAINST POUM.

The International Bureau for the 4th International, having been informed of the Resolution of the Executive Committee of the POUM, proposing the setting up of an International Commission to examine the accusations (terrorism, Gestapo, etc.) made against it, gives its full support to this Commission, and will send a delegation to it when necessary; it calls immediately on all foreign comrades in Spain and in all organisations linked to the International Bureau to do all in their power to enforce the demand for this Commission.

### A BOOK TO READ

**T**HIS month we publish an advertisement for "World Revolution" by C. L. R. James, a member of the Marxist Group, and Editor of FIGHT. The book is of extreme importance to our movement. For the first time in a single volume is brought together the course of the revolutionary movement since the war, the development of the Soviet Union, and the influence each has had on the other. The German revolutionary situation of 1923, the Chinese Revolution, the ruin of the German revolution by the Stalinist theory of Social-Fascism, the sabotage of the stay-in strikes by the Stalinists, the reasons for their present love of the league of Nations, why, though fighting in Spain, they oppose a Workers' Spain, all these things are clearly traced, and placed in relation to the Kulak question, the Five Year Plan and the present domination of Russia and the Third International by a privileged bureaucracy. It is a book which will be invaluable to all students of our movement and every worker.

The price is 12/6, but all comrades who cannot afford to buy it individually or collectively should see that their local libraries stock at least one copy.

## A PRICE POLICY FOR THE CO-OPS.

**T**HE most useful contribution on the question of a price policy for the Co-operatives so far has been given in a pamphlet by Mr. Downie of Wishaw.

At present, the Co-ops cannot really be said to have any definite policy at all. Prices are usually fixed to produce a certain dividend, with any errors of judgment adjusted by means of a divided equalisation fund. Another method is that of shadowing the prices of other traders in the town and leaving the dividend to chance, while one Society that I know is in the habit of ringing up F—, the coalman, each time wholesale coal prices move, and asking him outright, "What are you charging to-day?" and then following suit.

Generally the prices are left to the discretion of the various departmental managers. This anarchy has not served too badly against the worse anarchy of system of the small trader, but it is dangerous today when the movement is facing a new type of competition.

The depression of 1930 to 1934 brought great changes in retail capitalism. Small traders were pushed to the wall and became heavily mortgaged to the big wholesale firms, who either took them over altogether or bound them by contracts which took away every vestige of their control. Better paid workers, pushed from industry and commerce, invested their savings in "General" shops, etc., under conditions which tied them hand and foot to the large enterprises such as Lyons' combine. Wholesale houses enlisted the services of hundreds of agents, who, unable to obtain settled employment, were driven to accept commission for door-to-door canvassing. Lastly a new type of shop emerged in the High Streets of the towns, the "Cut Price" store, which filled its windows with catch lines and price tickets a foot high.

In the meantime as a result of the cheapening of credit, the insecurity of small capitalist investments and the fear of insecurity among the workers, millions of pounds of additional capital poured into the Co-op, so that while in eight years the capital increased by sixty million pounds or 57%, sales only rose by twenty million or about 10½%. Moreover the Co-op's reaction to increased capital in most areas was a drive for more trade among the "better class" of customer,

Distribution costs rose rapidly and great gaps appeared between Co-op prices and those of competitive private trade, so that the poorer workers were forced to pass by their own stores and to "pick over the market."

This desertion of the poorer worker has to be prevented if the Co-op. movement is to be saved as an instrument of the working class.

First, prices of working class necessities must be cut to the marrow and the co-op. shop windows filled with them at their own cut prices. Secondly, non-delivery (cash over the counter and no parcels) food shops selling at cut prices must be set up alongside the regular 'cut price' shops in all important centres and market towns. Thirdly, in the large towns there should be bazaar trading. Fourthly, there should be standardised cut prices in most of the mass produced goods sold in the various departments. This should be fixed in conjunction with the C.W.S.

Such action would lead to a price war or rather an intensification of the present one. It has to be accompanied by such action as was outlined in the first issue of FIGHT. It would lead to pressure being brought upon

certain supplying combines. They could be further fought by the Co-op. entering into every field of production where strong combines and price rings are entrenched.

Inevitably such a struggle would have difficult moments, but the mass action of the workers could be prepared in unity with the Trade Union movement, so that in the heat of the struggle combine employees would be brought out on strike for wage demands. The whole force of the workers would then be brought into action in defence of their own shops, which are out or should be out to make the workers' wages go further.

K.T.W.

**THE MARXIST GROUP (Trotskyists)**  
for "THE WORKERS' PARTY"  
for THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

**Books of the Moment:**

"The 3rd International After Lenin," by Leon Trotsky, price 7/6d.

"Behind the Moscow Trial," by Max Shachtman, price 1/3d.

"The Decline and Fall of the Third International" by C. I. R. James; price 12/6d. (Secker and Warburg).

Read regularly the journals of our international sections:

**LA LUTTE OUVRIERE** (French section)

**LA LUTTE OUVRIERE** (Belgian section)

**THE VANGUARD** (Canadian section)

Read also

**THE SOCIALIST APPEAL** (America)  
and **THE RED FLAG**

(H. Boyd, 238 Edgware Rd., W.1.)

Send to Robert Williams, 25 Aubert Park, N.5 for any of the above.

The following booksellers and newsagents also stock FIGHT and other Trotskyist literature:

**Bibliophile**, Little Russell Street, W.C.1.

**Burns and Berry**, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.

**Colletts**, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

**Clapham Socialist Bookshop**, 79 Bedford Road, Clapham North.

**Johns**, Torrington Place, W.C.

**Librairie Internationale**, 73 Russell Square, W.C.

**Librairie Internationale**, Percy Street, W.C.

**Lahr**, Red Lion Square, W.C.

**London School of Economics Bookshop**, Aldwych.

**London Weekly Mail**, New Bridge Street.

**Parton Street Bookshop**, Parton Street, W.C.

**Preis**, Little Russell Street, W.C.

**Solosky**, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

**Strauberg**, Coptic Street, W.C.

**Socialist Bookshop**, 35 St. Bride Street, E.C.4.

## Doctrine and History for the Youth No. 3

# THE LENINIST POLICY FOR SPAIN

IN our last issue, No. 4, there appeared a remarkable extract from Lenin's denunciation of bourgeois democracy. We must get this question of democracy clear. That is the great political issue of the Spanish revolution. Is the revolution for bourgeois democracy against Fascism or is it for a Soviet Spain? All the Liberals say it is for bourgeois democracy. We know them. They are for bourgeois democracy because that means the protection of capitalist property. But the Communist Party is also for democracy. In the International Press Correspondence of August 8, 1936, Harry Pollitt says "*The people of Spain are not fighting to establish soviets, or the proletarian dictatorship. Only downright lying scoundrels, or misguided self-styled "Lefts" declare that they are—and both combine to help the aims of the fascist rebels.*"

The Marxist Group and the Fourth International are the "downright lying scoundrels" who condemn the Communist Party policy. That is why we give critical support to the P.O.U.M. because although they are not Trotskyist, they stand for the socialist revolution. And that is one of the reasons why we and the P.O.U.M. and all in Russia who oppose Stalinism, are slandered, called agents of Franco and of the German Gestapo, etc. These lies are necessary to the Stalinists. They have to lie for they cannot argue. What is our idea about democracy? We shall let one of our comrades express it.

"It is just there that people calling themselves teachers of Marxism have come forward with the banner of democracy, not understanding that democracy, so long as the capitalists keep their property, is only a thoroughly hypocritical covering for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and there cannot even be any question of emancipating labour from the yoke of capital unless that hypocritical covering is torn aside, unless we put the question as Marx always taught us to put it, as the daily struggle of the workers has taught us to put it, as every strike, every sharpening of the trade union struggle has put it. The question has to be put in this way, that so long as property remains in the hands of the capitalists any kind of democracy is only a hypocritically concealed bourgeois dictatorship. All kinds of talk about universal suffrage, about plebiscite, about equality in voting, is only utter deceit so long as there is no equality between exploiters and exploited, between the owners of capital and property and the modern wage slaves."

That is our position exactly. We say that as long as the capitalists have the property, whether the Government is Popular Front or Labour, wage-slavery remains. But if it were possible for our comrade to be with us at a meeting in London and say this, the Stalinists would shout at him, "Agent of Hitler," "Trotskyist mad-dog," "Friend of Franco," etc., etc. That unfortunately cannot happen. For the comrade is Lenin. All youth should read his little pamphlet on "Democracy and Trade Unions." The Stalinist bureaucracy, rich, powerful, privileged, is using Lenin's name to deceive the workers. It wants no more socialist revolutions anywhere and organises great trials in Russia and huge campaigns of slander against

all who still fight for the socialist revolution. Trotskyism means Leninism.

But it is here that an important question arises. Caballero is for democracy. But Caballero is fighting Franco. If we fight Caballero we may weaken the fight against Franco. Suppose I put it this way.

*Even now we must not support the revolution of Caballero. It would be a failure of principle. How then, it will be said, must Franco not be fought? Certainly, yes. But between fighting Franco and supporting Caballero there is a difference. We wage and shall continue to wage war on Franco, but we do not support Caballero; we unveil his feebleness. There is a difference. That difference is subtle enough, but it is most essential, and it must not be forgotten.*

Now supposing we were the party of the P.O.U.M. in Madrid where Caballero is still fairly strong, and the revolutionary socialist movement not strong enough as it is in Catalonia to raise the slogan of the immediate seizure of power. We would say to our party: *we must at the same moment agitate against Caballero, but let the agitation be indirect rather than direct, but insisting on an active war against Franco [a war of attack which at last Caballero, under pressure, is just beginning]. Only the active development of that war can lead us to power, but of that we must speak as little as possible in our agitation (we keep it well in mind that even to-morrow events may compel us to take power, and that then we shall not let it go).*

The policy is that while fighting against Franco we constantly point out the things that the Caballero Government does not do, cannot do, being a bourgeois government. And when sufficient of the masses see from the way the war is going that the Caballero Government is not mobilising the full force of workers and peasants (they are seeing it to-day already) they will turn to the party which will lead a really revolutionary war.

It is along those lines that we think the battle should be fought in Spain, a United Front against Franco with the Azana-Caballero Government but building up the Socialist Revolution to seize power and abolish capitalism and parliamentary democracy. That is the policy for which the P.O.U.M. is called Mola's Fifth Column in Madrid, agents of Franco, etc. by the Stalinists. But every line that is in italics was written by Lenin a few weeks before October 1917. All I have done is to substitute Franco for Kornilov and Caballero for Kerensky. I could have put Azana for Kerensky but Caballero works hand in glove with Azana the Republican. By lining themselves up with Azana and Caballero in a Popular policy against the Leninist line, the Stalinists have broken every principle of Leninism. They cannot argue. All they can do is to slander.

Get into contact with us, comrades, so that we can discuss these things together and organise assistance to P.O.U.M., slandered and persecuted not only by the bourgeois but by the Stalinist murderers of everything revolutionary inside and outside Russia. C. L. RUDDER