

FIGHT

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Incorporating THE RED FLAG
ORGAN of the REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE, AFFILIATED to the BUREAU for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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ONE PENNY

STRUGGLE OR STARVE

No War But The "Class War"

THIS land of "peace, progress and democracy" is in the grip of another crisis. Trade increases recorded during 1936 and 1937 have been wiped out in three months. The economists are no longer optimistic. What was called a "recession" has now been recognised for what it is, a depression engulfing the whole capitalist world and developing a depth and intensity beyond anything in the past. The world is facing an "imminent crisis" says the League of Nations report. It is developing in this country "even more rapidly than in the corresponding period of 1929-30" says the *Economist*. Unemployment is up by 500,000 and this at a time when seasonal trades normally absorb several thousands of the unemployed. Cotton, wool, and jute have been most severely hit; coal-mining is not far behind, but everywhere the depression is making itself felt. The huge expenditure on armaments cannot stay the downward trend. Week after week thousands are thrown out of work. The ruling class is preparing to meet the crisis. Their method can be summed up in one word—DESTRUCTION.

STRUGGLE OR STARVE

Capitalism in decay has a distinctive solution for its own inherent conditions. Stocks must be reduced in order to curtail supply and thereby preserve the price level. Wages must be ruthlessly cut so that the cost of production is lessened and markets retained. With the aid of government subsidies not only do the capitalists destroy the existing stocks of commodities but the productive forces are also destroyed. Crops and sown areas are ploughed up, machinery is dismantled and scrapped while the labour power of hundreds of thousands of workers is dispensed with. A few years ago the burning of wheat and coffee; the dumping of fish into the sea; the buying up and scrapping of spindles were common news items in the press. This is one side of the destruction carried on by the capitalists.

The other is the destruction of working class resistance to the onslaught of poverty and destitution. If we look back to the period of the last capitalist depression, to the years 1930-34 and trace the political developments at that time, we shall get an idea of what the future holds. The future struggles however, will be more severe than those of the past. On the international field Germany and Austria succumbed to fascism, while the Spanish struggle started on its long and bloody course. All over the world the imperialist governments prepared for war.

In this country the Labour Government introduced the Anomalies Act, set up the May Economy Committee whose findings resulted in the infamous Means Test. Slave camps made their appearance under the guise of *Task and Training Centres*. We had the battles of the unemployed, Hunger Marches and riots breaking out in Belfast, Birkenhead, Sheffield and Glasgow. We had the Trenchard report, the militarisation of the police, the organisation of Special Constables. We had the banning of demonstrations in many towns, the banning of Labour Exchange meetings, and in Parliament the Seditious Act and the Public Order Act. Last but not least, we had the Communist Party abandoning all pretence at being a revolutionary force. We could keep on adding to the list but this should suffice to give an idea of the intensity of the class struggle and the repressive measures applied by the democratic defenders of capi-

talism—the Labour and National Governments.

In a few short months winter will be upon us, when millions of men, women and children will experience the terrible effects of hunger and cold. Instead of having extra money for more nourishing food, warmer clothes, stout footwear and glowing fires, they will be faced with higher rents, wage cuts and a more vicious Means Test. The fascist thugs will parade through the workers' districts (well protected by the democratic police)

and attempt to demoralise the less spirited of our class.

Task and Training Centres, usually with ex-army officers or ex-sergeant majors in charge; will collect greater numbers of those who have been refused other benefit and put them through a course of training and discipline. Everywhere the recruiting posters will announce that "our country needs us," that "freedom, peace and progress" are being threatened. This is what is meant when the capitalist economists tell us that

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BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN PALESTINE CAUSES CIVIL WAR

SEE PAGE 3

SECRETARY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ABDUCTED

G.P.U. TERRORISM AGAIN

RUDOLF KLEMENT, the Secretary of the Fourth International, has been abducted from Paris by the G.P.U. Klement has been for some years one of the most active organisers of the Fourth International, and was at one time personal secretary to Leon Trotsky in Barbizon. On the 14th and 15th of July he did not turn up to his accustomed duties and the comrades in Paris, aware that the agents of the G.P.U. are on the lookout to murder or abduct all prominent workers for the Fourth International raised the alarm and informed the police.

The suspicion that the G.P.U. had abducted Klement was confirmed by a letter received by one of the French comrades. This letter was posted from Perpignan on the frontier of "Government" Spain, which is controlled by the G.P.U. The letter is a copy of another supposed to be written to Trotsky by Rudolf. In it Rudolf is supposed to say that he can no longer continue with the alliance between the trotskysts and the fascists. The letter states also that the Moscow Trials delivered a heavy blow at the Fourth International. This alone is sufficient to prove the falsity of the letter, for nothing has done so much to discredit stalinism and bring the Fourth International into prominence as the scandalous

series of trials in Moscow. The letter is written in German and betrays its Russian origin in many places. Thus, Beales, who was unmasked in Mexico at the Commission of Enquiry on the Moscow Trials as a stalinist agent, is mentioned in the letter as "Bills" which is the spelling used by the Russian stalinist journals.

The whole letter bears the stamp of the crude and clumsy fabrications which distinguish the frame-ups and abductions of the stalinists. Rudolph Klement has been the technical and

Stalinism and Fascism

"... We favour an alliance between France and Italy. We favour it as friends of peace, as Frenchmen, as anti-fascists.

"Yes, as anti-fascists! For we believe that the interests of peace, the interests of Italy and France demand that Italy break away from her vassal allegiance to Germany. The axis policy is anti-Italian; it betrays the historic interests of Italy and it militates against the Italian national feeling. . . ."

From "Humanité," official organ of the Communist Party of France, 21/4/38.

administrative secretary of the 4th International for years, and has been in the closest touch with Trotsky. If he wished to break with the organisation, he could have been able to give facts, revelations, dates, documents. But as is usual with anything of this kind that the stalinists handle there is absolutely nothing. We call upon the workers to raise their voices in protest against this campaign of gangsterism that is being practised by the stalinists. No such malignant force has ever been let loose in the working-class movement before and unless the workers become alive to the danger and take measures to meet it, their capacity to struggle against rotting capitalism will be crippled and broken.

The French police have been informed but inasmuch as the French Communist Party is in strong support of the Government and the coming war the police show no special activity in pursuing the criminals.

Thus the methods which stalinism uses so ruthlessly in Russia and with which it has corrupted the Spanish revolution, particularly in Barcelona, are being steadily pursued all over the world. First Erwin Wolff, who with Klement was joint secretary of the Fourth International, was abducted from Barcelona, and now Klement has been taken.

"To preach confidence in legalism, in constitutionalism, in bourgeois democracy, that is, in the capitalist state, means to invite and to guarantee the victory of Fascism."

(Palme Dutt, "Fascism and Social Revolution," Page 279).

TWO YEARS OF CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

War Defeats Follow Defeated Revolution

ON July 19th it was two years since the civil war started in Spain. These two years of struggle, during which time tens of thousands of human lives were lost, are rich with lessons for the international working class.

To-day, when despite the enormous sacrifices on the part of the Spanish workers, the Republican forces of the People's Front are losing one battle after another, what is above all necessary for us, is to understand the causes of the failure of the Peoples Front Government so far to defeat the fascists.

What are the lessons to be learned from this struggle? First of all it teaches us that a Peoples' Front Government is incapable of preventing a civil war, although that was its declared aim. One of the points of the Peoples' Front's programme was "democratisation" of the army. By purging the army of all pro-Fascist elements the Peoples Front Government would ensure the army's loyalty to itself and to the principles of democracy. That was the theory. But what was the practice? Three months before the revolt took place, the Spanish Peoples Front Government knew that the

Generals under its command were plotting to revolt. A Ramos Oliveira (former editor of the Madrid socialist paper *El Socialista*) said in the *Daily Herald* that "the Government, assured, knew the fundamental facts of the plot."

Thus, it was not merely a question of purging ("democratising") the army of pro-Fascist officers, but of preventing an actual plot, the details of which were fully known to the Government. Yet, not only were Franco and the others not arrested and tried as they should have been had the Peoples Front Government been serious in its idea of "democratising" the army, but they were left at their high posts from where they could continue the preparation of their plots against the workers' rights.

Thus, the failure of the Peoples Front to prevent civil war is the first lesson we must learn. But today, after two years of struggle, it has become quite clear that in addition to being incapable of preventing a civil war, the Peoples Front Government is also incapable of waging it. For what has been the net result of the two years struggle? Again facts speak louder than words. Almost from the very beginning, the Spanish Government did not obtain a single lasting victory. Teruel, its only real victory, was soon lost again, and to date it has lost Bilbao, Irun, Santander, Gijon, Oviedo, Lerida, Toledo, Badajoz, Malaga, Granada, Alcaniz, Castellon. These are only the principle towns. We hate to say it, but an ostrich policy of refusing to look the facts in the face will not help to win the war. The war is not yet lost, and the struggle still goes on. But if we are to win in Spain, and what is equally important, if we are to fight a more successful battle in France where the French General Francos are also preparing the civil war under the noses of the French Peoples Front Government, or what is left of it, the workers must learn the real causes of the present defeats.

What then has been the cause of the defeats in Spain for which the Peoples Front Government must bear full responsibility?

From the supporters of the Peoples Front Government the only explanation that has been forthcoming is that of lack of arms. Of course the Spanish Government has not got all the arms it wants and more arms

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INDUSTRIAL NOTES

ARMAMENTS AND THE WORKERS

Government Tries to Fool Workers

ARMS—HOLIDAYS—STRIKES

According to a statement of Hore-Belisha in the House of Commons on Wednesday, June 22nd, later relayed over the wireless, Great Britain is spending £1,000,000 per day on arms. Consequently, one would expect, the steel firms, especially those that are working direct on armaments, to be going full time and overtime and employing more men than ever before. Moreover in towns like Sheffield one would expect to find a drop in unemployment figures caused by the work obtained under the rearmament scheme. *Exactly the opposite is the case.* Instead of more work now, there is in spite of the arms expenditure—or rather because of it—less work, more men signing on.

As part of the capitalist war preparations, the employers are angling for agreements with the Trade Unions, and especially with those Trade Unions concerned in the big steel industries of the midlands, permitting dilution, which is the thin end of the wedge which opens up a gap for worse conditions, lower wages, longer hours, etc. So far they have not had much success in this direction. So it is trying a little blackmail on the workers and their unions. Firms like Jessops and English Steel Corporation, are having orders cancelled or withdrawn or extended orders not placed, and the work is being given outside of the country, mainly to America. Consequently, these firms, which have been going reasonably steadily for the past year or so, at least in some departments, are now having to stand off men for days and weeks at a time. In many firms, in the industrial towns, at least as far as the arms industry is concerned, whole departments, such as the smelting, are working only three or four days a week—even where they have been working full time during the whole of last year. This has been so since the end of February. It is however, only a class manoeuvre on the part of the capitalists. When the capitalists enter the war for which they are preparing they will require every possible factory that deals with, or can possibly be drawn into arms production going at full speed ahead. They cannot carry on for long placing their orders abroad. For their own safety in the starting of a war must rely on the home industry for arms at least. Therefore this placing of arms orders abroad, cancelling the orders at home, and so throwing men out of work, or on short time, is a deliberate attempt to blackmail the men into letting their Unions fall in with the Capitalists' war preparations of hitting at the standards of the working class.

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

The Holidays with Pay Bill which was introduced into the House of Commons on July 14th, does not even pretend to solve the question of holidays with pay. After it is passed, it will only cover about 2,000,000 workers. The number of manual and non-manual receiving less than £250 a year is about 18,550,000. Out of this total only about 7,500,000 are provided with holidays and pay. That leaves a total of 11,050,000 who are yet to be provided with holidays and pay. The Government's Bill which is only to cover some two million workers is hardly more than a drop in the ocean.

It is true, we are promised that by 1941 everybody will be covered. In the meantime the Government and employers will look around and see how it works in practice. For the question as to who is finally going to pay for it, is yet to be decided. Although nominally it may come out the employers pockets, the latter are going to take it back by a greater speed-up of work. In fact that is

one of the aspects the Amulree Committee considered. It hoped that an increase in the productivity of labour will compensate the employers for the loss they may suffer.

The British worker must take a lesson out of the recent experience of the French workers and realise that they can weede concessions out of the employers only by struggling for them, and not by relying on Government bye-elections.

FALK, STADELMANN DISPUTE

Since February 5th last, 120 employees of Falk, Stadelmann & Co., of Farringdon Road, E.C.1, have been in dispute over victimisation and for Trade Union recognition. A Wage Award was given to these people by a Ministry of Labour Industrial Court, but the firm refused to pay it—and 50 of our Trade Union members were dismissed, because, they said, they could not afford it. This, of course is not so because the firm's profits for the preceding year were £127,000, whereas the increase in wages due to the Award would not cost more than £5,000 per year!

The workers are demanding Trade Union recognition, re-instatement of the dismissed members (blacklegs to be dismissed first), full operation of the Industrial Court Award, seniority to count in cases where dismissal is inevitable, no victimisation.

Workers who have had sufficient faith in their cause to stand firm for 23 weeks are deserving of the help of all workers particularly those employed in the same trade, because a victory for the Falk-Stadelmann employees would make it more possible for all workers to obtain better conditions.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF "COLLECTIVE BARGAINING"

The magnificent results of "collective bargaining" was revealed at the Miners' Conference held at Whitby Bay towards the second half of July. Mr. Joseph Jones, the President of the Mineowners' Federation of Great Britain, is notoriously a "moderate" man. In his presidential address on July 13th he said: "The direct actionist is a renouncer of good faith, a repudiator of good rules, agreements, bargaining, and a positive danger to the development of democratic and constitutional procedure." He forgot to add that the advocate of direct action as against "collective bargaining" is also a man with a pair of horns on his head and a long tail on some other part of his body.

However, after haranguing on the evils of direct action Mr. Jones was nevertheless compelled to reveal the blessings of "collective bargaining" as far as the miners were concerned, and here they are. A few years ago, the public was induced to pay 2/- more per ton of coal for the express purpose of enabling the poor bleeding companies to increase the wages of all workers. This was the agreement reached after long lasting conferences. And what are the results today as revealed by Mr. Jones? Out of the 2/- increase per ton of coal the consumer pays, the owner gets 8d or 33.33%; the distributor (who is often the owner too) gets 11d or 46.01% and the remaining 5d is given to the worker (20.66%).

Therefore join with us in saying: Long live "collective bargaining"!

The headquarters and bookshop of our Scottish comrades in the R.S.P. is

18 THISTLE STREET,
EDINBORO'

from which all the revolutionary literature (mentioned on page 3) can be obtained.

The Life of the League

PROVINCIAL ACTIVITY

WE are pleased to record much activity in the provinces during the last month. It seems, indeed, that the movement for the 4th International is now getting a firm foothold in the industrial districts of Britain.

The splendid reception that Comrade James has been receiving everywhere from comrades who are really anxious to see our movement grow, because they realise that, whatever shortcomings British trotskism has been guilty of in the past in the organisational sense, it is the only tendency in British working class politics that is endeavouring to keep alive the spirit of Bolshevism and to carry on the glorious tradition of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

It is particularly gratifying to learn of the success of our friends of the Revolutionary Socialist Party who, although small in number, are steadily laying the foundation for the movement in Scotland. The R.S.P. are holding regular propaganda meetings which receive an enthusiastic response from the workers who attend. With its headquarters at Edinburgh, the R.S.P. carries on its work of propaganda and organising in many parts of Scotland; it issues an interesting monthly journal, the "Revolutionary Socialist" (price 1d), and has published a series of pamphlets on subjects of vital interest to the workers. Our Scottish comrades are actively preparing for the day, not far distant, when the united party of the 4th International will be launched in Great Britain.

IN SHEFFIELD.

Splendid reports are coming in from Sheffield. Comrade Carford, an old revolutionary who has been in the labour movements of this country since 1908—went to Sheffield as our local organiser early in May. In June he invited comrade Bradley down to speak. Bradley addressed a crowd of over 300 and promised that the trotskist meetings would continue in Sheffield and a strong branch of the revolutionary movement would be built under the able guidance of comrade Carford. It is of interest here to note that a local C.P. man tried to pull one of their sympathisers out of the crowd warning him of the consequence if he dared to listen to a speaker from the Revolutionary Socialist League.

A week or two later comrade James came to Sheffield and spoke to a large crowd some hundreds strong. Many of the workers have asked for another visit from him. It must be remembered that no trotskist propaganda has been done in Sheffield before May and the workers have heard no revolutionary line since the C.P. went "soft."

Comrade Stanton went to Sheffield for three weeks and held regular daily meetings. Weather permitting, he held meetings in Barkers Pool each evening and we hope to continue holding meetings there, at least every Sunday, as far as local speakers, aided by help from the centre, will allow. Many workers have given their names to comrade Carford for further information about the group and their is every reason to expect that within a short time a strong branch will have been built in Sheffield.

Our job must be to build around the core that we have in the Midlands, the North and in Scotland. The enquiries that we are receiving about "Fight" go to show that all over the country are comrades who are keen to see our movement prosper. All these comrades must face up to their responsibilities. At a time when trotskism is undergoing a tremendous barrage of misrepresentation and slander, both of the cruder kind of the C.P. and the subtler sort from those who are posing as "revolutionary," but who in reality are nothing of the kind, the utmost devotion to our cause is absolutely necessary.

LONDON ACTIVITY

THE Central London Branch of the R.S.L. is settling down to a course of steady activity which is already achieving results. Regular weekly meetings have been initiated at two well-known meeting places: Finsbury Park, Sundays at 12 a.m. Highbury Corner, Mondays at 8 p.m. Continued at foot of next column

Youth and the Revolution

Literature for the Youth

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

We draw the attention of Youth to the fact that *Fontamara* is now available in the 6d. "Penguin" Libraries. We think it is sufficient commentary on the renegacy of Stalinism that a revolutionary is forced to utilise capitalist enterprises in order to publish his works. We reprint below Trotsky's review of *Fontamara*: his remarks need no embellishment.

FONTAMARA by Ignaze Silone

"This is a remarkable book. From its first to its concluding sentence, it is aimed against the Fascist regime, its lies, brutalities and abominations. *Fontamara* is a book of impassioned political propaganda. But in it revolutionary passion attains such heights as to result in a genuinely artistic creation. *Fontamara* itself is merely a poverty-stricken village in one of the most forsaken corners of Southern Italy. In the course of some 200 pages of the book this name becomes the symbol of agricultural Italy, of all its villages and their poverty and their despair and their rebellion

Silone possesses an intimate knowledge of Italian peasants. As the author himself tells us, he spent the initial twenty years of his life in *Fontamara*. Gaudiness of style and sugary sentimentality are foreign to him. He is able to see life as it is; he is gifted with the capacity first to generalise what he perceives by means of the Marxist method and then to embody his generalisations in artistic images. He tells his tale through the persons of the peasants, the *cafoni* and the village paupers themselves. Despite the extraordinary difficulty of such a presentation, the author handles it like a true master. This book has chapters of stupendous power.

Has this book been published in the Soviet Union? Has it come to the notice of the publishing houses of the Third International? This book deserves a circulation of many million copies. But whatever may be the attitude of the official bureaucracy towards those works which belong to the genuine revolutionary literature, *Fontamara*—we are certain—will find its way to the masses. It is the duty of every revolutionary to assist in circulating this book."

LEON TROTSKY.

LEON SEDOV

Trotsky has written a brief memoir of his son, entitled: *Leon Sedov: Son—Friend—Fighter*, which he has dedicated to the proletarian youth. This is a pamphlet which should be read by every young man and woman—indeed, by revolutionaries of all ages; for Sedov's was a life should be an example to us all. Boundless energy and unceasing work combined with invincible revolutionary optimism—these are the characteristics of Sedov's brief existence. Only after reading this pamphlet it is possible to gauge the loss to our movement which Sedov's death involved, and to appreciate fully what is meant by Marxist morality and by revolutionary duty.

Continued from previous column
At both places Stalinists and their sympathisers, burning with enthusiasm for collective security and democracy have come to heckle and remained to hear, in most cases for the first time, the truth of the Bolsheviki-Leninist case. The branch, as a consequence, is making new members and adherents, sales of literature are going up and the red herrings of Stalinist re-action being exposed in all their

What is Socialism? This question is more often asked than adequately answered. And indeed the answer contained in the many volumes of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, is not easy to give briefly yet clearly. Albert Goldman's new pamphlet, *What is Socialism*, is therefore the more to be welcomed. This is no academic essay dryly reviewing the various branches of Marxist theory; it is a vital plea addressed direct to the workers and the youth which approaches its subject through the daily experiences of all of us: unemployment and insecurity, the low standard of living of the masses, the daily increasing danger of war. From these familiar facts of capitalist anarchy, Goldman proceeds to explain simply and clearly the Marxist analysis of their causes and to present the Marxist solution—Socialism.

"COMMUNIST" YOUTH ON THE WAR PATH

Challenge, the organ of the Y.C.L., in their issue of June 25th referred to the enormous increase of recruits from the youth of this country into the Territorials and A.R.P. and stated that, "... Their motives are sincere, their feelings strongly anti-fascist." (!)

The same paper in the issue of July 2nd, urged that the youth of this country must defend "their" homes, and "their" heritage, and continued by stating: "... the youth organisations of this country have service, duty and citizenship as their basis."

Comrades, when these social patriots rant about the defence of "our" homes, we will remember the words of Marx: "Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!"

The working-class does not own anything, it cannot defend what it does not possess, and when these "Communists," along with the National Government and Mosley, are busily defending the "democracy" of the British Empire, we will again remember the words of Lenin: "The duty of every Socialist during the imperialist war is to turn that war into a Civil War."

The youth of Britain must remember that was under capitalism are not fought for the sake of "democracy" or any other ideals, but for markets, trade routes, and fields of exploitation.

We urge the class-conscious youth to come in with us and help us in laying the basis for a new Workers' Party, for it is only a workers' party which can, during the inevitable crisis in capitalism, lead the workers of Britain under the blood red banner of social emancipation to the Proletarian Revolution and the establishment of the classless society of socialism.

IVOR CRESSWELL.

odourous condition. Up to the present the meetings have been addressed only by branch members who have measured up well to the task. The Branch realising the importance of this work intends to cultivate this side of its activity by getting every available member on the platform. A hundred per cent. active branch is the objective.

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THREE PAMPHLETS

Leon Trotsky: *Leon Sedov, Son, Friend, Fighter* 6d.
Albert Goldman: *What is Socialism* 6d.
Frank Maitland: *Holidays with Pay?* 1d.

can be obtained, together with other literature of our movement, from A. Fitzroy, 45 Afghan Road, S.W.11.

British Imperialism in Palestine CAUSES CIVIL WAR

AN endeavour to understand what is happening in Palestine lands one immediately into a survey of a particularly unsavoury chapter of diplomatic history. Attempts to explain the situation in local terms, such as the anti-Semitism of the Arabs or Jewish patriotism, can explain nothing but the ignorance of the explainer. Capitalism, willynilly, is as international as socialism, whatever its form, and it is therefore not surprising to find the roots of the trouble in Palestine in distant capitalist Britain. The intense interest taken in Palestine by Great Britain is not due to the extent of its territory, which is just about that of Wales, nor is it explainable as a hangover from the religious crusades. Neither has the country natural resources to commend it to the attention of the imperialists. One thing above all has commended it to the world power: its strategic position. Since Palmerston's days its key position on the route to India was fully recognised and "the jewel of the British crown" had to be protected at all costs. The opening of the Suez Canal enhanced enormously its importance whilst, in the coming world conflict, it will definitely be the site of the main air base of the Middle East. It is no wonder therefore that in the famous secret treaties published by Trotsky immediately after the October Revolution it was discovered that Great Britain had reserved this plum in the proposed division of what was then Turkish and Arabian territory. Incidentally Mosul, in this thieves' arrangement, had been "given" to France but this was before oil had been discovered there. Great Britain allied her ally to disgorge Mosul.

The outset of the Great War the Arabs, under Turkish rule, were prevailed upon to take arms on the allied side by the promise of a large independent Arab state comprising most of Arabia, Palestine and Syria. The agreement was entered into by Sherif Husain of Mecca and the British High Commissioner, Sir Henry McMahon, in 1915.

1916, however, in the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement, Great Britain and France divided these same lands between themselves.

In the following year, in the famous Balfour Declaration, Great Britain promised Palestine as a national Home for the Jewish people.

To this queer record we must add the League of Nations Mandate which gave to Great Britain powers to apply the Balfour Declaration. The nett result of these diplomatic tricks has been the foregone conclusion of the addition to the British Empire of a new colony, that of Palestine.

The heads of the official Zionist movement found themselves in a new role, that of the outposts of British Empire, and under their wing large numbers of Jews began to emigrate into Palestine. This number increased enormously with the nazification of Germany.

In the meantime Jewish financiers began to invest externally in the country and it was not long before the class struggle in its western form began to operate. Labour organisations had to be set up to resist exploitation and particularly to oppose the "outpost of empire" conception. Whatever might be the commitments of the Zionists, there was a growing movement of an anti-imperialist nature.

But the major portion of the Labour movement in both its political and trade unionist expression, the Mapei (Labour Party) and Histadruth (Trade Unions), is not of this advanced nature. Its chauvinism is precisely the type which is suitable to British capitalist interests, inasmuch as its tactics play up to the "Divide and Rule" policy of British Imperialism.

"Any attempt," declares its leader, Ben Gurion, "to oppose our collaboration with the 'mandatory' power is treason against the Jewish people." Against chauvinism of this kind, backed as it is by British bayonets, the

Arabs have been organised only too easily, and not only by the wealthy Effendis. These last resent the increasing standards of living which the western Jews have introduced into the country. This was to be expected of them. But there is also a genuine fight on the part of many of the Arabs against British Imperialism which has to be taken into account. To this fight is attached the most diverse elements, each for their own particular aims. Italian fascism has played an unimpeachable part in the past in encouraging an Arab revolt. The Communist Party also gives its entire support, only far more openly and to the extent of actually condoning Arab pogroms. Among their slogans are "Civil War against Zionism," "Arm Arabs and disarm Zionists" and "Put the Zionists off the Land." In view of the fact that to the Arab all Jews are Zionists this conversion of the Communist Party to nazi doctrines is worthy of note. That the C.P. should stoop to such methods in order to embarrass Chamberlain is but a reflection of the canker of Stalinism spreading throughout the once revolutionary Comintern.

Against such methods, the revolutionary marxist offers the only solution to the civil war in Palestine. Out of the elements which already exist both amongst Jews and Arabs, a combined Revolutionary Socialist Party must be formed with the task of winning workers and peasants of both races from the distorted national aims that have been imposed on them from above. The road before them is a hard one and has been avoided on innumerable occasions in the attempt to find some short cut which will be easier and yet lead to the same objective. Every such short cut has been found to lead into a morass from which a return, painful and bitter, has had to be made.

The aim of the party must be the formation of a united front of the workers and peasants of Palestine irrespective of race and creed against British imperialism and against their exploiters, Arab and Jew alike.

The message is old. In some ears it has sounded hackneyed and for that reason been despised. It has however, one virtue. It is the truth.

A. B. ELSBURY.

"FIGHT"

OUR PAPER... AND YOURS!

"FIGHT" HAS MISSED AN ISSUE! In presenting our apologies to our readers, we should like to insist that the life of our paper is in their hands. Only with their active support can regular publication be maintained. Active support means: first, PROMPT PAYMENT FOR SUPPLIES — every individual taking bundles must settle with the appropriate officer on or by a monthly date mutually agreed upon. The smallness of the amount is no excuse for unpunctuality in payment. Surely no one will want to know why? Second, ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS — subscriptions are the foundation of any paper. Every reader should be a subscriber. Every subscriber should make two more subscribers. The subscription rate is 1/6 a year post paid. Thirdly, DONATIONS — a revolutionary paper is always dependent on donations. "FIGHT" has received very generous ones. But more important than large donations are REGULAR DONATIONS, donations on which we can count month by month. Comrades! Help us with however small a gift, but help us REGULARLY!

FIGHT FUND. Already acknowledged, £15. P.O. Workers 6/6. Battersea £1/15/2. Per C.S. 10/-. Jerry 2/8. Czecho-Slovakia per J.P. £5. Battersea Group 5/-. Total £23/4/10.

ANOTHER BLOW TO THE MOSCOW TRIALS

Max Eastman, the well-known American revolutionary author and translator of Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution," has brought a libel action for £50,000 against the "Daily Worker," organ of the Communist Party of America, and three individuals, including Earl Browder, general secretary of the party. Last March, basing itself on evidence allegedly given at the frame-up trial in Moscow of Bukharin, Rykov and 18 other Soviet leaders, the American "Daily Worker" described Eastman as a "spy for the British government," an "agent of the German and Japanese secret services," a "notorious bandit and swindler," etc., etc.

Eastman told the press: "Browder is trying to assassinate my character only because he cannot assassinate me. I want to discuss these lies with Earl Browder in a court of justice where people are tried before and not after they are condemned."

TOWARD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

AN exaggerated report appeared last month that the C.P. of Palestine had left the 3rd International as a result of the latest Moscow trial and had joined the Fourth. It is, however, true that a considerable section of the Party has resigned. A statement in Yiddish issued by those who resigned and widely distributed in leaflet form declares that the Soviet Union and the Comintern are in irresponsible and destructive hands. "Only those," the statement continues, "who do not feel the abyss that lies between fascism and socialism, or who are defective spiritually, can believe or even be uncertain about" the innocence of those accused at the Moscow trials. "Were bourgeois reaction to procure an 'agent provocateur' and place him at the head of the labour movement with the object of besmirching it, paralysing and destroying it from the inside, it could not succeed any better than Stalin with his trials and his extermination of the party."

Further on the statement admits the moral responsibility of all the communist parties for the results of the stalinist dictatorship. But, it continues, "precisely because of our deep feeling of responsibility, we cannot and must not keep silent. We must no longer be misled by the fear that the bourgeoisie will utilise such exposures. On the contrary, it is our silence that it utilises in order to identify all communists, and communism itself with the falsehoods of the trials which are already so clear and so pronounced. Stalin's slander of the Soviet Union as a land which is permeated with ever-mounting fantastic crimes, serves only the bourgeoisie. With all our power we hurl back this Stalin-Vishinsky slander."

The Palestine communists do not unfortunately draw the necessary political and organisational conclusions from their declaration—the need for the Fourth International. Nevertheless, their statement has great significance as an important example of the widespread and steadily growing consternation aroused even in the ranks of the communist parties by the Moscow trials. More and more, active and sincere revolutionaries are realising that the stalinist bureaucracy, having betrayed the revolution in the Soviet Union, in China, Germany, Austria and Spain, has now come to represent the worst danger to the international proletarian revolution. From this the next step leads to the 4th International, which still pursues the revolutionary policies of Marx and Lenin.

Journals and Periodicals of the Fourth International

(Most of the following journals can be obtained from T. Fitzroy, 45 Afghan Road, S.W.11.)

In English:
SOCIALIST APPEAL, weekly organ of the Socialist Workers Party, New York, 2d.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, monthly theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Party, New York, 1/-.

THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH, monthly organ of the Young People's Socialist League, New York, 2d.

THE SPARK, monthly organ of the Workers Party of South Africa, Cape-town, 2d.

THE MILITANT, monthly organ of the Workers Party of Australia, Sydney, 1d.

THE VANGUARD, monthly organ of the Workers Party of Canada, Toronto, 1d.

In French:

LA LUTTE OUVRIERE, weekly organ of the Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste, Paris, 2d.

REVOLUTION, monthly organ of the Jeunesse Socialiste Revolutionnaire (P.O.I.), Paris, 2d.

LA QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE, theoretical organ of the P.O.I., Paris, 6d.

LA LUTTE OUVRIERE, weekly organ of the Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire, Brussels, 2d.

REVOLUTION, monthly organ of the Jeunesse Socialiste Revolutionnaire, Brussels, 2d.

LA LUTTE, weekly organ of the French Indo-Chinese Section, Saigon, 2d.

In German:

UNSER WORT, monthly organ of the Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands, Antwerp, 2d.

DER EINZIGE WEG, monthly theoretical organ of the Russian (émigré) Section, Paris, 9d.

In Spanish:

Vos Leninista, organ of the Spanish Section (illegal).

CUARTA INTERNACIONAL, the monthly organ of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista, Mexico, 2d.

ALLIANZA OBRERA, monthly organ of the Chilean Section, Santiago de Chili, 2d.

PIQUETE, monthly organ of the Argentine Section, Buenos Aires, 2d.

Various Languages:

DE ENIGE WEG, monthly organ of the Dutch Section, Rotterdam, 2d.

OKTOBER, monthly organ of the Norwegian Section, Oslo, 2d.

INTERNASJONALE, monthly organ of the Danish Section, Copenhagen, 2d.

"FIGHT"

can be bought at:

I.L.P. Bookshop, New Movies Hall, Bedford Street, Clapham. Strausberg, Coptic Street, Holborn.

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

Lahr's Bookshop, Red Lion Street, Holborn.

Burns and Barry, Shaftesbury Avenue.

All communications for the Revolutionary Socialist League should be sent to T. Fitzroy, 45 Afghan Road, S.W.11. The other address previously given is no longer valid.

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TWENTY YEARS AGO

THE celebration or calling to mind of anniversaries in the working class struggle has a value for us if they help us to learn from the past and give us new courage for the present and future struggles.

During the "great" war, in the summer of 1918, the Isle of Man workers, industrial and farm, supported by some of the lower ranks of the petit bourgeoisie, fought a fight which had a significance far beyond its own immediate cause and result. Owing to war-time censorship and the tendency towards the taking over of state power which the struggle developed into (hence its danger to the capitalist class if the example became well-known) the events received little press notice in England at the time and none at all in the scribbles of the post-war historians.

We shall therefore recall the Manx General Strike of 1918 for the example and encouragement of the workers today. During the war the few socialists and labour leaders in the Isle of Man had either capitulated to the war propaganda of the capitalists or, in a few cases, sunk disheartened into non-activity. A young Englishman who went to work there found that even the Trades and Labour Council had closed down as "not being wanted during the war"—so the old secretary wrote him. However, after two years of hard work and propaganda a small revolutionary group had gathered, determined to carry on the fight. New Trade Union branches were formed, old ones brought into new life; a Manx Socialist Party was organised and a Manx Labour Party (independent of the British Labour Party) formed for the first time to fight for representation in the reactionary parliament of the Island. So successful was their work in organising the Manx workers that by the summer of 1918 agitation around the price of bread—an issue which

fighting strength of the working class was the Strike Committee that neither the Governor of the Island, high military officers, nor other officials dared, for fear of working class revolutionary violence, take out their cars on the roads without a permit signed by the Strike Committee Secretary. Permits were seldom given! Soldiers at the military camps, where the German prisoners were interned, sent a delegation to the Strike Committee conveying a message of support if required.

Without any possibility of support from the working class in England it would have been criminal to press on to the actual seizure of power, for the British Government had already promised Lord Raglan, the Governor, to send battalions to subdue the workers. The Strike was terminated only after the Government of the Island had completely capitulated on the price of bread and on the question of agreeing itself to prosecute any employer who victimised any worker for having taken part in the Strike.

This brief recalling of the Manx General Strike during the last war, which in effect had as its leadership the first British Soviet, should embolden every worker. Intransigent revolutionary activity by the masses, self-sacrificing correct leadership (even by a small revolutionary group) can and will succeed in overthrowing capitalism. All honour to the Manx working class which in 1918, under the direct inspiration of the Russian October Revolution, gave us one more example of proletarian courage and determination.

SELL "FIGHT" and help build THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

* 'How Empires Grow'—J. F. Horrabin, N.C.L.C. 1/-

THE ANTICS OF "FORWARD"

"FORWARD," Scottish organ of Labourism, has been giving considerable space to articles by L. D. Trotsky, discussion on the Moscow trials and Spain, etc. The communists and the supporters of Trotsky have both had their say. All of which is excellent publicity.

But we find the Communists attacking "Forward" as "trotskyist," and the paper has been called the "foremost trotskyist rag." And, despite the fact that the "Daily Worker" is supporting Dollan as the new Lord Provost of Glasgow and advised the workers to vote for him last November, the idea is put across that when the labour lieutenants give publicity to Trotsky it is a case of "birds of a feather."

"Forward" is not a trotskyist paper. The SSP-ers do not support the programme of the Fourth International. They do not stand for world revolution. Indeed, they don't stand for revolution in Britain, and are guilty of producing some of the most curious messes in British politics. Tom Johnston has given over his "internationalism" (his International Police Force) for nationalism. "Propagating Self-Government through Socialism" is "Forward's" new political stand, and the Scottish Labour M.P.'s have organised a special body for National Socialism in Scotland. If this is a vote catching stunt for the middle classes, it is despicable. If it is intended as a serious policy, it is a reactionary nationalist, semi-fascist monstrosity.

It is not that the "Forward" supports Trotsky or the Fourth International in the least. It is "tactics."

LABOURIST v. COMMUNIST

A war is being waged between the labourists and communists, inside the trade unions and trades councils, for the posts of labour lieutenants of the capitalist class. The berths in and around the trade unions, co-operatives, Labour Party organisations, peace societies, and all the rest, have been until now the perquisites of the orthodox labourists. The change in the communist line has had no more terrible effect than in imperilling these jobs. "Working inside the unions" and "unity" mean that the communists must work, not to gain ideological leadership in the proletarian organisations without becoming "leaders," as Lenin advised, but to gain the place of the leaders. In the labour organisations it is very difficult to become an official, especially a paid official, and remain a true revolutionary for any length of time. The communist bureaucrat is found to be no better than the labourist bureaucrat.

Because of the present tactic of the communists and because of the aroused activity of the working class which is at present largely pushing behind the Communist Party, the top layers of the Labour bureaucracy are being threatened. In many of the unions, the communists have achieved considerable strength (witness the struggle between the Labour bureaucrats and communists in London Busmen's section of the TGWU). In Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee trades councils, the communists have strong representation. That is, they are C.P. members unknown to the workers, while the communists and the Labour bureaucrats know it. Only the workers are deceived, not the Woodburns.

"USING" TROTSKYISM

The Labour leaders are threatened by the competition of the new Communist leaders. Strong measures are necessary. Rejection of the United Front and attempts to break it (the Black Circular) are accompanied by a wide use of "Trotskyism" as a weapon for beating the communists. The Moscow trials were a godsend to the Labour bureaucrats as ammunition for the struggle. All the arguments of Trotskyism are used to whack the communists, but without an atom of real revolutionism behind them.

The workers genuinely interested in the Fourth International must beware of those who pay such lip service to its propaganda and to the writings of its chief exponent, Leon Trotsky.

If anyone asks why Trotsky should send articles to "Forward" and seemingly thereby lend himself to this manoeuvre of the Labour lieutenants that it is necessary for the revolution to obtain a hearing in every possible way. The Labour lieutenants use Trotsky to hit at the communists. But

TWO YEARS OF CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

(Continued from page 1)

would help win the war. But lack of arms is by no means the only cause of its defeats. For, in fact, superiority of arms never has been and never could be the most important factor when a civilian population is fighting against a highly trained army. The Russian workers and peasants when they fought against British, French, American and Japanese armies of intervention were at a considerable disadvantage as far as superiority of arms was concerned. The Soviet Russian arms supply was, more or less, in the same relation to the supplies of arms received by the White Generals, as the Spanish Peoples Front Government's supply of arms is in relation to that of General Franco. In fact Russia did not have another Soviet state to supply it with arms as does the Spanish Peoples Front Government today. And Soviet Russia was at another disadvantage then, for it began the civil war after 4 years of imperialist war had completely exhausted it. Who does not remember the terrible state of Russia during 1919-20-21, the years of famine during which people were reduced to eating the bark of trees, grass and even resorted to cannibalism? Yet, despite the plentiful ammunition that Mr. Churchill poured into the camp of the Russian General Franco, despite the fact that the Red Army very often fought without boots and with antiquated rifles, it won, because of the superior morale of the Soviet troops, which was the sole advantage the forces of the Workers' State had over the armies of intervention.

But today in Spain the Peoples Front Government is losing one battle after another not merely because it is inferior as far as arms are concerned — such inferiority is indeed unavoidable, as we have pointed out, — but also, because the great advantage — moral superiority — which it had over Franco, it almost completely destroyed with its own hands.

THE REVOLUTION

For the Spanish workers on taking up arms against Franco, also took up the struggle against the Spanish capitalists — "democratic" and Fascist alike. Factories, the transport system, telephone exchanges, were taken over by the workers. This was especially so in Catalonia, the most industrialised part of Spain. Thus, when the workers went to the Front

MEETING HELD IN THE LONDON AREA

BATTERSEA — Comyn Road, Clapham Jc., Tuesdays, 8 p.m.

ISLINGTON — Highbury Corner, Mondays, 8 p.m.

ST. PANCRAS — Mornington Crescent, Fridays, 8 p.m.

KILBURN — Kilburn High Road, Fridays, 8 p.m.

FINCHLEY — Tally Ho Corner, Fridays, 8 p.m.

SUMMER CAMPAIGN Sundays.

Finsbury Park - - - 11 a.m.

Hyde Park - - - 3 p.m.

Clapham Common - - 3 p.m.

Brockwell Park - - - 7 p.m.

Victoria Park (to be commenced shortly).

Peckham Rye (to be commenced shortly).

to fight against Franco, they did not go out to fight merely for some abstract, academic principle of "democracy" as the Liberals understand it, but went out to defend these newly acquired rights. From then on they knew they fought for the protection and further extension of these great social gains. Every militiaman knew that he was defending concretely the possession of the factory in which he used to work as an employee, but which from then onwards belonged to him. For the first time in his life he felt that he was really master. In the case of those who had not yet taken over the factories, they had every prospect — based on the example already set by their fellow workers — that they would be able to do so at the very first opportunity. Back in the rear, the protection of the workers lay in the hands of the newly established workers' police — the Workers' Patrols — who replaced the old Assault Guards and Gendarmes. Bourgeois Spain was disappearing and the dreams of the workers were assuming reality. Spain was theirs for the first time.

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED

But the Peoples Front Government began to take away these newly acquired rights. Numerous factories were handed back to the former employees; the Workers Militia were replaced by a bourgeois army in which the officers were raised high above the soldiers. The pay of the soldiers was reduced from 10 to 8 pesetas a day, while that of the officers was raised from the same 10 pesetas to 25 for a Second Lieutenant, 50 pesetas for a Captain, and 100 pesetas for a Lieutenant-Colonel. A social gulf was erected between officer and men, as in every bourgeois country. In the rear, the Workers' Patrols were replaced by the hated Assault Guards, who formerly participated in the murder of strikers. Spain returned to the old bourgeois stage, and all that was done by the Peoples Front Government, not by General Franco.

Thus the Peoples Front Government took away the principle basis of the high morale of the forces fighting against Franco. But morale, as Napoleon said, is more than half the battle. The continuous defeats are therefore the direct results of the counter-revolutionary action of the Peoples Front Government.

Of course the workers will still continue to fight against Franco. We take that for granted. But that enthusiasm, which was so magnificently displayed during the early period of the civil war, an enthusiasm which alone can secure victory, can only be revived once more if the Spanish workers again become the real masters of the Spain they are fighting to defend. That is the key to the Spanish struggle to-day.

S. FROST.

STRUGGLE OR STARVE

(Continued from page 1)

the world is facing an "imminent crisis." This is what we have to prepare to fight against now. If the growing army of unemployed is not organised and linked up with the employed workers, if the militant united front of workers' organisations is not built, then the workers' resistance to hunger, fascism and war will inevitably be destroyed.

WHAT TO DO

Let us take one issue, one which affects nearly every working class family in the country and lay the foundations of our united front of

struggle. The issue of unemployment the fight against the Means Test, the Anomalies Act, the slave camps, and for extra winter relief and a general increase in all the scales. As the unemployed figures reach two million, three million and possibly four million, continuous cuts will be made. These cuts are seized upon by the employers to further reduce the already miserable wages of the employed workers. Hundreds of millions of pounds are being spent on subsidies in preparation for imperialist war. We can fight against war by fighting to divert that money to those suffering most acutely from the intensification of the class war. We know which side the Liberals, progressive Conservatives, etc., will be on in such a fight. We have always had to fight them and we always shall. At the Labour Exchanges, in the T.U.J. branches, Labour Parties, and wherever the workers gather, we must carry on our agitation and organisation. The capitalists are preparing now. Let us be ready to meet them.

Britain is plunging headlong into the worst trade depression the world has known. What will this mean?

It will mean: More wage cuts. More speeding-up. Unemployment reaching the 4 million mark. A more savage Means Test. Attacks on the workers' organisations, on the right of free speech and on the right to agitate and demonstrate.

British Capitalism in its death agony will seek the only way out, the way of 1914, the way of mass slaughter and imperialist war. You will be given a uniform, a rifle and a gas mask. From the slums, millions of ill-nourished workers will be driven to murder and maim their fellow workers of other countries.

The liars and frauds will tell you that you are fighting to save "Democracy," to save "Peace, Progress and Prosperity," but you know that you are fighting to retain the profits of your exploiters and the shackles for yourselves.

This is what the future holds for you. This is what British capitalist democracy means to you unless are prepared to fight your own class war for *Work, Power*.

Those who advocate a Popular Front are deceiving you. They want you to ally yourselves with your enemies, the Liberals (who led you into the war of 1914), the Church leaders and Duchesses.

In France, the Popular Front government has been kicked out. After shooting down the workers at Clichy, bludgeoning and imprisoning strikers, devaluing the franc and thereby raising the cost of living, their bosses consider that they have served their purpose.

In Spain, everything that the workers won in 1936 by their own class action has been brutally taken from them. The Popular Front government, because it cannot conduct a revolutionary war, cannot conduct an effective struggle against Franco. It is too busy waging war against the workers and peasants. Its prisons are chockful of revolutionary fighters. Thousands of others have faced the "democratic" firing squads.

The Popular Fronts in Spain and France are paving the way for the victory of Fascism. We must see that this does not happen here. Remember: "The emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself."

BUILD THE UNITED FRONT OF WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS! FIGHT AGAINST THE WAR PREPARATIONS OF BRITISH CAPITALISM!

FIGHT AGAINST BETRAYALS OF THE STALINIST AND LABOUR PARTIES!

NO UNITY WITH THE CLASS ENEMY!

FIGHT YOUR OPPRESSORS — WHETHER "DEMOCRATIC" OR FASCIST!

W. DUNCAN.

The Life of the League

(Continued from page 2)

SOUTH LONDON ACTIVITY

Our Battersea comrades are holding regular meetings at Comyn Rd. every Saturday, at which comrades from the centre (Lane and Stanton) and local speakers (Rowlands and Dewar) are well received by large audiences, and good collections taken for branch funds and towards the publication of FIGHT.

As a result, sales of the paper are increasing in this area.

ARMS FOR THE SPANISH WORKERS

WORKERS CAN STILL FORCE GOVERNMENT TO
RAISE ARMS BAN

But only by forming Councils of Action and bringing mass pressure to bear, in the
Factories and in the Streets.

UNITY

But not with Duchesses, Barons and Deans: they will sabotage any real Militancy.

Unity of British Workers with French Workers
To Help The Spanish Workers.