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TWOPENCE

THE TRAGEDY OF SPAIN

by LEON TROTSKY

One of the most tragic pages of modern history is now drawing to its conclusion in Spain. On Franco's side there is neither a staunch army nor popular support. There is only the greed of proprietors ready to drown in blood three-fourths of the population if only to maintain their rule over the remaining one-fourth. However, this cannibal ferocity is not enough to win a victory over the heroic Spanish proletariat. Franco needed help from the opposite side of the battlefield. And he obtained this aid. His chief assistant was and still is—Stalin, the grave-digger of the Bolshevik party and the proletarian revolution. The fall of the great proletarian capital, Barcelona, comes as direct retribution for the massacre of the uprising of the Barcelona proletariat in May 1937.

Insignificant as Franco himself is, however miserable his clique of adventurists, without honour, without conscience, and without military talents, Franco's great superiority lies in this, that he has a clear and definite programme: to safeguard and stabilise capitalist property, the rule of the exploiters and the domination of the church; and to restore the monarchy.

POSSESSORS ARE WITH FRANCO

The possessing classes of all capitalist countries—whether fascist or democratic—proved, in the nature of things, to be on Franco's side. The Spanish bourgeoisie has gone completely over into Franco's camp. At the head of the republican camp there remained the cast-off "democratic" armour-bearers of the bourgeoisie. These gentlemen could not desert to the side of Fascism, for the very sources of their influence and income spring from the institutions of bourgeois democracy, which require (or used to require!) for their normal functioning lawyers, deputies, journalists, in short, the democratic armour-bearers of capitalism. The programme of Azana and Co. is—nostalgia for the day that has passed. This is an altogether inadequate basis.

The "People's Front" resorted to demagogy and illusions in order to swing the masses behind itself. For a certain period, this proved successful. The masses who had assured all the previous successes of the revolution still continued to believe that the revolution would reach its logical conclusion, that

is, achieve an overturn in property relations; give land to the peasants and transfer the factories into the hands of the workers. The dynamic force of the revolution was lodged precisely in this hope of the masses for a better future. But Messrs. Republicans did everything in their power to trample, to besmirch, or simply to drown in blood the cherished hopes of the oppressed masses.

SPIRIT OF MASSES DULLED

As a result, we have witnessed during the last two years the growing distrust and hatred of the republican cliques on the part of peasants and workers. Despair or dull indifference gradually replaced revolutionary enthusiasm and the spirit of self-sacrifice. The masses turned their backs on those who had deceived and trampled upon them. That is the primary reason for the defeat of the republican troops. The inspirer of deceit and of the massacre of the revolutionary workers of Spain was Stalin. The defeat of the Spanish revolution falls as a new indelible splotch of infamy upon the already bespattered Kremlin gang.

The crushing of Barcelona deals a terrible blow to the world proletariat, but it also teaches a great lesson. The mechanics of the Spanish "People's Front" as an organised system of deceit and

treachery of the exploited masses has been completely exposed. The slogan of "defence of democracy" has once again revealed its reactionary essence, and at the same time, its hollowness. The bourgeoisie wants to perpetuate its rule of exploitation. The workers want to free themselves from exploitation. These are the real tasks of FUNDAMENTAL classes in modern society.

ARTISANS OF DEFEAT

Miserable cliques of petty bourgeois middlemen, having lost the confidence and the subsidies of the bourgeoisie sought to salvage the past without giving any concessions to the coming day. Under the label of the "People's Front" they set up a joint stock company. Under the leadership of Stalin they have assured the most terrible defeat when all the conditions for victory were at hand.

The Spanish proletariat gave proof of extraordinary capacity for initiative and revolutionary heroism. The revolution was brought to ruin by petty, despicable and utterly corrupted "leaders." The downfall of Barcelona signifies above all the downfall of the Second and Third Internationals, as well as of Anarchism, rotten to its core. Forward to a new road, workers! Forward to the road of the international Socialist revolution!

Sir Stafford Cripps Stands Firm

The expulsion of Sir Stafford Cripps from the Labour Party for his insistent agitation for a coalition of "anti-Chamberlain forces" indicates the nature of the plans of the Labour leadership for the General Election universally anticipated within the next few months.

The political career of Cripps has been marked by a series of abject surrenders. His famous declaration that the defeat of British Imperialism in war would react to the advantage of the British working class was repudiated by him at the first protesting squawk of the reactionaries. When the Labour bureaucrats countered the Unity Campaign by banning the Socialist League, he hastened to dissolve the organisation. Backing down has become second nature to him, and if this weak-kneed hero of capitulation now startles the world by making a firm

stand for the popular Front, it is because the Popular Front is in its essence a capitulation to the capitalist class. "Any idea of real Socialism would have to be put aside for the present," he wrote last year, indicating his firm determination to give up the luxury of possessing principles, for the sake of an alliance with the "liberal" capitalists. This fake left-winger, firm only when he insists on surrender, is thereby fitted by nature to be a leader in a Popular Front.

His counterparts in the Spanish Popular Front have played out to the end the role upon which he is now embarking. A single incident in the fall of Barcelona epitomises in itself the whole nature and function of Popular Front leadership: the evacuation of the Telefonica, the principal telephone exchange building, nerve-centre of Northern Spain's com-

munications, commanding the centre of Barcelona. It was surrendered in the first place by the Government Assault Guards to the fascists on July 19, 1936. Recaptured by the anarchists at the cost of many lives, it was held by them and operated under workers' control until the Popular Front government provoked the May 1937 uprising in order to regain possession of this and other key points. The Government held the Telefonica in trust for Franco, and handed it over to him intact, together with the rest of the economic, military and transport facilities and supplies of Barcelona, when the fascists entered the city last month. The history of the Telefonica shows up once more the role of the Popular Front as the custodian of capitalist property right, protecting them from workers' control so as to turn them over to the new guardians, the fascists, when the relief guard arrives on the scene.

But if the Labour Party leaders have expelled Cripps and continued their fight against Popular Frontism, it does not signify that they recognise and oppose the anti-working class function of the Popular Front. Indeed, they contemptuously dismiss any criticism based on the experience of Spain as "ideological," and while they mouth phrases about their Socialist principles they are careful to point out for the benefit of the careerists in the Labour Party, the "practical" reasons for opposing the Popular Front.

Their calculations of votes and seats, all confined within the framework of parliamentarism, are convincing enough to sooth the climbers on the lower rungs of the Labour Party ladder. But the real reason why they maintain their stand against all change is that they are well satisfied with things as they are. To take office means for them merely to place themselves in a glass case for public scrutiny, and they fear more than anything else in the world the too penetrating eyes of their supporters. Not believing themselves even in the mild reformist programme which they advocate, to take office would mean to reveal to their supporters the fact that they are incapable and unwilling to carry out that programme.

The Popular Front agitation has been carried on in the Co-operative and Constituency Labour Parties through the collection of petty bourgeois "democrats" and patriots recruited by the Communist Party from the Left Book Clubs and turned loose onto Labour to clamour for "a people's movement".

But the main strength of the Labour Party rests of course on the trade unions, and, precisely because the Popular Fronters are middle-class pseudo-intellectuals and not workers, they have no strength in the trade unions and therefore no weight in the

Labour Party as a whole.

The bureaucrats who head the unions are able to swamp the vote of the entire constituency and co-operative sections at conferences by a mere wave of a card. As long as the workers in the unions do not proceed to any broad movement on militant demands, they are well satisfied with things as they are, and dispel the Popular Front spectre by waving the magic card.

But the demands of the unparalleled arms programme imposes strains on the economic system that are rapidly making themselves felt, and the *Times* voices the policy of capitalist Britain when it speaks openly of "a restriction of consumption all round". The general attack on workers' conditions of life which is now being prepared, bringing increased food taxes and speed-up in production, will set the masses in motion against the new burdens laid on them.

It is then that the Citrines will do what the Jouhaux' did in France under similar circumstances. They will swing over to support of the Popular Front as a means of checking and holding back the mass movement. As in Spain and France, the Popular Front will arise in this country as a halter on the mass movement. But until that mass movement is under way, the bureaucrats will sit tight and spout about their "Socialist principles".

Sir Stafford Cripps announced a year ago the need for postponing any thought of a socialist programme. The programme of the "people's movement" which he advocates is the old familiar fly-specked programme of Liberalism. This document is now dug out of the archives and decorated with a new "Popular Front" label to serve once again its old purpose of deceiving the people. As in France and Spain, it consists of a list of grandiose plans of which not a letter, not a comma, not a fly-speck will be carried out.

Within the Labour Party the militant left-wing worker is offered a choice between the bureaucracy complacently holding on to its privileges and declaiming its pure socialist principles, and on the other hand, the Popular Front which he knows worked out disastrously in France and Spain, but at least offers something different to the petrified smugness of the official leaders who tell him to stay where he is.

It is small wonder that militants in the Labour Party, feeling that any change would be a change for the better, are tempted to follow the only other alternative that seems to offer itself—the Popular Front.

But there is another possible path—the path to the

left. Neither to remain His Majesty's Loyal Opposition nor to link up with the class enemy in the Popular Front, but to strike out boldly for a Majority Labour Government.

A programme based on the class needs of the workers would win support and place into power a Labour Government with a majority. To agitate for such a programme, to rally militants around the demand for such a programme, this is the first task for the socialist.

A majority Labour Government would place the present leadership of the Labour Party in the glass

case which they dread. In action they would be exposed to the full view of the working masses as the lackeys of capitalism. And in the awakening of mass consciousness to the real role of these traitors, the last barrier would be removed from the path of the workers in their struggle for political power.

Neither in the present leadership of the Labour Party nor in the Popular Front will the guide be found to lead the masses out of present miseries. The fight for a socialist programme to initiate the majority Labour Government is the first battle in the campaign for workers' power.

The Cost of Capitalism

This year the combined military expenditure of the great Powers is expected to reach the breath-taking total of £2,800,000,000,000. Astronomical figures like this elude the grasp of the human mind. It is only possible to estimate its magnitude in comparison with the population of the entire world, which numbers approximately 2,000 millions. For every person alive to-day, white or yellow, or brown or black, savage or "civilised," infant or aged, a sum of £1,400 has been expended for arms. If a family is assumed to consist of 5 persons, a figure near enough for our purposes, then arms expenditure amounts to £7,000 per family, a sum which would buy that family a freehold plot with a comfortable villa and yet leave enough for furniture, a car, a refrigerator and a host of other appliances of civilised life.

But instead, the enormous wealth of raw material and human labour which this sum represents, has been spent on million-pound battleships, tanks and bombers, submarines and machine guns, artillery and forts. Instead of increasing the scope and comfort of human life, this wealth is designed for the destruction of life and property. The coming world war is now accepted as one of the inevitable facts of existence, and humanity looks forward shudderingly to the swift approach of the catastrophe, bringing not only mutilation and death for the belligerents, but starvation and its train of epidemic and malnutritional diseases, social chaos, the disruption of home and civil life, disorganisation of industry, filth and vermin and venereal disease.

The bourgeoisie is itself appalled when it attempts to look into the future when the vast ammunition

dumps suffer the inevitable explosion. But the paradox of declining capitalism lies in this, that it is only the insane arms race which is holding off the world slump which has begun to creep over international economy. British imports and exports continue in headlong decline. New capital issues, always a reliable indicator of economic tendencies, show a catastrophic drop in the past year; at the depth of the last slump, in 1932, they fell to £113 millions and the 1938 drop to £118 millions shows clearly what is in store for British industry. A fall from £171 millions in 1937 to £118 millions in 1938, with the prospect of further decline in the coming year, shows unmistakably that the last slump, with its mass unemployment and wholesale destruction of capital and products, was a picnic compared to the slump which is coming. If unemployment in Britain has not yet matched the United States official figure of nearly £10 millions, this is because "Government orders," that is, arms manufacture, still absorbs an enormous proportion of labour, while recruiting for the armed forces accelerates week by week. The worker who would otherwise be queuing up at the Labour Exchange has been drawn into the barracks and the arms factory; his work, instead of making for construction and life, is turned into the preparation of destruction and death. But the arms programme holds off the most catastrophic manifestation of the slump, the leap in unemployment; the workers are not starving in multitudes to-day because they will be dying in multitudes to-morrow. And even if by a miracle the world war is postponed once again, the whole of humanity will be inevitably convulsed in the approaching world depression.

The British bourgeoisie, preferring to take its chances in the slump, hopes for a miracle. Through its mouthpiece, the National Government, it calls for "appeasement." As markets continue to dwindle, as one country after another is gripped in the throes of economic paralysis, revolts are breaking out in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, in Palestine, India, Burma, the West Indies. The discovery of caches in Britain are symptomatic of the regeneration of revolutionary nationalist movements in the Empire. In India, the nationalists swing leftwards, in South Africa, Boer nationalism emerges from its hibernation wearing a fascist mask. Convulsed internally, British Imperialism is confronted with clamorous demands by starving rival imperialisms and seeks to turn away their wrath with fair words about "appeasement."

In the period 1924 to 1929, a policy of "appeasement" or "pacification" as it was then called, was successfully followed by the British government. The Dawes Plan and the Young Plan paved the way for the Geneva Protocol, the Treaty of Locarno, the Pact of Paris. Such diplomatic agreements were made possible by the fact that capitalism had succeeded in emerging from the post-war slump and embarked on a period of comparative stabilisation. But if a certain degree of pacification was then possible on account of the "boom," the proposals for "appeasement" are made to-day in a period of decline.

Hitler and Mussolini ask to-day, concretely: "Out of your wealth of capital reserves, markets, colonies, what share are you prepared to give us?" And Britain and France answer, concretely: "None!" The deepening economic crisis prevents them from giving any other reply. And so the trade war reaches new depths of ferocity while the extra-diplomatic exchanges reach new levels of mutual abuse.

Hitler's speech last month was interpreted on the Stock Exchanges to mean that a further short period of "peace" remains before the dreaded "next crisis," but that period will be marked by intensified commercial warfare carried on with the help of credit inflation and the further lowering of the standards of living of the German workers. By these means, German industry may prolong its hand-to-mouth existence and hope for miracles, but in embarking on increased arms production, Hitler, whatever his hopes, prepares realistically, for war.

Just as realistically, the British counterpreparations are made and no small part of these is the propaganda directed towards the workers seeking to portray the coming war as the defence of democracy against fascism. The voluntary character of "National Service" is contrasted with totalitarian conscription, and Chamberlain appeals to the worker to give the "service" as a sacrifice for the nation, to "defend democracy."

When it was a question of supplying arms to the anti-fascist fighters of Spain, the so-called "democracies" of Britain and France deliberately aided Franco by means of the hypocritical non-intervention agreement, refusing arms and sabotaging the struggle of the Spanish workers. But now that the prospect arises of Italian troops remaining in Spain after Franco's victory, France threatens to occupy Minorca and Spanish Morocco with the support of Britain. Spain was abandoned to fascism on the pretext that intervention would provoke a world war, but the "democracies" are now ready to risk starting that world war in defence of French and British imperialist interests. The cry "defend democracy" serves once again as it did in 1914 to mask the predatory aims of the imperialist bandits.

The National Council of Labour, in deciding to endorse co-operation with the National Service committees, again underlines the role of the Labour bureaucracy as the lackeys of imperialism, ready to act once more as bell-wethers in leading the working class into the imperialist slaughterhouse.

The only criticism of the Attlees and the Morrisons is that the arms speed-up is not efficient enough; the only criticism of the "Communists" is that A.R.P. shelters are not deep enough. Both seek to outdo the capitalist class itself in their eagerness to make preparations to ensure the victory of British imperialism in the coming war. For the workers, neither "Communists" nor "Socialists" can show the way out.

Decaying capitalism, which to-day can provide only the alternatives of slump and war, places before the workers the prospect of dying in order to perpetuate the monstrous system within which masses starve. The only way out is the road of workers' revolution; to find and to follow that road is the task of the workers' vanguard, the revolutionary party of the working class.

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By LEON TROTSKY

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Smashing Fascism

American Trotskyists Lead Fight

Fifty thousand workers assembled near Madison Square Garden, New York, on 20th February, 1939, in a mighty protest demonstration against the mobilisation organised by the labour-hating fascist leagues.

Alone among organisations speaking in the name of the American workers, the Socialist Workers' Party, U.S. section of the Fourth International, issued a call to all anti-fascists to meet in protest. Where the "socialists" and "communists" sought to turn the attentions of the workers elsewhere and to smother the call issued by the S.W.P. in a campaign of silence, the "Trotskyists" voiced the anger of the workers towards the fascist thugs and gave it the practical form of an energetic counter-demonstration.

A stirring call was issued to anti-fascists:

"WORKERS OF NEW YORK!

Rally to stop the Fascists!

**They are mobilising at Madison Square Garden,
Monday night, February 20.**

Hitler's German-American Bund, Pelley's Silver Shirt scum and Coughlin's mob of labour-haters have hurled a brazen challenge at the workers of New York.

Wrapping themselves in the cloak of patriotism and "Americanism", the Fascists prepare to spew their anti-labour and anti-Jewish poison throughout New York City.

These gangs have already gone too far. They must be stopped.

What are you going to do to stop this murderous crew?

We must not let this filthy, creeping slime get a foothold in New York.

Gather in front of Madison Square Garden, Monday by the thousands!

Be there at 6 p.m. sharp!

Let the Fascists feel the anger and the might of the working class—Get out and picket!

Don't wait for the concentration camps — Act now!

On to Madison Square Garden Monday night!

**—SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY,
N.Y. District."**

In contrast to the action of the S.W.P., the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, the Social-

Democrat's Federation and the American Communist Party ignored the need for action, ignored the call and were nowhere to be found in the demonstration. *Freiheit*, Jewish Stalinist daily, kept silence, while the three other Jewish dailies in New York urged upon all the need to stay away.

In this way, the "democrats" tried to isolate the demonstration, to make it a turn-out of "Trotskyists" alone, but a full two hours before the Nazi meeting was scheduled to begin, Madison Square Garden was thronged with thousands of workers, who were joined by thousands more as the evening went on.

Rank and file Socialists and Communists showed by their presence unofficially that the criminal sabotage of their leaders was in direct opposition to their own instinctive desire to smash the Fascist rally.

Mayor La Guardia, elected to his position by thousands of labour votes, declared that he would not permit interference with the *Bund* meeting and his announcement was backed up by the presence at the demonstration of 1,780 of his police, the largest force ever assembled in New York City against a single demonstration. In an unsuccessful attempt to disperse the demonstrators, the police rode their horses into the crowds, trampling them down and batoning right and left.

In spite of police charges and arrests, the workers stood their ground, surrounding the S.W.P. speakers, and ultimately succeeded in breaking through the police line.

While the papers the following day carried accounts of the successful counter-demonstration with photographs of the brutal police attacks, the Stalinist *Daily Worker*, utterly at a loss to explain to rank and filers of the Communists Party and Young Communist League how it had come about that "Trotsky-fascists" had led the struggle against fascism while they did nothing, completely suppressed all news of the counter-demonstration in its columns.

The events of February 20 showed that despite sabotage and slander the leading role in the struggle against fascism belongs to the revolutionary socialists of the Fourth International. There remains still the task, however, of organising that struggle in the only effective way by setting up the Workers' Defence Corps which will crush and obliterate the criminal fascist gangs once and for all.

Why Did They Confess?

"Why did they confess?"

This was the final unanswerable argument hurled by the Stalinists at those who expressed doubts and pointed to discrepancies in the testimony in the series of Moscow Trials.

An answer has been supplied by the G.P.U. itself in a new series of trials of G.P.U. officials for extorting confessions from innocent persons. It has been "established" own that some at least of the "confessions" of "Trotsky-fascist-wreckers" were wrung from them by torture. But though the original question is now answered in one word: *torture!* a new question asks itself:

"Why did the G.P.U. officials confess to extorting false confessions?"

It must be left to the Stalinists to answer their own question.

Four "Ogres", G.P.U. officials who confessed to torturing 160 schoolchildren aged 10 to 12 years, received prison sentences of between five and ten years.

The children were arrested and imprisoned, and confessions extracted from them that they had been members of a Fascist terrorist group. Boys of ten years old, pulled out of prison cells at midnight and brought before the officials not only admitted that they were Fascist terrorists but that they had become so at the age of seven.

"Perhaps that is why this too extreme case has not been reported except in local Siberian newspapers," remarks the Moscow correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*.

A similar case at the beginning of the year was reported only in the local paper, the *Sovietskaia Ukraina* of Kiev, and quoted by Denny, the Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*. In this trial, five G.P.U. officials confessed to organising frame-ups by the extortion of confessions from innocent persons, including youth who accused themselves, their friends and even absolute strangers of being members of Fascist youth organisations, which in reality were non-existent.

Unlike the Siberian case, the methods used to extract the false confessions were not revealed. The ten witnesses (another innovation in Soviet frame-ups) testified that they were "compelled" by the G.P.U. officials to give their "confessions."

Denny further points out the motivation for this trial in the fact that "*much stress was placed by the prosecution on the necessity of the public's having faith in the political police.*" "*This crime is*

particularly heinous," the prosecution declared in asking the death sentence, "*because it has sullied the honourable name of Chekist (G.P.U.) with contemptible deeds.*"

Thus a tiny corner of the curtain has been lifted exposing a minor cog in the vast mechanism employed by Stalinism in the two-year blood purge of which the three most celebrated trials took place in Moscow but which included hundreds of frame-up trials throughout the Soviet Union.

Why the present revelation? The murderous onslaught of the degenerate bureaucracy against all its potential enemies let loose a Frankenstein which threatens to destroy everything, including the bureaucracy itself. Industrial production, military work, administration in every sphere—everything falters as fear-paralyzed functionaries and workers flinch at every step, fearing that any initiative, *anything*, may bring them into the view of the secret police and cause their downfall. As though stricken with a plague of inertia, the whole nation sinks into passive sullenness. The terroristic methods of the ruling clique thus endanger its own security, for its own power and privileges require a functioning society.

The ruling clique is therefore driven to find ways and means to reassure the people, or at least the millions of functionaries. In the past year, therefore, Soviet leaders have made various reassuring speeches. But these have not achieved their aim. Finally, in desperation, the bureaucracy has had to expose part of its own mechanism in the hope that this extraordinary step will create the necessary reassurance. But in the nature of the whole regime—ironical touch!—the scapegoats had to ape their own methods, convicting themselves in the Kiev trial by self-confessions.

The Kiev trial was attended by officials and intellectuals, administrators and Stakhanovists, who presumably were summoned in order to be directly reassured. The fact that the trials were not reported throughout the Soviet Union indicates that the ruling clique still hopes to provide such reassurance by such local trial-demonstrations, with discreetly-limited audiences, and without much publicity. The all-devouring paralysis, however, will not be lifted by these measures or indeed, by any measures which the bureaucracy itself can undertake. Nothing but the removal of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the revival of the Soviet and the establishment of a new revolutionary party can save the Soviet Union from destruction.

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the Ministry of Labour full powers in hiring and discharging labour and in drafting workers from their present occupations to any other project regarded as important to the state.

These measures, like the bringing back of German emigres and the halving of the apprenticeship period, are designed to produce a torrent of German goods. Hitler has announced the policy of Germany to be: "Export or die." As exports dwindle, the German people come face to face with the other alternative—to die.

With declining markets everywhere, with each imperialist power jealously guarding the remnants of its own trading field, a policy of increased production in order "to export" seems like sheer insanity. But when the increased production is viewed in the light that the Nazis are preparing the people to die, in a war for the redivision of the world's markets, it is as nearly sane as capitalist policy can possibly be.

Surplus goods with no markets mean an accumulation of goods within Germany that exerts a tremendous pressure on world economy which if resisted must end in an explosion. Rivals are confronted with the choice of either making way on the markets or else seeing the goods converted into war-stores.

The collapse of Germany in the last World War was due to the blockade coupled with the withdrawing of man-power from the factories for the trenches. Neither from outside nor from her own factories was Germany able to obtain enough supplies to maintain her army in the field. The hoarding of goods now in the process of organisation would make Germany to a much greater degree immune both from blockade and the using up of man-power from the factories. And in addition to the increased home production it must be noted that stores of vital war-commodities in Germany are being increased. For example, oil imports—mainly benzine and Diesel oil—increased nearly 15 per cent. in 1938 over the previous year, in spite of the increase in domestic production of synthetic benzine from coal.

Thus Nazi policy is the policy of desperation. If a miracle occurs and her rivals make way for her by sacrificing their own profits, German capitalism breathes again and reaps the reward of increased production. But otherwise—it is war, with Germany in the best possible condition to offset the causes of the previous defeat, famine.

War it must be, because her rivals, confronted with deepening world economic crisis are forced not only to drive Germany from world markets but to intensify the fight against each other.

United States Imperialism staged the Pan American Conference at Lima not only to recover markets from Germany but also to weaken Britain's foothold in South America. In Brazil, where the United States now dominates, the economic crisis has given American imperialism the opportunity to crush German influence to its own advantage. After the crushing of the fascist revolts last year, the United States secured the expulsion of German commercial representatives and inspired the refusal of the Brazilian banks to recognise German currency. The tension between America and Germany over Brazil is reflected in the coffee shortage in Germany. Long queues outside the coffee-shops are being dispersed by the police in Berlin, while both the propaganda machinery and the substitute industry are brought into action, to shame the "coffee-hyenas" and to pass off roasted barley on them.

As in Brazil, so also in Argentina there has been a catastrophic fall in exports in the past months and increasing default on service of British loans. Since British influence is dominant in this republic, imports from the United States as well as from Germany have been decreased to the advantage of Britain, while Argentina has taken the lead in opposing the United States plan to defend the Latin American republics from aggression, by organising a powerful Air Force and Navy of "her own", that is, under Britain's wing.

With the two main protagonists at each others' throats over South America's vanishing trade, there is no prospect of crumbs left over for Germany. Since this holds also for the rest of the world market, Germany's policy of "export or die" is reduced to a policy of "die", with the toiling masses of Germany given the task of carrying out this policy.

The widening of the Kiel Canal, the launching of new battleships, the arms race generally, propels the German people and with them all humanity onto the road of disaster. The vast piles of arms and ammunition cancel each other out and serve, not to give one imperialist power domination over the others, but to impose a staggering burden on all mankind.

Under capitalism the colossal wastage of human labour must go on until it culminates in an equally colossal wastage of human life, for Hitler's policy is the policy of all imperialism: either they export or we die.

The struggle is against capitalism: for the German workers—against German capitalism; for the British workers—against British capitalism. Our enemy is at home. In ruthless and unrelenting class struggle that enemy must be overthrown if humanity is to survive.

For Grynzspan:

Against the Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist Scoundrels

by LEON TROTSKY

It is clear to anyone even slightly acquainted with political history that the policy of the Fascist gangsters directly and sometimes deliberately provokes terrorist acts. What is most astonishing is that so far there has been only one Grynzspan. Undoubtedly the number of such acts will increase. We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities. A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road. Our sympathy becomes intensified because Grynzspan is not a political militant but an inexperienced youth, almost a boy, whose only counsellor was a feeling of indignation. To tear Grynzspan out of the hands of capitalist justice, which is capable of chopping off his head to further serve capitalist diplomacy, is the elementary, immediate task of the international working class!

All the more revolting in its police stupidity and inexpressible violence is the campaign now being conducted against Grynzspan by command of the Kremlin in the international Stalinist press. They attempt to depict him as an agent of the Nazis or an agent of Trotskyites in alliance with the Nazis. Lumping into one heap the provocateur and his victim, the Stalinists ascribe to Grynzspan the intention of creating a favourable pretext for Hitler's pogrom measures. What can one say of these venal "journalists" who no longer have any vestiges of shame? Since the beginning of the socialist movement the bourgeoisie has at all times attributed all violent demonstrations of indignation, particularly terrorist acts, to the degenerating influence of Marxism. The Stalinists have inherited, here as elsewhere, the filthiest tradition of reaction. The Fourth Inter-

national may, justifiably, be proud that the reactionary scum, including the Stalinists, now automatically links with the Fourth International every bold action and protest, every indignant outburst, every blow at the executioners.

It was so, similarly, with the International of Marx in its time. We are bound, naturally, by ties of open moral solidarity to Grynzspan and not to his "democratic" jailers, or the Stalinist slanderers, who need Grynzspan's corpse to prop up, even if only partially and indirectly, the verdicts of Moscow justice. Kremlin diplomacy, degenerated to its marrow, attempts at the same time to utilize this "happy" incident to renew their machinations for an international agreement among various governments, including that of Hitler and Mussolini, for a mutual extradition of terrorists. Beware, masters of fraud! The application of such a law will necessitate the immediate deliverance of Stalin to at least a dozen foreign governments.

The Stalinists shriek in the ears of the police that Grynzspan attended "meetings of Trotskyites." That, unfortunately, is not true. For had he walked into the milieu of the Fourth International he would have discovered a different and more effective outlet for his revolutionary energy. People come cheap who are capable only of fulminating against injustice and bestiality. But those who, like Grynzspan, are able to act as well as conceive, sacrificing their own lives if need be, are the precious leaven of mankind!

In the moral sense, although not for his mode of action, Grynzspan may serve as an example for every young revolutionist. Our open moral solidarity with Grynzspan gives us an added right to say to all the other would-be Grynzspans, to all those capable of self-sacrifice in the struggle against despotism and bestiality: *Seek another road!* Not the

lone avenger can free the oppressed but only a great revolutionary movement of the masses which will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression and racial persecution. The unprecedented crimes of fascism create a yearning for vengeance wholly justifiable. But so monstrous is the scope of their crimes, that this yearning cannot be satisfied by the assassination of isolated fascist bureaucrats. For that it is necessary to set in motion millions, tens and hundreds of millions of the oppressed throughout the whole world and lead

them in the assault upon the strongholds of the old society. Only the overthrow of all forms of slavery, only the complete destruction of fascism, only the people sitting in merciless judgment over the contemporary bandits and gangsters can provide real satisfaction to the indignation of the people. This is precisely the task that the Fourth International has set itself. It will cleanse the labour movement of the plague of Stalinism. It will rally in its ranks the heroic generation of the youth. It will cut a path to a worthier and a more humane future.

Counter Revolution in Spain

It is wrong—utterly and completely wrong—to imagine that civil war can be conducted upon the assumption that the ordinary rules and strategy of military warfare are sufficient to determine victory or defeat. In civil war more than in any other conflict, the purely military considerations are always secondary in importance to political factors—a not unnatural conclusion which should be obvious to every socialist.

The political and economic condition of Spain in 1936 was such that the problems which presented themselves were completely insoluble under capitalism, and their solution being urgent and overdue, the fight to remedy these ills became of necessity the fight for socialism. For the problems of Spain were deep and fundamental.

For five million peasant families with insufficient land, for three millions without land at all, for the entire peasantry ground down with an iniquitous burden of taxation, for a population deprived of elementary education and subject to the priest-ridden tyranny of the Roman Catholic Church, the Revolution became the symbol of liberation. The proletariat suffered cruelly from the inability of Spanish capitalism to compete on the world market with the big imperialist nations and, because of the impoverishment of the peasantry, its lack of a domestic market. The class-consciousness of the Spanish worker, fostered by his desperate poverty, impelled him toward the social Revolution as his only hope. This dearly cherished ideal of the toilers leapt into actuality at the first mention of Franco's uprising and had it not been for the mass action of the workers in those days, the Republic would have

foundered within a week, for the Popular Front was paralysed in the face of the insurrection and was incapable of initiating any resistance until the workers had themselves checked the fascists.

The war and the Revolution became one thing and were inseparable. To the masses Franco represented capitalism and capitalism could only be defeated by Socialism, therefore "Long live the Revolution".

Alas, the Stalinists saw a great danger in this Revolution. The mere existence of a Soviet Spain would mean the end of the Franco-Soviet pact which Stalin had concluded with the French capitalists. Farewell, too, to the hopes of an Anglo-Soviet pact, with a Red Spain in the Mediterranean.

The Revolution must be liquidated and promptly, if the interests of the Stalinist clique were to be preserved.

The French Popular Front Government, supported by the U.S.S.R. brought forward the idea of a "non-intervention" pact which effectively cut off arms supplies to the Republic and rendered it dependent upon "illegal" Soviet aid; aid which was given upon condition that the Revolution was throttled and the "uncontrollables" extinguished. Gladly the Spanish Popular Front yielded to this blackmail, for they too were apprehensive of the Revolution.

The complete apparatus of G.P.U. terrorism was imported, the "uncontrollable" element was systematically murdered, tortured, imprisoned, or assassinated.

ated and thus the Revolution was decapitated. The Popular Front breathed again. "See," they said, "there is no Revolution; all the revolutionaries are dead or in jail, and the war is now for a capitalist democracy."

This plea was emphasised with the subsequent destruction of the embryonic workers' state which had arisen in the early days of the war, had challenged the Popular Front and had wrested its principle functions away from it. The workers' militias were forced into the "People's Army", the workers' control of industry was liquidated and private property again declared sacrosanct. Workers' control disappeared from the land and the Church raised its insidious voice again. Slowly and under the guise of "the fight against Franco", the bourgeois state re-asserted itself and filched from the workers all their revolutionary gains.

Meantime, the fascist forces swept on unhindered by any revolt in their rear, for the peasant, though hating Franco, can see no essential difference between him and the Popular Front. The landlord remains, whoever rules; so he hopes for the war to end and meanwhile sows and reaps his harvest, selling it to Franco. And Franco, assured of his harvests, knows no peasant risings similar to those experienced by the Whites in their campaigns against the Bolsheviks in 1918.

The Moor still serves Franco, for what does it matter to him that one side calls itself "Democratic" and the other "Nationalist"; he still remains a colonial serf, he is still without independence and besides, what have the bespectacled statesmen who prattle so glibly of "democracy" and "constitutionalism" ever done for him that he should fraternise with them.

Thus the war has dragged to its present pitiful stage. Power has been wrenched from the hands of the workers, and their bourgeois "allies" can do no more than appeal to the imperialist Powers, praying that they will be chosen by the imperialists to rule Spain.

"Why do you need Franco, when we, the Government, can serve the same purpose?" they plead. But the Anglo-French imperialists are not placated by the whining of the Popular Front. Behind these dithering elders they can see the armed masses. They know that the masses will demand the completion of the Revolution even in the event of a Republican victory and they can envisage the wave of Revolution that will sweep through Europe if ever the Spanish Revolution were successful. Therefore they support Franco, and the British capitalists are able to negate the influence of their German rivals by offers of a loan to the fascists to "reconstruct poor, shattered Spain."

But what of those working class parties which professed to lead the workers to victory; what of the anarchists who justified their capitulation as being due to "exceptional circumstances," who, after decades of opposition to the authoritarian tyranny of the State now contribute two of their leaders as bourgeois Ministers of State?

The Civil War has spelled the end for anarchism. Henceforth, it can exist only as a political anachronism as an historical remnant. Anarchism is dead, for a militant working class demands a positive leadership and anarchism is prolific only in sweeping negations.

What of the P.O.U.M.? History attaches little importance to good intentions, and a party claiming to be both Marxist and Leninist can find little consolation in excuses. In the final analysis, the P.O.U.M. was an obstacle in the path of the Revolution. Whoever wavered and faltered when boldness and decision were necessary inevitably impeded the Revolution. The P.O.U.M. has paid the price of wobbling centrism—extinction.

It is to the Stalinist and their reformist accomplices that the designation of traitor will be applied.

For the Stalinists bear the responsibility of initiating the Popular Front. This is no theoretical "mistake" on their part, it is rather a manoeuvre determined by the purely empirical needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy of the U.S.S.R.

Because Stalin feared to break with the French bourgeoisie, because he dared not offend the British bourgeoisie, because indeed his whole position depends upon retaining the goodwill of the capitalist class, the Spanish Stalinists subordinated the class struggle of the workers to the needs of their paymaster, thereby sabotaging the workers struggle.

The role of the Stalinists everywhere is a similar one, for wherever the workers raise the standard of revolt against the boss-class, there the Stalinists will be found under one pretext or another, for "unity," for "Democracy," ready and willing to do their masters' bidding with any weapon that will achieve their foul purpose. Stalinism has betrayed the Spanish masses, but the workers will rise again. No illusions of "Popular Frontism" will this time obscure their purpose, for their aim, clearly and without confusion, will be that of socialism.

Salud to the valiant heroes of the proletarian struggle!

Long live the revolutionary unity of worker and peasant!

THE POPULAR FRONT IS DEAD—LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION!!