

WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Incorporating "WORKERS' FIGHT."

VOL.3 No.6

JUNE, 1940

TWOPENCE

ORDER OUT OF CHAOS

by LEON TROTSKY

The article printed below was issued as a pamphlet by the supreme Council of Soviets in Moscow in 1919. It was written at the front lines of the Civil War by the head of the Red Army. It is particularly appropriate today when Europe and the world has once again been plunged into the bloody chaos of the Second World War. - Editor.

From the lands where they were hurled by the German plunderers, German soldiers are streaming homeward. The German soldiers are attacked by half-baked Polish regiments; they are disarmed and sometimes beaten. The Anglo-French and the Americans tighten their death-grip on Germany and take careful count of her feverish pulse. This does not prevent them from demanding that

her government send the remnants of German troops to engage Soviet Russia in battle and prevent the latter from liberating territories occupied by German imperialism.

The Belgians, whose country was only yesterday crucified by German imperialism, are today seizing purely German Rhenish provinces.

Semi-pauperised, Roumanians, despoiled by their ruling swindlers, whose capital is alternately the prey of Germans and the Anglo-French, are themselves seizing Bessarabia, Transylvania and Bukovina.

Trans-oceanic American regiments sit on the tip of our famine-stricken and

icy North wondering why they were brought there.

The streets of Berlin, only so recently proud of its severe orderliness, are swept by the sanguinary waves of civil war. (1) French troops have landed in Odessa; (2) while great areas of France itself are occupied by American, English, Australian, and Canadian troops who treat Frenchmen like they would colonials.

Poland, resurrected after almost a century and a half of oblivion, strains with a kind of feverish impatience to engage the Ukraine and Prussia in battle and provoke Soviet Russia.

AMERICAN COLOSSUS BESTRIDES EUROPE'S RUINS

The American President Wilson, a philistine and hypocrite on whom the white stitchings still shows, an oily (Quaker-vegetable-oil) Tartuffe criss-crosses blood-drenched Europe as the supreme representative of morality, as the Messiah of the American Dollar; punishing, pardoning, and arranging the fate of the peoples. Everybody beckons to him, invites him, implores him: the king of Italy, the reigning, perfidious Georgian Mensheviks, the debased and solicitous Scheidemann, the mangy tiger of the French middle class, Clemenceau, all the strong boxes of the London City and even Swiss midwives. With his trouser-cuffs primly turned up, Wilson walks over the blood pools of Europe with the blessings of Wall Street that has so well played the last stake of the European lottery he unites Jugo-Slavs with Serbians; appraises the crown of the Hapsburgs; between two pinches of snuff rounds out Belgium at the expense of plundered Germany; and ponders the possibility of drafting orang-outangs and baboons to save Christian culture from the barbarism of the Bolsheviks.

Europe resembles a madhouse. And at first glance it seems as if the inmates themselves are unaware half an hour in advance whose throat they will cut and whom they will next embrace. But in the stormy waves of this chaos one irrefutable lesson is to be discerned - the criminal responsibility of the bourgeois world. Everything now occurring in Europe was prepared for during the past generations, by its economic system, its state relations, its system of militarism; by the morality and philosophy of the ruling classes, by the religion of all the priests. The monarchy, the aristocracy, the clergy, the bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie, the professional intellectuals, the masters of wealth, and the rulers of states - it is they who have prepared and are preparing those incomprehensible events which make old "cultured", "Christian" Europe seem like a madhouse.

IMPERIALISM, NATIONALISM, COMMUNISM

The European "chaos" is chaos in form only; in substance expressed in it are the supreme laws of history which is now destroying the old to make way for the new. The population of Europe now uses the very same rifles in fighting for different tasks and different programmes which correspond to different historical epochs. Basically they are reducible to three: IMPERIALISM, NATIONALISM, COMMUNISM.

This war began as a gang-fight between the great capitalist bandits over seizures and the division of the world - this is precisely the sum and substance of imperialism. But in order to plunge the many-millioned masses into the struggle, to bait them against one another, to fan in them the spirit of hatred and fury, "ideas" and "moods" dear to the deceived and doomed-to-destruction masses were required.

This hypnotic medium at the disposal of the imperialist bandits was provided by the idea of nationalism. The reciprocal bond of the people who speak one and the same language, belong to one and the same nation - that constitutes a great force. This bond did not make itself felt so long as people lived a patriarchal life in their villages or provincial regions. **But** the more bourgeois production developed, the more it tied village to village and the provinces with the cities, all the more did the people drawn into its maelstrom learn to value a common tongue - this great medium of material and spiritual communion. Capitalism sought to entrench itself first and foremost on a national foundation and engendered powerful nationalist movements: in atomised Germany, in didmembered Italy, in harrowed Poland, in Austria-Hungary, among the Balkan Slavs, in Armenia....

By means of revolutions and wars, by hook or crook with a hole here and a patch there, the European bourgeoisie solved part of the national problem. A unified Italy, a unified Germany, without German-Austria but, by way of compensation scores of kings, were created. The peoples of Russia were bound together by the steel tentacles of Czarism. Austria and the Balkans were convulsed by a bitter internecine struggle of nations who were doomed to live in close proximity but were incapable of establishing peaceful forms of collaboration.

CAPITALISM PLUNGES INTO SLAUGHTER

Meanwhile, capitalism quickly outgrew the national frame-work. The national state served it only as a springboard for the leap. Capitalism soon became cosmopolitan - at its disposal were world-wide means of communication - its agents and servants spoke in all

tongues and it sought to plunder the peoples of the earth regardless of their language, colour of skin, or religion of their priests. While the middle and petty bourgeoisie, together with broad circles of the working class, still continued to remain in the atmosphere of national ideology, capitalism developed into imperialism, into an urge for world domination.

The world slaughter from its very beginning presented the terrible spectacle of the combination of imperialism with nationalism; the omnipotent clique of financial capital and heavy industry succeeded in harnessing to their chariot all the feelings, passions and moods produced by the bond of nationalism, by the unity of language, by common historical tradition and above all, by common existence in a national state. Taking to the high-road for robberies, seizures, and manslaughter, the imperialists of each contending camp proved capable of instilling in the popular masses the idea that the struggle presumably involved national independence and national culture. Just as bankers and big manufacturers exploit small shopkeepers and workers, so imperialism subjected completely to itself the nationalist and chauvinist feelings and goals by pretending that it was serving and safeguarding them. It was this terrible psychological charge that fed and sustained the great slaughter for four and one half years.

COMMUNISM A UNIFYING FORCE

But Communism emerged on the scene. It had in its time likewise arisen on national soil simultaneously with the awakening of the workers' movement at the very first and still uncertain beat of the capitalist machine. With the doctrine of Communism the proletariat opposed itself to the bourgeois-

sie. And while the latter soon became imperialist and a force for plundering the world, the advanced proletariat, on the contrary, became internationalist and a force for world unification.

The imperialist bourgeoisie represented numerically an insignificant minority of the nation. It maintained itself, it ruled and dominated so long as it was able through the ideas and moods of nationalism to keep broad petty bourgeois and working masses in thrall. The internationalist proletariat constituted another minority at the very opposite pole. It had every justification for believing that it could tear the majority of the people from the spiritual yoke of imperialism.

But up to the last great slaughter of the peoples even the best and most perspicacious leaders of the proletariat never suspected how powerfully the consciousness of the popular masses was swayed by the prejudices of bourgeois state rule and the habits of national conservatism. All this was revealed in July, 1914, which without exaggeration became the blackest month in world history; not only because kings and the stockbrokers were able to unleash the war but because they succeeded in gaining inner sway over hundreds of millions of popular masses, duping them, spinning a web about them, hypnotising them and psychologically drawing them into their murderous enterprise.

Internationalism which had for decades served as the official banner of the most powerful working class organisation, seemed to have disappeared instantaneously in the fire and smoke of the world slaughter. Later it reappeared as a weak and flickering tiny flame among disconnected, isolated groups in various countries. All the learned and the unlearned priests and

lackies of the bourgeoisie tried to depict these groups as the dying remnants of utopian sects. But the name of Zimmerwald (3) had already evoked echoes of alarm in the columns of the entire bourgeois press. The revolutionary internationalists marched along their own road. Above all, they gave themselves a clear accounting of the causes underlying the events.

BETRAYAL OF OFFICIAL SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The prolonged era of "peaceful" bourgeois development with its day-to-day struggle of the trade unions, with its reformist petty-foggery and petty parliamentary squabbles created a many-millioned organisation, opportunist at the top, which curbed with heavy chains the revolutionary energy of the proletariat. By dint of historical events the official social democracy, born under the sign of the social revolution, became transformed into the most counter-revolutionary force in Europe and in the whole world. It became so intertwined with the national state, its parliament, its ministers, its commissions; it became so accustomed to its friendly enemies - the bourgeois and middle class parliamentary swindlers - that at the outbreak of the bloody catastrophe of the capitalist system it could perceive nothing save - the threat to national "unity." Instead of calling upon the proletarian masses for an assault against capitalism, it called them to defend the "national" state. This social democracy of the Plekhanovs, Tseretellis, Scheidemanns, Kautskys, Renaudels, and Longuets, mobilised in the service of imperialism every national prejudice, all the slavish instincts, the entire scum of chauvinism, everything dark and corrupt which had accumulated in the souls of the toiling and oppressed masses during centuries of slavery.

It was clear to the party of revolu-

tionary Communism that this colossal historical blackmail would terminate in a terrible collapse of the ruling cliques and their retinues. To evoke in the masses a martial upsurge, a readiness for self-sacrifice, and finally even the mere ability to spend years in the filthy stinking mud of the trenches, it was necessary for the rulers to arouse in the masses enormous hopes, monstrous illusions. The disillusionment and embitterment of the masses would inevitably assume proportions commensurate with the scope of this deceit. The revolutionary internationalists (they were not yet called Communists) foresaw this and upon this forecast they based their revolutionary tactic. They "steered a course" toward the social revolution.

INTERNATIONALISM VERSUS IMPERIALISM

Two conscious minorities - the imperialist and internationalist - declared a war to the death against each other. And before their combat was transformed to the city streets in the shape of open civil war, it unfolded in the consciousness of millions upon millions of toilers. These were no longer parliamentary conflicts, which even in the best days of parliamentarism educated the masses only to a very limited extent. Here the entire people, down to its darkest and most inert depths, were seized by the steel claws of militarism and violently plunged into the maelstrom of events.

Imperialism was challenged by Communism which said: "You have now shown the masses in action what you really are and what you are capable of doing. My turn is next." The great combat between Imperialism and Communism is decided not by paragraphs of reform, not by parliamentary ballots, nor by the strike reports of trade unions.

The events are written in steel and every step of the struggle is sealed with blood. This alone predestined that the struggle between Imperialism and Communism would not be settled within the limits of formal democracy.

THE SOLUTION CANNOT BE POSTPONED

To solve the basic tasks of social development through universal suffrage would, under present conditions, when all questions are posed point-blank, signify a cessation of the struggle between the mortal class enemies. It would mean an appeal to an arbitrator in the person of those intermediate and primarily petty bourgeois masses who either have not yet been drawn into the struggle or are participating in it semi-consciously. But it is precisely these masses who were deceived by the great lie of nationalism, who were bled white by the war, who have lost their heads and only seek for a way out, who are subject to the most diverse and contradictory moods - these masses cannot be accepted as authoritative arbitrators by Imperialism, all the less so by Communism, nor even by themselves. Why then not temporise and postpone the solution of the dispute until the bewildered intermediate masses come to their senses and draw all the necessary conclusions from the lessons of the war? How? In what way? Artificial interludes are possible in combats between athletes; on the arena of a circus or on the tribune of parliament - but not in a civil war. The more aggravated all the relations, all the needs and all the misfortunes become as a result of the imperialist war, the less objective possibility there is for leading the struggle into the channels of formal democracy, the simultaneous and universal counting of noses.

"In this war you, Imperialism, have

shown what you are capable of and now my turn has come. I shall take power into my hands and show the still vacillating, the still bewildered masses what I can do, where I can lead them, what I want and can give them."

This was the slogan of the October insurrection of Communism; this is the meaning of the terrible war which the Spartacists have proclaimed against the bourgeois world on the streets of Berlin.

The imperialist slaughter has erupted into a civil war. The better the capitalist war has trained the workers how to handle rifles, the more decisively are they beginning to apply these rifles for their own goals. However, the old slaughter is not yet liquidated; here and there now bloody clashes along the old national and state lines still flare up and threaten to spread into a new conflagration. At the moment when Communism is already celebrating its first victories and is fully justified in not fearing isolated defeats, the yellow tongues of nationalist flames still erupt from underneath the volcanic soil.

INFERNO OF NATIONAL AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

Poland, only yesterday herself strangled, dismembered, torn and bled white - Poland seeks today in a final and belated drunken fit of nationalism to plunder Prussia, Galicia, Latvia and, White Russia. Meanwhile, the Polish proletariat is already building its Soviets.

Serbian nationalism seeks a robber's satisfaction for ancient slights and wounds in territories settled by Bulgarians.

Italy grabs at Serbian provinces.

The Czechs, who have just freed themselves from underneath the German-Hapsburg boot, drunk with the pseudo-independence proffered them by the mighty sharks of Imperialism, are violating the cities of German Bohemia and massacring Russians in Siberia. The Czech communists are sounding the alarm.

WALL STREET IS GROWING UNEASY

Events pile on events, the map of Europe changes uninterruptedly, but the most profound changes are occurring in the consciousness of the masses. The very rifle which was yesterday used in the service of national imperialism serves today in the same hands the cause of social revolution. Wall Street, which has long and skillfully fanned the European bonfire so as to enable its bankers and industrialists to warm their hands at its flames, now sends to Europe its chief clerk, its supreme broker, its methodical rogue, Wilson, to investigate at first hand whether things have not yet gone too far.

Only recently the American millionaires laughed in their clean-shaven chins and rubbed their hands: "Ha-ha! Europe has become a madhouse, Europe is exhausted, bankrupt; Europe is becoming transformed into a cemetery of old culture. We shall tour its ruins, buy up its treasured monuments; lavishly tip the august scions of all the European dynasties! European competition will vanish. Control over industrial life will pass completely into our hands, and the profits from the whole world will begin flowing into our American pockets."

But at present, the snide chuckle is beginning to stick in the throat of the Wall Street Yankees.

THE COMMUNIST ORDER RAISES ITS HEAD

Amid the European chaos, the idea of a new Order, is raising its head ever more imperiously and powerfully. In the clash and din of bloody imperialist, nationalist and class conflicts, the peoples most backward from the revolutionary standpoint are slowly but unswervingly beginning to fall in step with those who have already left their first victories behind them. From a prison of the peoples which Czarist Russia was, it is turning before our very eyes - with the liberation of Riga, Vilna, Kharkov - into a free federation of Soviet Republics.

There is no other way out, no other road for the peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian empire and the Balkan peninsula. Soviet Germany will enter as a member into this family which sooner or later will include in its ranks Soviet Italy and Soviet France. The transformation of Europe into a Federation of Soviet Republics is the sole conceivable solution of the needs of national development of great and small nations, which is not detrimental to the centralist requirements of economic unification - first of Europe and then of the whole world.

Bourgeois democrats dreamed in their time of a united States of Europe. These dreams have found a hypocritically belated echo in the speeches of the French social patriots in the first period of the last war. (5). The bourgeoisie proved incapable of unifying Europe because it could counterpose to the unifying tendencies of economic development only the dividing will of national imperialism.

ONLY SOCIALISM CAN UNIFY THE WORLD

To unify the peoples it is necessary to free economic life from the fetters

of private property. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat is capable of bringing the demands of national development into their natural and legal boundaries and embracing all nations in a unification of working collaboration. This unification will take shape precisely as the Federation of the Soviet Republics of Europe on the basis of the free self-determination of the peoples dwelling there. There can be no other solution. This alliance will be directed against England should the latter lag behind the continent in her revolutionary development. Together with Soviet England the European Federation will direct its blows against the imperialist dictatorship of North America so long as the trans-oceanic republic remains in Republic of the Dollar - so long as the triumphant snorting of Wall Street is not turned into its death rattle.

Bloody chaos still stands over Europe. The old is combining with the new. Events pile up on events; and blood accumulates on blood. But from the chaos, ever more resolutely and boldly emerges the idea of the Communist Order from which the bourgeoisie will be saved neither by its Versailles conspiracies, nor its hired gangs, nor its voluntary flunkies of class collaboration and social patriotism, nor by the great trans-oceanic patron of all the capitalist stranglers.

It is no longer the spectre of Communism that hovers over Europe as was the case seventy-two years ago when the Communist Manifesto was written - it is the ideas and hopes of the bourgeoisie that are being transformed into a spectre. Communism now strides over Europe in flesh and blood.

(1) Comrade Trotsky is referring to the January 1919 uprising of the Berlin workers and soldiers. It was pro-

voked by the treacherous policy of the social democratic government of Ebert and Scheidemann. The government had issued an order removing the incumbent independent social democrat from his post of the Berlin chief of police. The workers replied by mass demonstrations. Within 24 hours a general strike was declared. The movement was headed by a revolutionary committee of Karl Liebknecht, Ledebour, and Scholtze. This committee had the support of the Spartacists and of the Berlin organisation of the Independent Social Democrats. The authorities began negotiations with the workers and at the same time mobilised military forces from bourgeois youth, White Guard students, and non-commissioned officers of the old Hohenzollern army. On January 11, under the leadership of Noske the bloody suppression of the workers' uprising began. On January 15, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered by the officers convoying them to prison.

(2) The landing of the French troops

in Odessa took place early in January 1919, as part of the general Allied plan to aid Denikin against the Soviets.

(3) The Zimmerwald conference was held in Switzerland in September 1915 on the initiative of the Italian Socialists. The Left Wing at this Conference headed by Lenin issued a manifesto to the workers of the world calling upon the armies then fighting for imperialist aims to turn their guns against their own bourgeoisie.

(4) With the outbreak of the revolution in Germany, the German troops occupying Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine rushed home; and the Red Army was able to advance without meeting any serious resistance.

(5) For the current version of this "dream" one need only refer to the bourgeois press, especially of the Allied camp.

"WORKERS' FIGHT"

In this issue of WORKERS INTERNATIONAL NEWS is incorporated WORKERS' FIGHT, which is well known in the British-working class movement as a paper which has promulgated the doctrines and policy of the Fourth International in Britain over a period of years. The fusion of the two papers signifies also the coming together of the socialist groupings that surround them in the common fight against capitalist barbarism and for the international rule of the proletariat.

This event, taking place as it does

against a background of totalitarian war and the imminent threat of the extinction of the last glimmerings of democratic workers' rights, is to be welcomed as a manifestation of that essential robustness which our cause possesses because it draws its vitality from the elemental struggle of the masses for life itself.

Standing behind a single banner, we must press forward with renewed energy to our common goal, the achievement of the socialist commonwealth.

Stalinism

The month of May saw the volcanic eruption of pent-up German imperialism on the Western front, sweeping before it not only the opposed military forces but the last remaining vestiges of bourgeois democracy in France and Britain. With the unleashing of total war on both sides the entire planet is shaken. Whatever the outcome of the struggle the world will never be the same again.

The treaty which concluded the Russo-Finnish war by raising formidable military barriers to a possible German attack on Russia, sounded the death-knell of Chamberlain's policy, which sought to divert the Nazi blitzkrieg in the direction of the Soviet Union. It rendered inevitable the fall of Chamberlain, it ensured war to the death between Germany and the Allies, it freed the Soviet Government from the nightmare of possible German aggression which was the root cause of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Once Germany was irrevocably committed to the war in the west, it became necessary to stake all on one mighty blow aimed at the heart of the enemy. Under the sheer weight of armaments and explosives, the Low Countries and the North of France have been overrun and a foothold secured on the English Channel. The blow has not yet spent its fury and defences, military and political, have been thrown up against the carrying of the war into the heart of France and Britain.

In this way German Imperialism makes its great bid for Italian intervention in the war as a partner in the joint onslaught on and partition of the Balkans. At the same time a terrific

shock is administered to the social structure of France in the attempt to precipitate the incipient civil conflict which has smouldered in France over a period of years.

Italian Imperialism, doomed by the lateness of its arrival at the feast of colonies to a role of treacherous waiting, is roaring its bellicosity and its preparedness for war. At the same time, Italy names its price for non-intervention, a price which increases with each item of grave news for the Allies.

In France, the measure of the amazement and wrath of the masses at the generalship that permitted the Germans to pierce the lines, bisect the armies and hurl back the northern armies into the sea may be gauged by the actions taken against the general staff by the government. Gamelin has disappeared without a trace, fifteen generals have been deprived of their commands. By these measures the government hopes to placate the population, exasperated by years of bad conditions culminating in the present wartime conditions of slavery. The Allied reverses have placed the question of social upheaval in France on the order of the day.

The intervention of Italy in the war and precipitation of the revolution in France are the major strategic successes which the Nazis hope to score by the blitzkrieg. But it is precisely the possibility of these developments which has produced a galvanising of the Kremlin into the contemplation of a new turn in policy.

The prospects of a Nazi victory are profoundly disturbing to the Soviet

Government, which realises all too well who the next victim of the blitzkrieg will be. The extension of war to the Balkans will inevitably involve the Soviet Union and the movement of Russian troops to the Balkan frontiers coupled with the opening of trade talks with Jugoslavia sufficiently advertise the apprehension of the Kremlin. At the same time, the possibility that developments in France will resuscitate the Popular Front and thereby place a trump card in Stalin's hand has been another factor calling for the reorientation of Stalinist policy, which now prepares to play the same treacherous role in France as it played in Spain as the hangmen of the revolution.

The objective situation now dictates to Stalin the need to move out of the orbit of Hitler and towards the Allies. Chamberlain has been replaced with Churchill, the appeasement policy has been finally buried and the British Government is now dominated by elements who are implacably anti-German and who have advocated a pact with Russia against Germany over a long period. Mr. Hore Belisha, clamorously anti-Soviet, has been omitted from the new government, and Sir Stafford Cripps has been sent ambassadorially to the Soviet Union. Mosley and his lieutenants have been interned as Fifth Columnists but the campaign aimed at including the Communist Party in this category has noticeably cooled down.

The Kremlin for its part has grown correspondingly more cordial and the emergence of Litvinov from obscurity is an event which may be expected to accompany grave news from the Western Front.

The British Communist Party has reacted sensitively to the new situation. The DAILY WORKER has adopted a concil-

iatory tone to the Trade Union and Labour leaders and pushes forward a refurbished popular front line. The emphasis has now been shifted in Communist Party propaganda from attacks on Allied Imperialism to attacks on Nazidom, and from this it is only a step to the recrudescence of the jingo-communism of the pre-war years.

In this way the leaders of the Communist Party prepare to line up once more at the side of the Labour leaders as the exponents of the "war for democracy." But the occasion that produces the new line-up, the intensification of warfare, has also served the ruling class in Britain and France as the excuse for extending the working day back to its medieval length and for imposing a medieval system of class-rule on the masses that renders unnecessary the services of Communist and Labour hacks alike. Before turning on them and replacing them with fascist thugs, the ruling class permits them to thoroughly discredit themselves before the masses by taking responsibility for the present war.

The Labour leaders are already committed up to the hilt. The Communist leaders are preparing to follow their example. In the inevitable aftermath of disillusionment that will develop, the fascists will no doubt step forward as the "martyrs" who suffered imprisonment because of their "anti-war" stand, and in this there is a great danger that fascism will be the sole beneficiary from the betrayal.

It is now even more urgently necessary than ever before to expose the treachery of the Comintern and Labour leaders. To their social-chauvinism must be counterposed the genuine revolutionary socialist opposition to imperialist war, the line of Lenin which still lives today in the ranks of the Fourth International.

Total War!

Not for weeks, not for months but for years we have proclaimed that when the two rival imperialist gangs ultimately met in mortal combat it would be impossible to distinguish one from the other. All that would remain of "freedom and democracy" would be the name. The rotten, gangrenous "democratic" skin has burst under the first major military impact. The event was announced in advance by the ruling strata of the bourgeoisie; said the TIMES of May 7th, "In a higher sphere, that of first principles and of the nature of total war, we require to do some still harder thinking."

Not only the thinking but the acting has now taken place. In our last issue we wrote: "...the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie carefully geared to the tempo of events, commences slowly but none the less surely to revolve." The tempo of events has now swung the bourgeoisie and their "labour" retainers into a furious offensive against the liberties and standard of life of the proletarians in this country. Chamberlain and his able organisers of capitulation have moved down the ladder to be replaced, as the official report has it, by "a government representing the united and inflexible resolve of the nation to prosecute the war with Germany to a victorious conclusion."

The Labour Party Conference, like the Whitsuntide holidays, was handed over to the bosses, its principal act being to approve the decision of the leader-

ship "to take their share of responsibility as a full partner (!) in a new Government under a new Prime Minister...." It was not accidental that the Transport Housemaids should make their magnanimous offer to the bourgeoisie at this time. This course had already been dictated to them. "That Labour will be found in the ranks of the Government before the war is over is as certain as anything can be," declared a TIMES leader on May 6. This gross act was committed six days later.

Mr. Attlee has assured his followers that they have not entered the Government as hostages but as partners. The bourgeoisie has aided them in this pretence by Parliament taking powers to conscript wealth and property while they prepare to drive the workers' standard of life down to that of colonial slaves. Mr. Kirkwood tore the veil from this deception in the House of Commons on May 22, when he said to Attlee: "The working class, as I understand the Lord Privy Seal (Mr. Attlee), are to be tied hand and foot, and private property is not."

The actual role of the Labour and Trade Union fakers is that of messenger boys to Mr. Winston Churchill. This personification of capitalism in its death agonies prefers that his offering of "blood, toil, tears and sweat" should be conveyed to the masses by those whom they have trusted and elected to lead the organised labour movement.

The bourgeois offensive is now in full swing. Mr. Ernest Bevin tells us that we must "work like Hell" even if it means relaxing the labour rights so hardly won by decades of struggle. And if any doubts arise as to whether or not they are filched from us let the London EVENING STANDARD, mouthpiece of Beaverbrook and Duff-Cooper, remove them: "... the protection of the work man in his union, the protection of the individual by known and established law - these are not privileges to be tossed away as playthings of no consequence. Why then in the space of a few hours are we ready to forgo them now? Hitler is the answer."

Morrison joins in the holy chorus: "We must work at war speed, every minute wasted means a life" and so on. The employers leap in to take advantage and the engineers are told to work twelve hours a day and seven days a week. Frenchmen who fail to turn up at work are arrested. It is only a matter of time before we shall find ourselves similarly shackled to the machine of destruction. The arrest of anti-war militant elements and of fascists goes on apace. The TIMES, commenting on the powers contained in the latest act, declares on May 23rd, "No one would be sorry to see these powers exercised immediately against those responsible for publications or activities which seek to... impede... their country in waging this war, and many would prefer to see such persons confined... in internment camps."

The formation of the Local Defence Volunteers, under military command and discipline is a significant preparation against social disturbance at home rather than invasion from with-

out. Let those who doubt it carefully note the opinion of the TIMES: "The suggestion has even been made that expert women shots might be employed, and people of this kind would be extremely useful in some places - e.g., in factories employing female labour." Despite the pious horror of our rulers against the undoubtedly atrocious acts of their German counterparts, they will not hesitate when the occasion demands to shoot down even female workers who strike.

In this bloodthirsty assault on the standards of life of the working class the reactionary bourgeoisie is aided by the leading representatives of the labour movement. The labour leaders foist the new Government on the masses as a Government of "equal sacrifice" which will "control everything and everybody." They impose a 100% Excess Profits Tax and make loud noises. This fraud can easily be exposed, and it must be exposed by the militant workers themselves advancing with all the strength at their command, a demand for Labour to take full responsibility on a programme of demands for nationalisation of the banks, railways, mines and heavy industry without compensation, the expropriation of all profit. It will then be revealed in practice before the eyes of the working class, that the Labour fakers are capable of carrying out only the programme of the bourgeoisie, of managing only capitalism in the interests of the ruling class. It will be clearly revealed to the toilers that only the policy of intransigent class struggle taken to its logical conclusion can liberate humanity from the depths of the abyss into which decadent capitalism has dragged it.

G P U in Mexico

The world press reported on May 25 the most determined attempt on the life of Leon Trotsky hitherto made by the G.P.U.

From 30 to 40 men, disguised as police and armed with automatic rifles and incendiary bombs, stormed Trotsky's villa at Coyoacan on the outskirts of Mexico City, broke down two doors and fired a number of shots into Trotsky's bedroom, causing some slight injury from glass splinters. The raiders were driven off by police, taking with them as a prisoner one of Trotsky's secretary-guards.

A forewarning of this onslaught, the culmination of a series of murder-attempts, was given by the formidable collection of G.P.U. agents who were gathered together in Mexico and whose presence was noted by the SOCIALIST APPEAL, American Fourth International newspaper in its issue of March 16, 1940, which contained the following item:

According to reliable information that has arrived here the purge of the Mexican Stalinists is being conducted by an international concentration of G.P.U. agents. Among them are the following notorious characters:

D. MANUILSKI, Russian, prominent Comintern figure, having held at one time or another in the past, the posts both of president and secretary in that organisation. Reported executed in course of the purges, Manuilski arrived in Mexico on the steamer Mayakovski in January.

DOMBAL, Russian, former head of the

"Krestintern" (international Stalinist peasants' organisations), who arrived there with Manuilski.

These two were accompanied by a third G.P.U. agent, whose identity has not as yet been established, but is said to be either HAIKIS, former Soviet ambassador to Spain or PESTKOVSKY, former Soviet minister to Mexico.

JAMES. W. FORD, prominent Negro leader of the American Communist Party, who arrived in Mexico about six weeks ago.

GEORGE MINK, American Stalinist, notorious for his G.P.U. activity during the civil war in Spain, who now operates under another name.

TINA MODOTTI, Italian Stalinist, suspected of implication in the murder of Ignace Reiss. She was held in this connection by Swiss police for some time, but later released. She was secretary of the Stalinist "International Red Aid" during the Spanish civil war and came to Mexico from Paris as a Spanish refugee.

SORMENTI, internationally known G.P.U. agent, once prominent in the Italian federation of the American Communist Party, who now operates under the name CARLOS CONTRERAS. Sormenti arrived in Mexico three months ago and is said to have been involved in previous Mexican political killings.

This imposing line-up of G.P.U. agents is indicative not only of the serious trouble that the Stalinists are faced with in connection with the purge, but of plans for shady work that extend far beyond the confines of inner-party

politics in Mexico. Their activities will bear watching on the part of working class militants all over the Western Hemisphere.

Readers of WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL NEWS will recollect that the alarm was sounded in our columns (May, 1938) warning of the presence in Mexico of Mink, notorious G.P.U. gunman, and pointing out that his purpose was the assassination of Leon Trotsky. The editor of "Controversy" found our outspoken denunciation of the murder-plot naming the assassin in advance, something of a novelty in British working-class journalism. Events have proved that the warning was no piece of sensationalism but a serious call to the workers to take note of what was happening. Today we are even more confirmed in our belief that the warning uttered in the world press of our tendency helped to stay the assassin's hand.

Under cover of the diversion created by world-shaking events in Europe, the latest attempt has been launched with the force of a miniature blitzkrieg. The question leaps to mind: WHY? Why this concentration of military force and cunning by Stalin's G.P.U. against one man whose following in the Soviet Union and in the rest of the world has been declared by the Kremlin to be pitiable, liquidated, insignificant?

The answer is that the name of Trotsky forever linked with that of Lenin as the leadership of the October Revolution, has come to personify for Stalin, as for the bourgeoisie, the spirit of proletarian revolt. That spirit he seeks to exorcise by falsehood and slander, by bullet and bomb. When the grimly realistic Kremlin, thus manifests panic, the workers of the world may well find in that panic a sound basis for revolutionary optimism.