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TWOPENCE

FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL

Hitler's invasion of Poland was a move in which boldness was dictated by desperation. In resorting to armed violence which must inevitably culminate in defeat for Germany, the German bourgeoisie has made its last frenzied attempt to stave off the revolution within Germany. It is in keeping with the entire character of Nazism that Hitler and his gangs should march to meet their fate rather than await the fall of the axe.

The tactics of the allies in conducting "humane" war of leaflets and radio polemics is based on something more substantial than mere speculations on the situation of the Hitler regime. Concrete manifestations of Nazi instability in the shape of strikes and mutinies have undoubtedly been noted by the Gestapo, the G.P.U. and the British Intelligence Service, even though they were shrouded in totalitarian darkness. Only the conscious-

ness that the regime would not survive another winter could have driven German imperialism into its last adventure.

It was Stalin who gave Hitlerism the opportunity to stage a spectacular suicide. After murdering thousands of his political opponents, after destroying the General Staff of the Red Army, all on the charge of being accomplices of Hitler, Stalin finally unmask himself as the chief accomplice of Hitler. The threat of revolution in Germany was just as abhorrent to Stalin as to the Nazis, for its inevitable repercussion would have been the revolution in Russia, encompassing the doom of the reactionary Stalinist clique. That is why the entire anti-fascist facade erected by Stalinism in the past years has now been demolished, allowing the Soviet ruling clique to come forward as the main economic prop of dying German Imperialism.

But it is unthinkable that the German bourgeoisie can contemplate the consequences of this new partnership with any degree of satisfaction. From the consideration, not merely of the statements but of the material interests of the Allies, it is obvious that a war lasting some years will take place. As in the last war, Germany will be worn down by a blockade. A neutral and friendly Russia with a common frontier with the Reich will be able to alleviate German distress and prolong the period necessary to reduce Germany to an economic skeleton. But Germany, which commenced hostilities with a gold reserve of less than six millions, will be compelled to pay for Russian grain and oil and minerals by supplying those commodities which Russia needs most, namely production machinery. The prices demanded by Russia will be exorbitant, and they will be paid. The process can only end in the transfer of a great part of the German productive plant to Soviet territory. And moreover, Stalin will take care that the supplies which reach Germany will suffice for the prolongation of the war but will be insufficient for a German victory.

The German bourgeoisie must certainly be aware that the price which they are paying for the pact with Russia, is a war dragging on interminably for years and ending in the collapse of both sides. That is why they will give an ear to the proposals made consistently by the Allies over months and years and now tacitly reaffirmed in the declarations of the British Government.

They are invited to overthrow Hitler and to replace the Nazi cliques with a "peace loving" government, that is, a military dictatorship, or even a social democratic regime committed in advance to rapprochement with the Western powers. The common frontier with the Soviet Union will then serve as an open door into the Ukraine. But once more they are confronted with the prospect of exhausting themselves,

this time in a war against Russia, and being in the end unable to claim the fruits of victory. Whether the German bourgeoisie consolidates its pact with Stalin by setting up a Polish buffer state or whether a quarrel bursts forth over the new boundaries in what was Poland, one thing is certain, German imperialism is doomed. It remains to be seen whether that doom will encompass Germany's imperialist rivals as well.

It is certain that now Germany stands at the crossroads, the two possible future paths have their exponents within the German camp. If Hitler's proposals for peace on the basis of the new frontiers are rejected by the Allies, and all indications point to the conclusion that they will be rejected, the political crisis in Germany will come to a head. Hitler hoped for the development of the social crisis within France and in India, South Africa and Ireland, but there is no basis for the belief that the tempo of events in these countries will be faster than the gathering opposition of the Czechs, the Slovaks and the Austrians, to say nothing of the toiling masses within the Reich. The coming weeks will provide a test of strength for the Hitler regime. If Hitler falls the Soviet Union stands in mortal danger. If Hitler stands, the war will inevitably extend in scope drawing one country after another into the maelstrom until the entire planet is deluged with blood.

The war began without fanfares, flags, bands or cheering crowds. In Britain, France and Germany the dazed shuddering masses turn to face the new catastrophe with such stoicism as they can muster. Just as the developing railway strike in Britain was cut short by the declaration of war, so also was the developing mass movement in Germany halted in its stride by the outbreak. But mass discontent does not disappear. Rather does it mount up against the dams in its path until the pressure increases to the point

where it bursts from its restraints, carrying all before it. This is the only possible outcome of a prolonged war.

The Second International appeals to the German workers, among whom its influence has been annihilated, to struggle against war by striking at their Nazi masters. In these countries where it still exercises influence among the workers it has issued a blank cheque, exposing once and for all the hollow fraud of its professed internationalism.

The Third International, utterly disoriented by Stalin's dizzying turn towards Hitlerism, reveals under the blows of recent events its complete bankruptcy. The corrupt politicians who let its national sections have no recourse now but to abandon the tottering edifice of the Comintern and try

QUESTIONS

From the festering abscess of Stalinism there issues today an intolerable stench. This is nowhere more noticeable than in the British Communist Party. Even the labour bureaucracy inured to such effluvia by the conditions of its own existence, is beginning to hold its nose.

A bourgeois newspaper reports that when the news of the conclusion of a Hitler - Stalin pact was sprung, one C.P. leader took to his bed, another went into hysterics. As to the identity of the gentleman who succumbed to hysterics, one can only speculate. Was it J.R. Campbell? It was he who wrote in the "Daily Worker" and subsequently reprinted in his pamphlet, "Questions and Answers on Communism," (page 42) the following:-

"Could the Soviet Union have a military alliance with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy; if so, would that be in

to find refuge in the ruins of the Second International.

Witnessing a similar break-down after August 1914, with a similar turning of erstwhile "internationalists" to social chauvinism, Lenin wrote: "The proletarian international has not perished and will not perish, the working masses will overcome all obstacles and create a new International."

The basic community of interests of the workers of the world demands the building of a new international which will express politically and organisationally the solidarity of the world proletariat in its struggle against the forces of capitalist decay, of starvation and bloodshed which threaten its existence and happiness. The struggle for a new international is the struggle for life itself.

REMEMBER LIEBKNECHT AND LUXEMBOURG!

& ANSWERS

keeping with the policy of countries like the Soviet Union which wishes to improve the position of its workers as against Germany and Italy, who destroy all freedom of the workers, and if so, would an alliance of that description, promote world peace?" -E.B. (Arbreath)

The reactionary press of Britain and France has insinuated from time to time that the Soviet Union is seeking an understanding with Nazi Germany. The object of this lying insinuation is to convince the people of the Western countries that they cannot rely on the Soviet Union for the defence of peace. It is particularly designed to convince the French people that they cannot rely on the Soviet Union to honour its obligations under the Franco-Soviet Pact.

There is not an iota of fact that could be adduced in support of these insinuations, while a great mass of

incontrovertible facts tell against them.

It is well known to everybody that the Soviet Union has for the last year been rooting out Fascist agents found on its territory. It has in great public trials exposed them as emissaries of the German and Japanese imperialists. That is hardly a method of seeking a rapprochement with Germany.

On the other hand, the German imperialists have not tried to conceal their hatred of the Soviet Union. They have reiterated in countless speeches the claim to the territory of the Soviet Ukraine, first made by Hitler in his book, "Mein Kampf" (My Fight).

Their whole diplomacy has worked quite openly to drive a wedge between France and the Soviet Union to the mutual destruction of both.

The attitude of Japan and of Italy have been no less clear. Japan has engaged in the most provocative activity on the Soviet's ships in the Mediterranean.

And yet when these three Powers come together in an anti-Comintern Pact, which is aimed at the Soviet Union in the first place, a certain section of the capitalist Press keeps talking about the possibility of an agreement between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.

WHAT BASIS

What basis could there be for military alliance between the Soviet Union and the Fascists even if the latter were to miraculously abandon their intention of attacking the Soviet Union?

Germany, Italy and Japan have strained the economic life of their country to breaking point in order to build up a gigantic war machine, with a view to an early war.

If that war machine cannot produce returns in the near future in the shape of conquered territory, this extraordinary expenditure will, even from the imperialist point of view, be a senseless and stupid crime.

On the other hand, the whole economy of the Soviet Union is being built up to satisfy the needs of the people.

Consequently the Soviet Union engages in huge arms expenditure with the greatest reluctance, being impelled thereto by the threats which the Fascists are making against the new Socialist Society.

The Soviet Union would regard a war as an unmitigated disaster, because it would dissipate resources which would otherwise be used to improve the standard of life of the people, whereas the Fascists tell their peoples that war is a means to their enrichment.

A war of the Fascists, as in the hypothesis of our correspondent, be directed against the democratic countries. If successful it would result in the destruction of parliamentary democracy and the dissolution of the workers' organisations in these countries. This would be a tremendous blow to the Soviet Union, for the workers in the democratic countries are its best allies.

So, not only because the Fascist states have declared that the Soviet Union is their main enemy, but also because of the incompatibility of the aims of Fascism and the Soviet Union on the international field (no less than in the internal life of the countries) a military alliance between Fascism and the Soviet Union is unthinkable."

Yes, surely it must have been J.R. Campbell who was led away by his friends laughing and weeping when the news of the Hitler-Stalin Pact came through.