

# WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL HOLDS WORLD CONFERENCE ON WAR

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International attended by mandated delegates of ten national sections has been successfully concluded!

Called on the initiative of its United States, Mexican and Canadian sections, the Conference addressed the working class of the world in a resounding manifesto urging the toilers of all lands to make an end of the imperialist war by initiating the world socialist revolution.

The sections represented at the Conference were: United States, Germany, Belgium, Canada, Mexico, Spain, Cuba, the Argentine, Porto Rico and Chile. Also present were fraternal delegates from the Australian and Chinese sec-

tions and from the editorial board of the Bulletin of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists Opposition. Affiliated organisations in England, France, China, Switzerland and Bulgaria, unable to send representatives or mandates, sent declarations of solidarity. It was also impossible to contact in time the affiliates of the Fourth International in Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Scandinavia, Palestine, Lithuania, Indo-China, South Africa and Brazil.

The World Emergency Conference met in secrecy due to conditions engendered by the war "somewhere in the Western Hemisphere" on May 19-26. Gathering in the tense atmosphere of the engulfing war, the Conference constituted the genuine voice of proletarian in-

ternationalism. The news and documents were withheld from publication until the delegates could return to the countries from which they came.

### ONLY WE SPEAK OUT

Neither the decrepit Second International, nor the perfidious Third International, nor the International Federation of centrists known as the "International Workers' Front" have made themselves heard by as much as a whisper in this grave hour. Only the Fourth International, gathered in a World Conference, has raised its voice to explain to the workers everywhere the situation confronting them: to show them the revolutionary way out of the crushing disaster that is overtaking society disorganised by capitalism; to speak out to them in the voice of courage and hope which is the voice of the coming world socialist revolution.

### THE BALANCE SHEET

Meeting two years after the founding Conference, the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International drew the balance sheet of the intervening period. And it was able to establish the gratifying fact that the overwhelming majority of its sections and members throughout the world had withstood the test of these trying times in exemplary fashion. The Conference unanimously reaffirmed the principles adopted at the First World Congress and elaborated for fifteen years preceding it within the "Trotskyist" movement.

While the opportunist internationals were everywhere showing signs of deep-going disintegration and complete paralysis, the Conference was presented with evidence that the Fourth International not only held its own, but could register a distinct increase in num-

bers and activity in the two years past despite the illegalisation of several of our sections since the conclusion of the Munich Pact.

Particularly heartening was the Organisational Report which recorded considerable growth of our movement in Latin America, in Bolivia, the Argentine and in Cuba. In Australia our Young Communist League has made particularly gratifying headway in winning over a whole leading cadre of militants from the Stalinist party.

In France, despite the convulsions of the war, our section has been reinforced by the adherence to it of the bulk of the active members in the Left wing of the PSOP. In Ireland, the organisation report indicated a group had been formed requesting affiliation with the Fourth International. Similar developments are reported in numerous other countries with which the Fourth International had no previous contact.

In general the Organisation Report presented a picture of a live international party growing despite tremendous obstacles and functioning as a single unit.

### THE MANIFESTO

The chief work of the Conference was the preparation of a Manifesto to the world working class. After considerable discussion the draft proposed by the Executive Committee was adopted with only minor amendments. This document is a unique revolutionary achievement. It comprises an all round panorama of the world in the throes of war; an analysis of the

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factors making for the transformation of this war into a civil war for the Socialist United States of Europe on the road to the World Federation of Socialist Republics; as well as a call to action which contains strategic and tactical directives.

#### GREETINGS TO TROTSKY

The Conference met in the shadow of the Stalinist G.P.U.'s attempt on the life of the outstanding leader of the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky. In a resolution adopted by acclamation, the Conference congratulated Comrade Trotsky on his miraculous escape from the hands of the Kremlin assassins. It greeted Comrade Trotsky and his companion Natalie Sedov, in heartfelt words which expressed the profound appreciation of revolutionists the world over for their devotion to the cause of the world working class and anxiety for their continued welfare and safety.

Recalling the names of such martyrs in the struggle of the Fourth International, as Leon Sedov, Rudolph Klement, Ernst Wolf, and Ignace Reiss, heroes felled by the hand of Stalin's G.P.U, the Conference paused to send greetings to the stout-hearted and fearless militants of the Fourth International now languishing in the concentration camps and prisons of Hitler's Germany; to comrades Rigal, Steve, Weitz and their friends in the jails of French imperialism; to the heroic soldiers of the Fourth International imprisoned by Vargas' Brazil, Mexatas' Greece, Franco's Spain; to our brothers in the British colonies, clamped into dungeons by Churchill's England; to the dauntless Bolshevik-Leninists tortured but unyielding, in the grip of the Kremlin oligarchy; to our brave comrades placed behind prison walls in Minnesota by Roosevelt's

F.B.I and to the class war prisoners everywhere.

#### CONDEMNNS DESERTERS

Meeting in the main to arm the Fourth International for the coming battles against capitalism, and for the struggle to win the world working class to our banner, the Emergency Conference also had another task; to pass judgement upon those weak-kneed petty bourgeois elements formerly in our ranks who at the first test of the unfolding war ran for cover. It had to deal with those who deserted under the pretext of proposing a "concrete" revision of our programme on the question of unconditional defence of the USSR, a revision which developed into open surrender of the Marxist theory and the principles and traditions of Bolshevism, upon whose foundations the International has been constructed.

#### SECTIONS SUPPORT STAND

Conference noted that every section and group which had reported its decision to the Executive had unreservedly declared themselves for the maintenance of the slogan of Unconditional Defence of the USSR and against all attempts to revise the programme of the Fourth International.

Based upon this authority, the Emergency Conference elected an International Executive Committee with representatives from all sections, charged with executing the programme and policies of the Fourth International in the course of the war, and with the calling of a full World Congress as soon as conditions make this step feasible.

The Emergency Conference of the World Party of Socialist Revolution closed

its sessions, firm in the conviction that it had successfully accomplished the work of consolidating the international organisation, of providing it with a functioning and authoritative

leadership, and of arming it with a line of action which alone can initiate the workers' own emancipation from the toils of horrifying war and ruthless exploitation.

# Japan & America on the Pacific

by JACK WEBER

The Japanese face a momentous decision in their imperialist looting of the Far East. Shall they begin their long awaited expansion southwards or is the time not yet opportune? The notorious Tanaka memorandum to the Mikado set forth the innermost urges of Japanese capitalism and laid down a long-range plan of conquest. Manchuria was to be the first victim, to be seized, if necessary, even at the risk of war with Soviet Russia. In the course of this war, if it occurred, the Maritime Provinces of Siberia were to become the next prey. From Manchuria, Japan would then proceed at its leisure to swallow up all of China. But the ambitions of nationalist imperialism, of whatever country, are boundless. Hence after landing China in her net, Japan would then fish in the troubled waters of the South Pacific. Faithfully the militarists of Nippon have adhered to this plan. Their intention is clear. The "New Order" in Asia, the Monroe Doctrine of the Far East, means complete domination by Japan and the ousting of all rivals.

The present situation seems as if created by destiny for the fulfillment of Japanese aims. With the European imperialists bleeding each other to death, the coast is left clear for Japanese capitalism. The tremendous strain on her economic and human resources entailed by the invasion of China, did not deter Japan from seiz-

ing Hainan Island, which dominates the coast of Indo-China, with the obvious purpose of making ready to oust France at the earliest opportunity. England is engaged in a life and death struggle in which her entire empire is at stake. The English imperialists are completely helpless to counter any blow delivered against their interests by the Japanese in the Far East. So the latter have succeeded in all but taking Hongkong, which has been made more or less useless as a naval base by the disposition of Japanese forces around it. Now comes the seizure of Holland by Germany which leaves the most important equatorial country in the world, the largest insular empire, the Dutch East Indies, suspended, politically speaking, in mid-air. The temptation for the unappeasable appetites of the expansionists - on both sides of the Pacific - may be gauged by a very brief survey of these islands.

## ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF EAST INDIES.

Dutch Borneo alone is as large as France and it is less than one third the total area of the islands. Sumatra is larger than California. The eight million Dutch in Holland ruled over sixty-five million slaves in the East Indies, of whom forty million inhabit the Island of Java, perhaps the most densely populated country in the world. The economic importance of the East Indies has risen by leaps and

bounds in the twentieth century. Besides their status in supplying sugar and rubber, these isles produce 95% of the world's quinine, 50% of its tobacco, 20% of its tin, 10% of its petroleum, 50% of the world's coconut oil, 70% of its pepper, 60% of its sisal. Add to these products, rice, tea, coffee, iron, silver, gold, teakwood, ebony, sandalwood-- and one begins to understand the stakes of imperialism in this one section of the Pacific area alone. The Dutch had over Four billion florins invested in this portion of their empire and they squeezed each year half a billion florins of profit (at an average rate well over twenty percent) out of their Indonesian slaves. The Netherlands received a yearly tribute of some one hundred and fifty millions of dollars from the Dutch East Indies.

But the problem of these islands of the Malayan Archipelago is bound up with all the economic and strategic problems of the Pacific. Once the East Indies are in the hands of the Japanese, the innumerable islands that dot the South Pacific would pass under Japanese control one after the other. The Philippines, also part of the Malay Archipelago, would be flanked on both sides and could be taken at will. From the Dutch East Indies the way would be open for an assault on the entire British Empire in the East. The great naval base at Singapore lies at the eastern end of the long Strait of Malacca between the English Straits Settlement and the Dutch Sumatra. At Malacca and Sunda Strait (between Sumatar and Java) all the trade routes from East to West converge, the routes from India, from all of East Africa, from Australia, from the China Seas, Japan and Malaya. Here the English built Singapore to defend their colonial loot, including Hongkong, Malaya and, more distantly, Australia. In a

world of capitalist robbery and exploitation, the fate of Singapore determines the fate of Malaya first of all. Acre for acre British Malaya is the richest English possession on the face of the globe. Its annual foreign trade is over one-half billion dollars. (£125,000,000). It produces half the world's rubber, a third of its tin. Japan takes a million tons of iron ore a year from this possession. In all these islands of the Pacific and on the mainland of Asia, Japan seeks raw materials and also a vast market for cotton goods. No wonder the Japanese imperialists covet the Dutch East Indies! They would be a cornerstone for an empire in the South Pacific to include all of the Malay Archipelago, British Malaya-- and at a later stage, Australia and India!

#### JAPANESE IMPERIAL AMBITIONS

It was the first World War that set Japan on her path of empire in China. In 1913, just before that war broke out, Edward Grey bargained with Ambassador Kato for Japanese support in the coming struggle. The price demanded by Kato so alarmed Grey that he did his best to prevent Japan from entering the war at all. But in the end he was forced to give Japan a free hand in China. In the Second World War Japan need no longer seek British support. On the contrary the Mikado is on the other side of the fence threatening to cut off vast slices of the French and British empires. In the period between the two wars, England prepared to defend her colonial loot by building tremendous naval bases at Colombo, Singapore and Hongkong. But these bases cannot be manned by the English fleet which is entirely occupied in the Atlantic. In the first World War, England paid a price for assigning to Japan the defence of her empire in the East. Since the break with Japan,

England has had to seek new political alliances to try to find a new defender for her empire in the Pacific. Naturally she turned to the United States. The more Japan encroached on the mainland of Asia, elbowing aside all competitors, the closer England and the United States were driven on the world arena. Thus when Singapore base was formally opened in January 1938, the only other country invited to participate was the United States. Three American cruisers not only participated in the exercises but, following them, in joint manoeuvres with the British forces in the Pacific under British command. Shortly afterwards it was stated openly in the House of Commons that in the event of war England would "lease" her bases in the East to the United States.

This is one of the prices necessarily demanded by the United States for aid to the British Empire. It is the entire situation in the stormy Pacific that determines the major policies of American imperialism. For generations the United States has cast its eyes towards China and the East, preparing to lay the foundations of empire across the Pacific. Now, when more than ever before, the country with the greatest forces of production in the world seeks more outlets, when these forces clamour for expanded markets and fields for investment, the American capitalists see themselves frustrated by Japan. Short of actual war, United States diplomacy has done everything possible to hinder and thwart the Japanese. In the most recent period loans and supplies have gone to Chiang Kai-shek to encourage his resistance to the Japanese war lords. The cancellation of the trade agreement was a clear threat of a complete embargo against any trade with Japan. So largely dependent is Japan on America for her raw materials and

for her markets that such an embargo would tend to strangle Japanese economy. For that very reason it would result in the briefest time in open hostilities.

#### AMERICAN AND JAPANESE RIVALRY

The preparations for the coming war in the Pacific have made of that ocean a tremendous battlefield. Feverishly the United States prepares defences along the route over which it expects to transport men and supplies. The Pacific is now dotted with airplane bases, including Midway and Wake Islands on the direct route to Japan and to the Philippines. The myth of Philippine independence will be quickly dispelled the moment hostilities commence. The discussion over the fortification of Guam has to do not in the slightest with any opposition to the oncoming war, but with a difference in judgment as to whether Japan would permit its fortifying without at once acting to seize it as well as the Philippines, or as to whether once fortified, it could be defended from attack. The Panama Canal has vast strategic importance for war purposes. Hence the vast sums allocated to its defence. But since Panama cannot be safely used to pass through battleships of forty-five thousand tons, shortly to become commonplace, preparations are under way for building a new and wider canal through Nicaragua.

But as was stated, the United States lacks the greatest essential of all to conduct war against Japan for the conquest of vast spoils. In the Far East she has no main bases without which a navy would be helpless. Because England needs United States help in Europe, as well as in Asia, Singapore, perhaps Hongkong, may go to the United States. For that very reason Japan would like to seize these bases before

they can fall into the hands of America. The temptation for her to swallow the Dutch East Indies is therefore all the greater. Fearful that Japan would act in Blitzkrieg fashion with respect to this rich plum, Roosevelt dispatched the entire fleet post-haste to Hawaii, and perhaps also to Guam, to act as a Pacific Maginot Line against any Japanese fleet movement. It seems fairly certain that war will result in this fundamental imperialist clash of interests if either fleet moves towards seizure of the Dutch eastern empire. Perhaps the only declaration of war will have been Hull's warning to Japan to keep hands off.

#### STALIN'S ROLE

The United States has made little pretense of being neutral in the second imperialist World War. Her imperialist stakes in the Pacific bring her temporarily together with England on the world arena. For that reason Germany, anxious lest America enter the European struggle quickly and weigh the scales in favour of the Allies, encourages Japan to take the Dutch East Indies. That would keep America too busy to exert a preponderant influence in Europe. Hitler has also attempted to act as the broker between Russia and Japan. Stalin would not mind seeing Japan involved in war with the United States since Japan could not then attack Siberia. It is an interesting speculation whether Stalin would not try to play the same role in a war of the Pacific that he played in Europe; namely, giving Japan assurance of benevolent neutrality. Certainly without such assurance the Japanese militarists would hesitate to become involved in war with the United States. The war in China has tended also to exhaust Japan economically. It is doubtful therefore whether the Mikado's generals would dare to take the

risk of immediate war by trying to annex the Dutch East Indies, considering that the United States will probably now take the initiative for such annexation herself. The situation may thus develop a temporary "stalemate" as on the Western Front before the "real" war opened.

What then of the Dutch East Indies? There is one factor that the imperialists do not take into account: the natives of the Indies. A strong many-millioned nationalist movement exists in the Dutch colonies. Just after the first World War this movement was not only proletarian in composition, but it was in close alliance with the communist movement. A Communist Party was organised in Java in 1919, before that of the United States. In January of 1927 there occurred an uprising under the leadership of the Red Proletarian League. The revolt was put down with bloody suppression and several hundred leaders were deported to the wilderness in New Guinea. Since then the nationalist movement has taken the road of reformism. It is, however, closely in touch with the Hindu nationalist movement, sending delegates to the Hindu Congress. It was closely in touch with the Chinese nationalist movement in the revolutionary phase of its development. The first World War saw the tremendous growth of the East Indian nationalist movement. The Second World War will have a similar influence, particularly in view of the threat made by both Japan and America to establish domination over these colonies in place of the Dutch. It is to be expected that the compact population of Java (with as many people as England or France) with a proletariat, fearfully exploited, organised into trade unions of considerable power, and with a nationalist movement, one wing of which demands complete independence, will not remain quiescent

under new threats of enslavement. A movement towards independence, for throwing off the imperialist yoke, in any section of the Far East, will have profound repercussions everywhere else in the colonies. This is the factor that the imperialists will have to take into account before their war for spoils is over. The imperialists who hope to profit in the break-up of English, French, Dutch empires, will

Have first of all to prolong their war into one of suppression of vast colonial revolts. This will be no easy task, particularly if the working class movement at home revives in one or more of the great capitalist countries in Europe, or in the United States. A revolt in the colonies would aid in bringing such a revival, particularly in the defeated imperialist countries.

# Stalin's Politics

Over a long period Workers International News has described the role of the Communist Party as that of a puppet controlled by Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy. Month after month we have traced the connection between the foreign policy of the Soviet Government and the propaganda of its British agency. Sometimes this connection has been clear, as at the beginning of the war when the "line" had to be very hastily changed to come into agreement with the Soviet-German Pact; at other times it has been covered over by all the wiles of a well-trained political leadership accustomed to finding justification for its unprincipled zig-zags in the "realities" of the situation.

There is no lack of clarity, however, in the latest adventure of the King Street leadership. The Nine Point Programme incident revealed a more open and obvious link with Moscow than almost any of the previous "lines." The deepening of the world crisis gives an apileptic and agitated character not only to capitalist diplomacy, but also to that of the Soviet bureaucracy. The more desperate the rulers are the less "polish" do they apply to

their trickery.

The Nine Point Programme first saw the light of day in the DAILY WORKER of July 22 and consisted of the demand for a "Peoples' Government" which would put into operation a programme that included the nationalisation of the means of production, the arming of the workers in the factories and the setting up of workers' control committees.

This nine point baby was ushered into the world amidst the scenes of tremendous enthusiasm. The former "friends" and fellow travellers of the Communist Party were enthusiastic about the return to a "Peoples' Front;" the militant rank and file members were enthusiastic about demands which had some element of socialism in them. Mass meetings were arranged throughout Britain and Harry Pollitt, staging a come-back after his period of disgrace addressed 3,000 people at a London rally and was given the ovation of a returning hero.

For twelve days this continued and every other day the WORKER devoted a special article to one or another of

the nine demands.

But suddenly on July 5 there was silence. The programme ceased to appear point by point. Not another meeting was held to press for its operation. Not a word has been whispered from that day to this about the nationalisation of the means of production, the arming of the workers or the formation of workers' control committees. Instead, we have had a return to the old formula "Chamberlain Must Go" and a whole campaign to prove that the "Men of Munich" are responsible for practically every villainy on the face of the earth.

The question arises - why this sudden blossoming and equally sudden withering of a political programme? To answer this question it is necessary to note what was happening in the international sphere during the period in question and particularly what was taking place in the diplomatic field between the USSR and Britain.

In the first place, France and Britain had just suffered a staggering military defeat. The whole relationship of forces on the Continent was in process of being altered. The prolonged deadlock between the capitalist armies which Stalin had hoped for had proved to be an illusion. There was every chance of France being utterly defeated and no Continental army left to oppose the might of Germany in the West. Only Britain remained to divert at least some part of this military machine from Russia. Clearly it was in Stalin's interest to prolong the struggle. The British rulers for their part, realised that the only possible effective ally they could hope for was Russia. Negotiations were set afoot for the resumption of "trade talks." After a feeble display of "unwillingness" on both sides, Sir Stafford

Cripps was sent off to Moscow as British Ambassador on June 6.

On June 14 Cripps had a long talk with Molotov, no details of which were issued to the press. But judging by the events that followed the results were unsatisfactory. In all probability Stalin laid down conditions for helping Britain which went beyond the price the British Government was willing to pay.

The old weapon of threats was therefore resorted to and a violently anti-British campaign ensued. Meanwhile Paris was handed over to the Germans. Renaud resigned on June 16 and his successor, Petain, lost little time in calling for an armistice. And in Britain the Communist Party nine point campaign was launched on June 22

The fact that these threats coincided with the collapse of France strengthened Stalin's hand enormously. Britain must have realised this and agreed to Stalin's terms. After a preliminary interview with Kalinin on June 28, Cripps achieved the very rare, if doubtful honour of an interview with Stalin himself on July 1st. It was three days after this interview that the DAILY WORKER received the order to stop printing the Nine Point Programme. The socialist grimaces made by Pollitt, Rust and others had served their purpose.

From that time the Communist Party of this country has contented itself with demanding that Chamberlain must go; and Cripps in Moscow has continued his talks with Lozovsky and other representatives of the Soviet bureaucracy. Moreover tension between the USSR and Germany is reported to have become intensified and a regular campaign of threats and extortions is being waged by both countries to win the various

Balkan rulers to their side.

The excuse of the individual members of the Communist Party for this opportunistic and cynical behaviour on the part of the leadership is that these actions are justified in the defence of the Soviet Union.

The Fourth Internationalists have never excluded the possibility of an alliance of the USSR with an imperialist state or with one imperialist combination against another. Under existing circumstances such an alliance becomes dire necessity. The international proletariat will defend unconditionally the workers' state despite

the stranglehold of Stalinism. But the international proletariat must under all circumstances safeguard its complete political independence from Soviet diplomacy and thereby from the Soviet bureaucracy. Thus the unyielding proletarian opposition to any imperialist ally of the USSR shall not be impeded. The policy of the proletarian party in an "allied" as well as in an enemy imperialist country must always be directed towards the revolutionary overthrow of the ruling class and the seizure of power. Only in this way can a real alliance with the USSR be created and the first workers state prevented from being converted into a colony of imperialism.

# Labour to Power

In 1933 Trotsky sought, by means of articles and letters, to arrive at an understanding with the leaders of the ILP. At that period our criticisms of the Comintern appeared to these leaders to be "preconceived" and "factionally" and even "personally" motivated. As a substitute for political criticism and discussion of our programme, the theoretical leaders of the ILP preferred to regard the "Trotskyists" as a target for their shafts of feeble wit. We were designated among other things "splitters", "jarring sects - each of which thinks that the other has got a comma wrong," etc. We continued our discussions on the principles of internationalism and the consequent demands of political action, realising that these were absolutely essential if we were to survive the impacts of war. Today the forces which previously issued separate publications are united in common struggle. And what of the sages of St. Bride Street?

## ILP CHAIRMAN SUPPORTS THE WAR

In adopting the stand of opposition to the Second World War, many self-styled "defeatists" in this country based their politics on the supposed invulnerability of the Allied military defences. They have consequently varied their politics to accord with the military situation in Europe. Among these people we are not at all surprised to find Dr. C. A. Smith, Chairman of the ILP, who has now discovered that Marxism has no meaning in a Britain threatened by Hitler. Overnight C. A. Smith discovers that the right to possess radios and to publish the NEW LEADER, are not "chains" but the salve which make the chains bearable, and must therefore be defended.

The struggle for "democracy" in time of war signifies above all, the struggle for the preservation of the workers press and of workers organisations against military censorship and milit-

ary authority. On the basis of these tasks the revolutionary vanguard seeks a united front with other working class organisations - AGAINST ITS OWN GOVERNMENT - but in no case does a genuine revolutionary support his national imperialism for the sake of a fragile democratic shell!

There is nothing new in these arguments advanced by C.A. Smith. They were advanced at the beginning of the war in pamphlet form by Harry Pollitt and Professor Laski, both of whom share with Dr. Smith, cynical contempt for the working class.

#### CONFUSION AND DESPAIR

An unbridgable chasm separates the ILP leaders, Maxton and C.A. Smith, which in turn divides and disorients the entire party membership. Confusion, despair, hopelessness reign within the ranks of the ILP. In LEFT, one anguished member goes so far as to write: "Since April a significant proportion of those Socialists who had previously opposed the war have changed their attitude... The important question for a Socialist Party is not the actions of its individual members with regard to National Defence, but its policy for increasing the self-confidence, the organisational strength and Socialist conviction of the workers... so let us not have recriminations and splits over matters which, though acutely important individually, are not of first importance to a Socialist Party as such."

Fenner Brockway hastens to prepare a dish which will cause the least offence to the political palates of defeatist and defeatist ILPers alike. The result is an abomination in which confusion and contradiction are the only recognisable ingredients.

#### BROCKWAY'S PROGRAMME

Basing his programme on an article in the patriotic, bourgeois NEW STATESMAN AND NATION, Fenner Brockway writes:

"If Britain is to assume the leadership in the European revolution, Britain itself must undergo a social transformation more drastic than those who are now turning to this strategy recognise." He goes on in a programmatic statement to demand that wealth must be conscripted, the national income must be "pooled" and redistributed. "This would be social equality. It would make Britain and its wealth our country." And who is to undertake this task? Not a word! And by what means? Brockway has a solution: the "Emergency Powers" must be used for this purpose!

But worse is to follow. There remains the "European revolution" to organise. Here the Political Secretary excels himself. "We need," he declares, "a new Department of State - the Department for the European revolution - and it should be manned by those refugees who have for years been actually engaged in preparing for the revolution against Nazism." The social character of the "revolution" to be organised by the "Department of State" is left a little obscure, but in order that we shall have no illusions that a socialist revolution is contemplated, Mr. Brockway hastens to assure us that the "anti-Nazi" refugees he has in mind are the social patriotic "allies" of the British Government. Nowhere is even an attempt made, in the two articles under discussion, to analyse the social composition of Britain and Europe in order to determine the class character of the social transformation and to give a directive for action to the masses. In attempting at one and

the same time to act as attorney for the pacifist Maxton, and the social-patriotic Smith, Brockway could produce no other result than the ridiculous articles which appeared in the NEW LEADER, July 11th and 18th editions.

Such is the confused position of the ILP today. With the impotence of its senile leadership fully revealed by the impact of events, we are seen to be fully justified in our characterisation of this party as "an association of squeezed lemons." Swayed by every breeze that blows, how can these vacillating centrists give a lead to the masses? Completely incapable of formulating a policy, let alone a programme, they can lead their followers only to disaster.

#### THE ILP AND THE LABOUR PARTY

Trotsky wrote in 1935: "It remains a fact that for every revolutionary organisation in England its attitude to the masses and to the class is almost coincident with its attitude towards the Labour Party, which bases itself upon the Trade Unions." The political insolvency of the ILP is most clearly revealed in its attitude towards the official Labour Party. We will not at this stage debate the 1932 split, but the actions of the ILP leaders since that time prove beyond a doubt their inability to learn from history and to understand political development.

During this period they failed to attract even an appreciable minority of the advanced workers to the programme which they counterposed to that of the Transport House Traitors. This failure was not accidental. It signified that the wave of militancy that had swept the Labour Party into power was receding into apathy, passivity and reaction. At this stage Messrs. Brockway and Co. commenced a flirtation

with the discredited Comintern instead of returning to the mass organisations to attract the advanced workers who were becoming disillusioned with the betrayal of the Labour Party leadership to a revolutionary programme.

Today isolation and impotence are the fruits of this folly. Towards the bureaucratic fakers of Transport House the ILP press adopts a conciliatory attitude; towards affiliation to the Labour Party, a sectarian attitude is adopted. A complete contradiction is apparent here, and as a consequence, they are incapable of giving a directive to the masses on the attitude to be adopted towards the Labour Party at the present period, and to expose the reactionary role of the Labour Party leadership.

#### LABOUR MUST TAKE POWER

The majority of the organised workers today retain their faith in the labour leaders. Though inclined to be sceptical when Mr. Churchill defines the imperialist conflict as a war for "freedom", they are reassured when Mr. Attlee reiterates the altruistic motives for Britain's participation. At the request of Herbert Morrison the workers "go to it." Ernest Bevin's promises of restoration are believed by the workers, in spite of the fact that they are accompanied by the cancellation of democratic and trade union rights and privileges. The foremost task is the education of the masses by the exposure of these scoundrels and their role as the political police of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the proletariat.

A simple programme must be posed before the masses on the basis of which must rise the demand for Labour to take power. The bourgeoisie has no "national interests." Only the pres-

ervation of private property and the waging of a predatory imperialist war are its motivating forces. Faced with the same choice as Renaud and Petain, proletarian revolution or Hitler - Churchill, Chamberlain and Co. will follow the same course.

The workers must take over the nations wealth. Only they can defend it against Hitler. A workers' government must take control and give freedom to the workers at home and the colonial peoples in the Empire. Only the armed workers controlled by their own democratically elected militia committees, can defend the towns and cities "street by street, house by house." But even then, without support in the ranks of the invading army, the effectiveness of such action is limited. The final weapon rests in the arsenal of the proletariat. This weapon is the authority to call for peace over the heads of the Nazi bureaucracy to the enslaved toilers on the basis of a Socialist United States of Europe.

#### OUR TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME

Condensed into slogans, our programme on which we demand that Labour shall take power, reads:

Nationalisation of the banks, large industries, transport and mines without compensation.

Repeal of all anti-working class legislation: the Trades Dispute, Prevention of Violence, and the Emergency Powers Acts. Release of all anti-fascist prisoners and internees and the imprisonment of all known sympathisers of fascism.

Independence for Ireland, India, Palestine and freedom for all colonial peoples in the Empires of the "Allies"

The workers to be armed in militias under the control of democratically elected factory and street committees. The police force to be dissolved into the workers' militias.

A socialist appeal to the toilers in all the belligerent countries for peace without annexations or indemnities; for complete co-operation in the building of a Socialist United States of Europe.

#### NO PEACE WITHOUT SOCIALISM

In the advocacy of this programme the role of the labour leaders will be fully exposed. It must be stated unequivocally that the Attlees, Morrisons and Bevins will not and cannot take this road, for this is the independent road of the proletariat and these leaders are tied to the chariot-wheels of capitalism.

Thus will another stage in the development of the class consciousness of the workers be reached. The resistance of the labour leaders to these demands or alternately, their refusal to operate this programme in the event of Labour being forced to take power by the pressure of the masses, will be of sufficient evidence to the organised workers of the correctness of the Marxian policy. They will draw the only possible conclusions - that there remains only one course to pursue in order to achieve salvation - proletarian insurrection led by a revolutionary party.

# Stalinists Confess Harte Murderer

MEXICO CITY, June 29 - Robert Sheldon Harte was killed during the attack on Trotsky's house, May 24th, or shortly after, it may be concluded from the police medical examination of the body the results of which were made public today.

Two bullets fired into his head from a .38 calibre revolver, one of which had penetrated from behind the right ear through the opposite side of the head, had ended the 25 year old boy's life. The attempt of his murderers to make impossible his identification, by burying the body covered with quicklime, was frustrated because the lime was of such poor quality that it failed of its purpose.

The medical report set tentatively May 25th as the day on which young Harte was probably murdered - that is, the day after the attack on the Trotsky household. But competent medical authority makes clear that a body examined after a month of decomposition cannot be placed with accuracy with a day of its death, and the more probable hypothesis which fits in with the known facts is that he was killed during the attack on the house, or blackjacked, carried into one of the four cars used by the assailants, killed along the road and then buried where he was found.

## HOW THEY GOT IN

Harte fell into the hands of his murderers in one of two possible ways. One of the police whom Harte knew as assigned to guard the household and who was in league with the assailants may have persuaded Harte to open the door on some pretext, and behind the policeman rushed in the assailants. Or

the assailants had found a certain weakness in the surrounding wall which enabled a skilful attacker to get in and strike Harte from behind

The third possibility, which the police had entertained and which was bolstered by confessions of those who have been arrested, is now destroyed by the finding of his body.

## GPU DISCOURAGED SEARCH

It must be said that the GPU and its friends had done their job well. So successfully had they propagated the idea that young Harte was an agent of the GPU who had now fled the country, that the police investigators were seeking some word of him in Guatemala or in the United States - anywhere except the short distance from the Trotsky household where he was actually found. That was precisely the purpose of the GPU-spread slander against the boy - to discourage any search for his body.

It was not in a search for it that the body was found. It was found while the police were searching for the police uniforms and arms used by the attackers.

The ill-kept farmhouse in whose cellar Sheldon Harte was found buried came under the scrutiny of the police in two ways. Neighbours reported seeing some men living there for a few days who had left on May 24th, the day of the attack on Trotsky. As the plot was gradually unfolded it was revealed that the GPU band had rented practically every house in the whole neighbourhood of Trotsky's house!

As this picture became clear, the pol-

ice proceeded to examine carefully every house in the area which might have been used by the attackers in their conspiracy. In the course of this systematic work the farmhouse, not very far from Coyoacan, was examined.

In the cellar a close examination discovered a spot where the earth had been recently disturbed. It was a likely place to hide arms and uniforms thought the police, and they began digging. Soon they were assailed by the odour of a decaying human corpse.

Clothes and a lock of hair from the disinterred body were brought to the Trotsky household. These were immediately identified by two of Sheldon Harte's co-workers who showed police in Sheldon's belongings an undershirt identical to one from the body. His co-workers were then taken to see the body and there could no longer be any doubt - they knew him too well and his distinctive features, including his kinky red hair, were unmistakable.

But his father, Jesse Harte of New York City, notified by wire by his son's friends, still hoped that the body was not Sheldon's. Mr. Harte called Trotsky by long-distance telephone; would Trotsky himself go see the body? Trotsky agreed and went to the morgue; he had to tell the father there was no mistake.

#### GPU GUILT ESTABLISHED

Eight of those arrested have admitted their complicity. All of these are Communist Party members or closely associated with the C.P. About thirty implicated in the attempt, most of them directly connected with the Communist Party, are under arrest; four other Stalinists, identified by the confessions as the leaders of the armed band, are fugitives and are

being sought together with a number of foreign agents of the GPU, who also took part.

All the men involved had been in the Stalinist armed forces in Loyalist Spain.

So complete was the case made by the Mexican police, and so damning the admissions of the five Stalinists, that even EL POPULAR, Lombardo Toledano's paper was constrained to publish an account which conceded that the perpetrators of the crime had been found. Toledano, head of the CTM (Mexican Federation of Workers) has been the front for the Stalinist campaign against Trotsky, until now had violently proclaimed Stalinist innocence of the crime.

The arrested men have named as the leaders of the armed band David Alfaro Siqueiros, his brother Jesus, Antonio Pujol, Juan Zuniga Camacho - all figures known for many years as Stalinists - men who were in the Stalinist apparatus in Loyalist Spain.

David Alfaro Siqueiros, Mexican painter, a Stalinist for more than fifteen years, a "colonel" in the Stalinist forces in Loyalist Spain and president of the Union of Mexican ex-Combatants in Spain, has been identified as the leader of the armed attack.

The Stalinist party is now engaged in frantically dissociating itself from the four men implicated, but it cannot. In addition the facts already known have implicated David Serrano and Luis Mateos Martinez, both well known C.P. members, the former being a member of its Central Committee and the latter a figure among the teachers. Still further clues are now pointing to the higher-ups from whom Siqueiros and his men took their orders - foreign officials of the GPU.

From now on the investigation takes on darker hues. It is no longer a question of an attempted assassination of Leon Trotsky. Now, in addition, it is the story of how the GPU ruthlessly murdered Leon Trotsky's secretary, Robert Sheldon Harte.

This is not the first of Trotsky's secretaries who has fallen at the

hands of the GPU. In recent years in various countries seven other of Trotsky's secretaries have been shot or assassinated by the mercenary agents of the Stalinist machine. These names were: M.Glasman, G.Butov, Y. Blumkin, N.Sermuks, I.Poznasky, R.Klement, E.Wolf - to this list must now be added R.Sheldon Harte.

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