

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Formerly
"YOUTH for
SOCIALISM"

WORKERS
PAY
HOMAGE TO
LEON
TROTSKY

See page 2

VOL. 3, No. 12.

SEPTEMBER, 1941

ONE PENNY

NO RELIANCE ON CHURCHILL AND HIS CLASS

Workers Resist Transfer Scheme At Parkhead Forge

Approximately 30 men in Parkhead Forge have received notices from the Ministry of Labour of proposed transfer to other employment. The notices are different from the last batch in that they are proposals of transfer and not definite instructions.

The notices state that any man objecting to the proposed transfer should notify his trade union representative who would be called to meet the Ministry of Labour officials at a later date.

All the men objected and the meeting of the Shop Steward delegates and officials of the Ministry of Labour took place where the cases were argued on behalf of the men. It was impossible to find a basis for agreement at this Conference. The officials suggested that if the Shop Stewards could get volunteers to take these jobs within a week they were prepared to waive the transfers but the Shop Stewards refused to accept this suggestion. The management sent notice to the conference that they did not wish to be represented as the business under discussion did not concern them, but was purely a matter between the government and the men.

WORKERS REJECT SCHEME

At a meeting of all the men in the departments concerned it was unanimously decided to refuse to be transferred unless the Ministry of Labour were prepared to guarantee the same wages and conditions

34 MERCHANT SEAMEN JAILED

Defence Regulations Used to Enforce Filthy Conditions on British Ships

Among the major nations who use the waterways of the world, ships that fly the Red Ensign of Britain's Merchant Navy are notorious for the filthy conditions the owners impose upon the men who man their hulls. Whoever has sailed in one of these "Bug Hutches" is familiar with the conditions described below by our seaman correspondent from Wandsworth prison.

But when British seamen refuse to sail until their living quarters are made fit to live in, then indeed the ship's fo'castle in question must have been in a sorry sight!

These men now languishing in His Majesty's prison have been seamen for many years, and generally speaking are no different from the average run of British seafarers. They have all made a number of trips since the outbreak of the war; they have been bombed, torpedoed, and shot at by planes and big guns from the French coast as they made passage through the English Channel. They have made the biggest profits for the Blue Star Line since the company was formed. Thousands of their fellow work-mates have already given their lives in bringing food to these shores. The next trip these men make may cost them their lives. Behind all the phoney propaganda in the press about our "glorious sailors" lies the stark naked truth that the British capitalists are concerned only with the profits the labour of these seamen bring.

Only Workers' Action Can Defend The Workers' State

The Ukraine, Leningrad and Moscow are threatened by the advance of the German armies. These are among the decisive productive areas of the Soviet Union. The Ukraine alone produces 65% of the coal, 73% of the iron ore, 75% of aluminium, and 70% of the tractors of the U.S.S.R. Thus, agriculture and war industries, particularly planes which are decisive in modern war, will now suffer grave setbacks.

Even if only the Ukraine falls—and this seems inevitable in the next period—this will leave the Soviet Union completely dependent for supplies on the imperialists of Britain and America. This is what Wall Street and the City of London based their calculations on.

At the present time they are sending supplies, meagre enough, because they are certain that the military might of Germany far exceeds that of Russia and there is no danger of a decisive victory of the Red Army. And while the Stalinists are calling on the British working class to sacrifice all for this aid, even the bourgeois openly state that such aid as they are sending is not worth very much. The *News Chronicle* on August 25th states in a leader article:

"It is certainly true that although Russia has now been warding off the Nazis for over nine weeks we have not hitherto lifted a finger to help her on land. Our material aid to her has been nothing to shout about."

And if the despatch of such aid is left in the hands of Churchill and his class it will never be anything to shout about.

To day we see the working out of the policy of Anglo-American imperialism during the appeasement period—a policy which led them to finance and arm Hitler in order to use Germany as a tool in the attack against the workers' state—not for Germany to emerge triumphant, but after a suitable period of blood letting, to let

and reintroduce capitalism into Russia—then proceed to attack Germany and emerge with all the spoils.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LENINGRAD AND PARIS

Leningrad with a population of

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WORKERS REJECT SCHEME

At a meeting of all the men in the departments concerned it was unanimously decided to refuse to be transferred unless the Ministry of Labour were prepared to guarantee the same wages and conditions as they were at present receiving. A motion to go through the official procedure to avoid disputes and use the cumbersome machinery of the A.E.U. was heavily defeated, the men realising that their only hope was to put up a fight. The meeting recommended to the Shop Stewards Committee that a mass meeting of all workers in Parkhead Forge should be called to organise a stand on this question and that in the meantime no transfers be allowed to take place.

STALINISTS SUPPORT RIGHT WING

At the meeting of the Shop Stewards Committee the reactionary right wing clique pressed for the matter to be left in the hands of the trade union officials to try to obtain an agreement, thus taking the matter out of the hands of the workers which could only lead to compromise or defeat for the trade union. This move was supported by a number of Stalinists. No decision was arrived at after three hours discussion, but it was agreed to call an immediate meeting of the Shop Stewards Committee and a mass meeting of men when the first definite instructions of transfer were received.

The policy of the Stalinists at this meeting is a warning to workers at Parkhead Forge, as well as the Clydeside workers as a whole. Under the slogan of the "Defence of the Soviet Union" many Stalinist militants who played a leading role in the past struggles of the Clydeside engineers and established themselves as leading fighters, are fast becoming transformed into the most dangerous type of compromiser and stooge.

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Indicted Party Leader



Without the slightest compunction, the Defence Regulations are invoked against them; their legitimate complaint was tossed aside and they were contemptuously flung into prison. The use of these regulations to imprison workers or to force them to accept insanitary conditions is a precedent which cannot go unchallenged by the working class. It expresses in sharp relief the class character of the Defence Regulations and emphasises the point which we have tirelessly explained in the *Socialist Appeal*, that they were formulated by Big Business as an additional legal cover, for an attack against the standards and conditions of the working class.

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J. P. Cannon, National Secretary, Socialist Workers' Party, U.S.A.
and
V. R. Dunne, Organiser Teamsters' Union Local 544

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Indicted Union Leader



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DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LENINGRAD AND PARIS

Leningrad with a population of 3,000,000, and Moscow with 5,000,000 are the heart of industry and administration of the Soviet Union. Not alone that—they contain the best elements of Soviet proletarians. In spite of the Stalinist bureaucracy the proletariat will defend their cities to the last. The tradition of the October revolution still remains, and it is these gains which the Russian workers will fight to preserve. Stalin and the bureaucracy, because of the need for self preservation, have been compelled to arm and organise almost the whole of the adult population of Leningrad to resist the advancing German army. Even the children are assisting in the building of barricades in the city.

The bureaucracy, though in mortal fear of the armed masses, is compelled to take this step. And because of the social basis of the Soviet Union—i.e. state ownership of the means of production as against private ownership of the capitalist countries, they can defend Leningrad to the last stone and beam and even see it razed to the ground.

When Paris was threatened, the capitalists chose to sell out to Hitler rather than organise their own workers for resistance; the workers were far more dangerous an enemy than their German rivals, the spectre of the Paris Commune of 1871 loomed before them; and, of course, the fear of the destruction of their property was no small consideration for capitulation. The Russians, on the other hand, can apply the policy of "scorched earth" ruthlessly. And indeed this is the only policy which can be operated to hold up the advance of the Nazi legions. It is correct, but it is not in itself a guarantee of victory.

WHY GERMAN MASSES SUPPORT HITLER

Germany is far better equipped than the Russians. From a purely military point of view the Soviet Union will be strangled either by German or Anglo-U.S.A. imperialism. The one weapon which alone could drastically alter the relationship of forces, which the Kremlin bureaucracy refuses—indeed cannot—use. That weapon is an appeal to the class instincts of the German and European working class to rise against the monstrous tyranny of Hitler's counter revolution and establish a new order.

American Trotskyists and Union Leaders Indicted

MINNEAPOLIS—Acting on the demand of the Roosevelt Administration, a Federal grand jury today handed down indictments on "seditious conspiracy" with intent to overthrow the government by violence, against 29 CIO leaders and Socialist Workers Party members.

Leaders of the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis—President Miles B. Dunne, Vice President George Frosig, Secretary-Treasurer Kelly Postal, Organisers V. R. Dunne, Ray Rainbolt, Harry de Boer, Emil Hansen and Walter Hagstrom—were among those indicted.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; Farrell Dobbs, the Party's Labour Secretary; Felix Morrow, editor of the *MILITANT*, were among the Socialist Workers Party members indicted. Albert Goldman, Trotsky's Attorney during his lifetime and now attorney for the Socialist Workers Party, was likewise named.

These indictments are but the latest and most ruthless steps taken by federal authorities to aid AFL chieftain Daniel J. Tobin in his fight to crush Local 544-CIO,

the famous Minneapolis truck drivers union, which at a membership meeting of 4,000 voted to withdraw from the AFL and accept an invitation to join the CIO.

To all the Tobin and government moves, Local 544-CIO has answered with one demand: industry wide elections, under government supervision, to determine what union the Minneapolis motor transport workers want to represent them. The AFL opposes holding such elections, knowing very well that the elections would prove that the workers remain loyal to Local 544-CIO despite all the threats and actions of Tobin and the government.

Telegrams welcoming the motor transport and allied workers of Minneapolis into the CIO and pledging assistance in the fight against the dictatorial actions of Tobin are pouring in from all sections of the CIO. A Mass meeting is being organised by the CIO and a further ex-

pansion of the CIO position in this controversy will be given over the radio station.

WHY ROOSEVELT ACTS

For Roosevelt it is not only a question of doing Tobin a personal favour. Roosevelt needs the AFL as a counterweight to the onrushing and progressive CIO. The battle in Minneapolis is being watched by drivers' locals throughout the USA, eager to get out of the dictatorial set-up of the AFL. Minneapolis is the test.

And if the Minneapolis Teamsters International unravels, this opens wide to the CIO the doors of the building trades, to which truck drivers are the key.

(continued on back page)

BRITISH JACK BOOT IN IRAN STRIKE BACK

We know that imperialist Britain has always stood for the rights of small nations. Look at India and Africa! And was it not for "poor little bleeding Belgium" that Britain entered the last world war? How much indignation has been poured by Churchill and the labour leaders on the aggressions of the Nazis! Mr. Churchill has publicly wept over the radio at the sorrows and sufferings of the people of Norway, Holland, Poland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Greece, Yugoslavia and the others.

How does the British invasion of Iran differ from Hitler's invasion of small countries?

PUBLIC OPINION PREPARED A LA GOEBBELS

Whenever he has prepared a new aggression, Hitler has always referred to the British invasion. The British have correctly denounced this as an excuse for the intrigues and provocations of British imperialism. Always, he has used as a flimsy pretext the necessity to protect the people of the country he was invading from a violation of the rights of other peoples.

Now we see in the last weeks exactly the same process—the preparation of public opinion in the press, in parliament, on the radio—about German 5th Column intrigues in Iran. The Iranian government pointed out that there were only 700 Germans in Iran and that they had taken adequate precautions against such a danger. But it is obvious that this too is merely a pretext. It is clear that the motives, as well as all the actions of the imperialists are purely economic and strategic. The "left" *News Chronicle* of 26th August, cynically proclaims:

"The Iranian Government has played into our hands by its stubborn refusal to oust the Nazi plotters."

A few days before the invasion the Americas press blurted out that American and British imperialism are preparing in the next period to grab all the strategic points in the Atlantic, Africa and the Middle East—Dakar, the Azores, Cape Verde Islands, Turkey and Iran. We see that in the calculations of the imperialists nothing counts except the strategical interests and profits of the big capitalists. It is for this that both Germany and Anglo-U.S.A. imperialism are fighting. The *Economist*, organ of Liberal big business, on the 16th August proclaims:

"There is no such thing as 'national defence' for a small or an under industrialised country; and as a corollary a large and highly industrialised state will inevitably occupy a predominant position for good or ill . . ."

Trotsky long ago pointed out that the rights of small nations under the conditions of imperialism did not have as the "rights of small nations" or for "free-much weight as thistledown. The imperialist states do not care two pins for dom and self-determination of peoples" It is somewhat amusing to see Goebbels virtuously raving at the "crime" of the imperialist invasion of poor defenceless Iran. But this does not place in any better light the position of the British imperialists using the familiar Nazi phraseology to justify their aggression.

The small nations are being ground to dust in the clash between the imperialist

Hendon Building Workers Reject C.P. Treachery

In our last issue we reported on the Conference of the Building workers held under the auspices of the Stalinist sponsored "New Builders' Leader." We remarked that the delegates who voted for the resolution accepting the Essential Works Order did not genuinely represent their branches.

Evidence is already to hand in corroboration of our statement. When the two delegates from the Hendon No. 1 Branch of the A.S.W. (one of whom was the Branch Chairman) reported back to the branch that they had supported the resolution, they were roundly castigated by the membership and *their votes repudiated*. This branch has over 200 members.

Unable to win support among the building trade workers for the application of the infamous Essential Works Order, the Stalinists resort to methods of subterfuge. The Communist Party building trades members have been supplied by their leaders with a new model resolution which, while calling in the opening paragraph for intransigent opposition to the Essential Works Order, tails off in the second part to a plea for a few miserable modifications "until the Order is repealed", which so far as the sponsors are concerned is intended to mean never. Because the whole object of the second part of the resolution, which amounts to a direct negation of the first part, is framed with the purpose of distracting the workers from the fight against the Essential Works Order **as such**, into a fight for meaningless reforms.

The Hendon-Edgware Branch of the N.F.B.T.O. (National Federation of Building Trades Operatives) taught the Stalinists a sharp lesson at its meeting on August 13th. This reactionary and fraudulent resolution was introduced and seconded. An amendment was moved calling for the deletion of the second part, thus leaving the resolution as one of immutable opposition to the Essential Works Order and placing the whole of

AGAINST THE UNIFORMITY AGREEMENT

The situation in the building industry is well worth looking into at the present time. We, in the industry, are now feeling the full force of the incompetence of the boss class of this country, to prosecute their own war to the "successful conclusion" they desire. After rushing thousands of building operatives into khaki, they now call upon the remaining few to extricate them out of the morass of their own making. In return for this we are to be "rewarded" with certain agreements and settlements.

THE UNIFORMITY AGREEMENT

Let us look at the much boosted Uniformity Agreement now in operation. This agreement is supposed to cover all building workers and provide for them as they travel the country on war work. As there is no building other than on war work, this virtually means all building workers.

The first clause in the agreement grants us a lodging allowance of 3/6 a night, that is 24/6 per week. However, prior to this agreement, those of us who travelled the country received an allowance of 28/- per week. This, mind you, when the cost of living was much lower, for it is now impossible to board under 30/- to 35/- per week.

Secondly, we now get our rail fare home every eight weeks instead of every six weeks as it was prior to the agreement, and only then if we travel over 50 miles from our home town.

Thirdly, we now have the much sought after, guaranteed week. Forty years of fighting in the trade union movement has brought us this guaranteed week of thirty hours. But the snags in this are immediately apparent. We find that to qualify for this thirty hours we must report on the site, and be available for work every day from the normal starting time, until 2 p.m. This, in all the severest winter weather, and often after travelling anything up to 16 miles each day. Mark you, the boss generally sees to it we work this 30 hours, often making us lay bricks in weather, which if we did it in normal times, would only result in the work being condemned, and the worker given the sack. Then, after working this 30 hours we find ourselves

Release The Imprisoned Sailors!

Continued from Page 1

Not only were the Defence Regulations used to imprison the workers, however, but they were also used to try the men in secret and to suppress any report appearing in the press lest a storm of protest and indignation sweep the British people and demand that the men be released and the company be prosecuted instead.

The Government, the Ministry of War Transport, through the police, the armed forces, the Company officials, the Court of Law—all these were lined up behind the demand of the owners of the Blue Star vessel, that the for'ard crew be sent to prison. The Employers demands were solidly backed by their representative organisation—the Shipping Federation.

But what of the sailors who were sent to jail?

Unfamiliar with legal or court procedure, they were shanghaied into jail with unusual hustle; they were deserted by their union which they had built to fight for their rights!

The vile betrayal of the union officials must be raised at once aboard every ship on the British coastline. It must be raised in every branch of the National Union of Seamen and Firemen. The union officials must be forced to break from collaboration with the masters' organisations; they must be forced to conduct a struggle in the interests of the rank and file who pay their wages.

RELEASE THE 34 IMPRISONED SAILORS!

TRY THE OWNERS IN PLACE OF THE WORKERS!

Statement by Imprisoned Sailors

TO THE SOCIALIST APPEAL,
DEAR FRIEND,

Thirty-eight Seamen and Firemen signed on the _____ of the Blue Star Line, on July 14th, 1941, and joined her on 16th. On the 18th we complained to the Union organiser of the filthy conditions in the for'ard fo-castles and at the same time asked for a sub. Mr. Haggon, the union organiser, took us to the shipping office with the then Master of the ship, a Captain Stubbs. After argument they promised to attend to the quarters, have them fumigated, cleaned out, and fresh beds installed. We were then given a sub in the hope of keeping us quiet.

On Monday, 21st July, we boarded the ship and found the fo-castle in the same filthy condition, nothing having been done. A delegation went to the Shipping Office where we saw the Superintendent. We again protested and demanded that the quarters be cleaned before we left London. He promised to send a surveyor down and have things attended to. The Port Sanitary Inspector duly arrived the following day and stated to the assembled crew that the quarters were filthy and unsanitary. He condemned the beds as lousy. The same day the 22nd, two men from the Company looked at the quarters and passed no comment. Later, one of the union organisers arrived and we were informed that the ship was leaving the berth the following morning. We immediately instructed the Union official to inform the Master, who was now Captain Rhodes that the ship would not be taken out until our demands were met.

While these discussions were taking place, shore workers had been continuing work on different parts of the ship so the Company could not complain that we

decision. We stated that we would not sail the ship until our demands were met.

An armed guard was then put aboard to intimidate us, probably in the hope of starting a fight upon which they could level a charge. But the crew refused to be intimidated or provoked. The officers then shifted the ship from the dockside to the locks. We refused to handle her and informed the Union organiser that they might as well take her back to the docks, as they would be unable to handle the ship in the river by themselves and the venture would probably lead to catastrophe. The heads then had a discussion and took her back to her former berthing place. The armed guard was withdrawn but we were informed that we were not allowed ashore under police instructions. That night we slept on the hatch as it was impossible to sleep in the fo-castle. Here we discovered that the beds which had been slung aboard were the same lousy old beds with a fresh cover drawn over them. These beds had been used for several months by the previous crew and were running with bugs.

The following day a Ministry of War Transport Official came down to look at the quarters and we drew his attention to the vermin, which he later denied seeing. We spent the whole of that day aboard and after tea, police wagons arrived and we were all rushed to the police station and charged with refusing to take the ship to sea without reasonable cause.

On Friday 25th, we appeared at East Ham court at 10 a.m. The trial was in camera. Witnesses for the prosecution were the Captain, Chief engineer, and Chief Officer of the _____, the Shore Superintendent of the Blue Star Line, the Port Sanitary Inspector, a Ministry of War Transport Official and Captain _____ of the Shipping Federation. We

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The small nations are being ground to dust in the clash between the imperialist giants. The lie that British imperialism is fighting for the liberty of small peoples is clearly exposed.

ON THE INVASION OF FINLAND

It is interesting to contrast the horrified cries of indignation from the press, radio, church and the whole of bourgeois public opinion at Russia's invasion of Finland. What indignation they expressed at the trampling on the rights of small nations to live their own lives without fear of brutal attack! What panegyrics of praise at the resistance of heroic little Finland! We now see it for what it is: disgusting hypocrisy and deceit of the ruling class.

FAKERY OF LABOUR LEADERS

It is especially noteworthy in this connection to see the role of the Labour Leaders. Not a peep of protest at the invasion of Iran. They are silent—and soon will be loudly applauding this act. Why are you silent, Messrs. Bevin and Attlee?

Where are your moral pretensions Messrs. Citrine and Greenwood? You did not spare noble indignation at the crimes of Stalin in invading capitalist Finland; you demanded the sending of arms and material to fight the Soviet Union; you aided in recruiting "volunteers" for Finland; you sent the funds of the British trade unions to support the Finns in their struggle. More than this—you did not flinch from the prospect of Britain being involved in a war with the Soviet Union! With sententious indignation you exclaimed "We stand against aggression, no matter from what quarter it may come." Why now are you supporting aggression?

Because your policy is the policy of support for British imperialist interests. You have justified and closed your eyes at the crimes of Britain in India and the colonies, you have supported the war by pretending that British imperialism was fighting a genuine war against fascism as a system of government.

No doubt the Communist Party too, will hail the British invasion as an act of liberation and protection against Nazi intrigue. It is not so long ago that they were blaming the British imperialists for Germany's invasion of Norway. They waxed indignant about the imperialist

(continued on back page)

modifications "until the Order is repealed", which so far as the sponsors are concerned is intended to mean never. Because the whole object of the second part of the resolution, which amounts to a direct negation of the first part, is framed with the purpose of distracting the workers from the fight against the Essential Works Order as such, into a fight for meaningless reforms.

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The N.F.B.T.O. is not a union but a Federation of all the building trades unions. Those present were delegates from their individual unions so it will be seen that this militant decision is of no small significance, particularly in view of the fine record of most of these members in the class struggle.

Harold Atkinson.



We need money

This refrain is familiar to all supporters of the left wing socialist press. It will come as no surprise to readers of the **Socialist Appeal**.

Nevertheless, it is the first occasion we have made an appeal for cash in these columns.

In the Blitz last year, our printshop at Saffron Hill was completely destroyed which included stocks of paper, impossible to replace, type, machines and all the gear of a workers press.

More recently we have suffered a further blow. The new plant we purchased has developed a serious defect which will cost us many pounds to repair.

The **Socialist Appeal** is the only revolutionary newspaper published in Britain.

Its circulation is almost doubling every month. But we cannot cope with the increased printing orders without spending at least £200.

From Edinburgh, Glasgow, Bristol, Liverpool, Birmingham, Coventry, and all the main industrial towns come demands for a more frequent **Appeal**. That is what we want! That is what we will give you. But you, our supporters, must provide us with the necessary money.

To those of you who have printing gear or office gear of any description: Send it to us.

To those of you who support our policy and press—even if you are sending plant—send us money. We want £200. We rely on you to see that we get it.

of fighting in the trade union movement has brought us this guaranteed week of thirty hours. But the snags in this are immediately apparent. We find that to qualify for this thirty hours we must report on the site, and be available for work every day from the normal starting time, until 2 p.m. This, in all the severest winter weather, and often after travelling anything up to 16 miles each day. Mark you, the boss generally sees to it we work this 30 hours, often making us lay bricks in weather, which if we did it in normal times, would only result in the work being condemned, and the worker given the sack. Then, after working this 30 hours we find ourselves "laid off" for the rest of the week.

Fourthly, we find the free daily travel clause only operates from 4 to 16 miles from the site. This means that the unfortunate worker inside the four mile area, has to rely on the bosses' good nature, generally resulting in being packed in an open lorry in the coldest of weather.

All these clauses, mark you, only apply to the married worker; the single worker apparently isn't worth considering. So much for this sublime Uniformity Agreement!

HOW THE ESSENTIAL WORKS ORDER HITS BUILDERS

Recently, however, there have been certain other innovations. The divine heads of the building industry, in conjunction with our much lauded Union Leaders; decided we were being overworked on the 7 day week, and gave us the 6 day, at the same time increasing the normal working day by 2 to 3 hours, according to the daylight.

Let us look at this a little more closely.

A working Sunday, say of 7 hours, had to be paid at double-time, i.e.: 14 hours. Overtime at night for say 2 hours each day, is paid for at the rate of time and a quarter. In short, the boss now gets 12 hours work for 13½ hours pay, instead of only 7 hours work for 14 hours pay, inclusive of Saturday afternoon at time and a half.

Now we are told, we are to be "scheduled" and put on a payment-by-result basis; in other words piece-work, although the sop is handed out that it is only for the duration. *This is what the Unions have been fighting against for years. Up to the present time, the greatest crime against the union a building worker could commit, was to take work by the piece-rate.*

Yet our present Union Leaders are today changing their rules like their stiff-fronted shirts, and welcoming these conditions with open arms. We notice the tactical move in introducing this scheme in the height of the summer, with its fine weather and extended hours of daylight. A percentage of the workers may be in-

lousy old beds with a fresh cover drawn over them. These beds had been used for several months by the previous crew and were running with bugs. The following day a Ministry of War Transport Official came down to look at the quarters and we drew his attention to the vermin, which he later denied seeing. We spent the whole of that day aboard and after tea, police wagons arrived and we were all rushed to the police station and charged with refusing to take the ship to sea without reasonable cause. On Friday 25th, we appeared at East Ham court at 10 a.m. The trial was in camera. Witnesses for the prosecution were the Captain, Chief engineer, and Chief Officer of the —, the Shore Superintendent of the Blue Star Line, the Port Sanitary Inspector, a Ministry of War Transport Official and Captain Moore of the Shipping Federation. We were given no time to prepare legal aid. Able Seaman Evans was the chief spokesman for the defence. The case took all day. Every Company witness admitted the beds were filthy but claimed that new ones had been put aboard. They admitted the fo'castle was dirty but claimed it was fit to live in, and despite the fact that one seaman was subsequently dismissed from the case as the result of a disease contracted on board, they claimed the lavatory was spotless.

Three of the crew scabbed and were dismissed. One man was dismissed from the case—the man who got the disease from the lavatory, and thirty-four of us were sentenced to three months hard labour, the Magistrate claiming that sanitary conditions were of secondary importance. We have since been informed that prior to signing a fresh crew a staff of workers were sent aboard to clean the fo'castles.

The Ministry of War Transport claim that we were imprisoned because we had delayed the ship. More than a week prior to sailing we had advised the Company of the unsanitary conditions of the crew's living quarters. Far from the responsibility of delaying the ship resting on the shoulders of the seamen and firemen, the responsibility lies on the shoulders of the officials of the Blue Star Line. This is emphasised by the fact that prior to the sailing of the ship with a different crew, all the demands which we had made were complied with.

E. Wiggings, Able Seaman.
Wandsworth Prison.
For the 34 imprisoned members of the crew of the —.

Continued from previous column)

duced to try the scheme and succeed in averaging a reasonable wage during the summer months, but what of the winter, with its short working days and untold hours lost for rain, snow and frost?

IMPOSSIBLE TO SUBSIST ON PRESENT RATES

Here it is as well we turn our attention to the food question. When we first registered for the rationing of food, we were asked to state whether our work was light or heavy. I think it is correct to say the majority of us in the building trade placed the emphasis on heavy. That comrades, was the last we heard of it.

We all know, it is a physical impossibility to feed and pack out a building worker on the present rations. To offset this, the government gives us a canteen

on the site, with the utmost inefficiency man could devise. Even so, overlooking the rottenness of these canteens, it means that after paying 30/- to 35/- for insufficient food at the lodgings, we find ourselves compelled to spend another 10/- or so at the canteen making a total board of at least £2, and don't forget to pay for all this, we are paid the princely allowance of 24/6 per week.

We must force the present leaders of our vast unions, to take the stand against these impositions, or remove the leaders. Do not be misled by silky phrases. Get together comrades and organise against these traitors to your class. Wherever you meet, in the branch rooms, and more so on the job, organise. Remember your success lies in your numbers, but numbers count only if united and directed correctly.

SAM BROWN.

EDITORIAL

THE 'NEW ORDER'

The Churchill-Roosevelt meeting on the cold waters of the North Atlantic resulted in something that closely resembles an iceberg in the fact that only about an eighth of it appears above the surface. Beneath the pious "eight point declaration" bulks the real mass of the agreement, consisting of secret treaties, threats, offers, horse-deals and, in general, the blue-prints of a planet which they hope will eventually be under Anglo-American domination.

The pious nature of the "eight points" disappointed even the most ardent pro-Churchill elements in this country who had been hoping for an announcement of America's entry into the war, but most of the newspapers covered this up with an ersatz enthusiasm. Nevertheless, they serve their purpose in the eyes of the ruling class. They provide Churchill (after two years of war) with a series of general war aims; and they provide Roosevelt with the same war aims even before America has started fighting. And the purpose in both cases is to convince the masses of Britain and America that the war is genuinely being fought for democracy, the self-determination of nations, the extermination of fascism, and so on.

The "eight point declaration" represents exactly the same trick as was played on the workers of the "democracies" 25 years ago. Then, as now, there was to be "no territorial aggrandisement", but somehow Britain landed up with 1,000,000 square miles in the bag. Then, as now, there was to be at the end of the war "improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security", but the post-war period saw a progressive lowering of living standards throughout the world and a series of financial crises that represented the very opposite of "social security". Then, there was to be "an abandonment of the use of force"—but now we have the mightiest use of force in all history. And today Churchill made it clear in his speech that the illusion that force will disappear after this war is no longer held out to the masses.

This stale re-hash is served up in order to persuade the workers that the war is a progressive one which will lead to a genuine and lasting peace. Without such lies the ruling class would never be able to persuade the workers to accept their continued domination.

The real future of Europe was hinted at by a "Times" Correspondent recently when he said: "The small nations will want to paddle their own canoe, but they will henceforth have to do so in convoy. The question is, who will control the convoy?" Exactly! And that is what Churchill and Roosevelt are disputing with Hitler—who will control the convoy? It is not for them a matter of 'destroying fascism' or anything of the sort. The eight points are merely a cover for their real aim—world domination.

Supposing Anglo-American imperialism succeeds in wresting control of Europe from Germany. Who will believe that Roosevelt and Churchill will release their hold on the Continent and give genuine independence to the various small countries?

America and Britain may appoint an agent, as they appointed France the last time. But what if the agent shows signs of becoming too strong and independent—as France did the last time? Will they not be forced to build up another Continental Power or bloc of Powers to balance out France?

Or do Roosevelt and Churchill expect to impose a permanent occupation on Europe? But this does not sound like Utopia! Is it for this that the

WORKERS PAY HOMAGE TO LEON TROTSKY

On 21st August, the first anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky, 250 London workers attended the Holborn Hall to pay homage to the memory of the Bolshevik leader. The meeting was held under the auspices of Workers' International League (Fourth International).

The Chairman of the meeting was Sid Bidwell, a prominent railway worker and Assistant Secretary of the London District Committee of the N.U.R.

The three speakers Comrades A. Roy, E. Grant and G. Healy were enthusiastically received by the audience. Comrade Roy dealt with the crimes of the G.P.U. and the background of the struggle against Stalinism. This was followed by Comrade Grant who dealt with the theoretical basis of the Fourth International. He showed how Stalin's theory of "Socialism in One Country" on the one hand, and the bankrupt reformism of Social Democracy on the other, had led

to the catastrophes of the past two decades. He emphasised how, on all the major events, the Fourth International alone were proved correct. Comrade Healy stressed the need for a revolutionary socialist party in Britain and the need for a serious attitude towards theory. He made an appeal to the audience, which included a number of Communist Party members, Y.C.Lers, and I.L.Pers to rally to the genuine programme of Lenin.

The voice of Comrade Trotsky was heard by the assembled workers, and although it was marred by a technical hitch towards the end, the intentness with which his message was received testified to the immortal character of his teachings.

What was most encouraging about this meeting was the composition of the audience. It was noticeable that the large proportion were industrial workers and trade union militants, including a dele-

gate from a London Trades Council.

This was the most enthusiastic meeting which the organised Trotskyist movement have held in London. Telegrams of solidarity were sent to Comrade Natalia Trotsky, and to the American Socialist Workers' Party at the foul attack against its leaders by American imperialism. £11. 6. 0 was collected. A large quantity of literature was sold. Especially great was the demand for Trotsky's writings, the majority of which we were unable to supply.

Forty workers attended a memorial Meeting at Birmingham at which Comrade Sastri, a well known member of the A.E.U. in Coventry and Birmingham acted as Chairman. Comrade Healy was the speaker. A collection of £2. 7. 0 was taken.

WHY ROOSEVELT ATTACKS THE AMERICAN TROTSKYISTS

Statement by the Socialist Workers Party

For the first time in American history the Federal Government, operating through its Gestapo-FBI, has openly taken sides in a dispute between two factions in the trade union movement—the fight between Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis, representing progressive industrial unionism, and Tobin's moth-eaten AFL craft setup.

For the first time before a formal declaration of war, Federal prosecution, designed to silence the voice of protest against Roosevelt's imperialist war programme, has been instituted—the raids upon the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul and the Acting Attorney General's move to indict the party's members and militant unionists.

These unprecedented actions have come as a shock to the entire labour movement, especially to its most progressive and now dominant sector, the CIO; and to all those who still retain a certain respect for democratic rights and civil liberties. There is, nevertheless, a profound logic in the persecutions and prosecutions in-

intimidate the rank and file of 544 or swing the tide in Tobin's favour. The workers held fast to their slogan: "We made Minneapolis a Union Town—Let's keep it that way!"

Nothing remained for Roosevelt-Tobin save to call upon the Gestapo-FBI. Far from being a disgrace, this is the greatest tribute that could be paid to the magnificent union which has become the cornerstone of progressive labour in Minneapolis and the Northwest. The sympathy of every honest trade unionist, the solidarity of every progressive body of labour, will go out to Local 544-CIO in its struggle against the union-busting activities of the FBI. The workers will rally to its defence, realising that the prosecution against the Minneapolis motor transport workers is, as the Department of Justice brazenly announces, "only the first step" in the Federal government's nation-wide drive against "radicals"—a drive, in reality, against the independence of the trade unions.

Minneapolis is more than the vanguard of the American labour movement. It

'A Case For 18b'

Under the above heading, the *Sunday Dispatch* of Aug. 24th, published a vitriolic attack against a "district delegate" who appeared in the report of the "Select Committee on National Expenditure" as a man who is responsible for impeding production in the ship-building industry.

Claiming arbitrary actions on the part of the "delegate" which no responsible trade unionist can accept as truth, and to which no group of trade unionists would submit to for a minute, the *Dispatch* says, "The Committee for reasons best known to themselves shelter him from publicity. But the public is entitled to say to the Government 'We prefer ships to traitors'."

This outburst is in reality aimed at any and all militants who refuse to submit to the attacks of the ruling class against trade union standards. Not only in the shipbuilding industry but in production in general.

Coming from a rag which has had close relationships with the clique who surround the fascist leaders in every country; which has written paens of praise about Hitler, Mussolini and Franco; and which has given plenty of publicity to Mosley and the British fascists, we brand this article as a provocation which savours of fascist reaction.

Significant to note, that despite the capitalist character of the committee in question, it was forced to lift the lid—*ever so slightly*—and expose the widespread corruption and inefficiency of the ruling class and their managerial staff which is paralysing production and which arises as the result of the cost-plus system of contract. This latter to take the edge

THE HONOUR ROLL

Those Indicted in U.S.A.

who will control the convoy?" Exactly! And that is what Churchill and Roosevelt are disputing with Hitler—who will control the convoy? It is not for them a matter of 'destroying fascism' or anything of the sort. The eight points are merely a cover for their real aim—world domination.

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Or do Roosevelt and Churchill expect to impose a permanent occupation on Europe? But this does not sound like Utopia! Is it for this that the masses are enduring the most violent war in history? Ask the masses, and they will answer with an unmistakable "No!" It is an assured peace they want. Not one that requires unending violence to maintain it, and which will be punctuated every few years by wars, each of them bloodier and more destructive than the last.

In order to cover up the fact that they had been plotting out the future course of Europe and the world without even consulting their "ally", Stalin, the two "democrats" have offered Stalin "three power talks" which are to be held in Moscow. But these talks are not only a cover for their real aims, they are also to act as the spearhead of Anglo-American economic penetration of the Soviet Union. It is not for nothing that the declaration emphasises "the apportionment of our joint resources . . . This applies equally to manufactured war supplies and to raw materials."

But on the immediate matter of the eight points the question arises—will Stalin hold forth to the masses the illusion that under capitalist rule Europe can enjoy freedom, peace and plenty? Already he is doing this. The only condition Moscow propaganda lays down for a peaceful, happy Europe is that Hitler shall be overthrown. Not that capitalism must go, not that the workers shall take power, but simply that Hitler and his S.S. men shall be exterminated.

The "Three power talks", therefore, will result in this, that Stalin will come down to the Russian masses from Sinai bearing the tablets of stone inscribed with the eight commandments of Roosevelt and Churchill. And the promised land? Well, doesn't capitalism promise not just a land but a whole world that is most desirable?

Stalin is preparing his greatest betrayal. At a time when capitalism will not let Europe breathe economically and when the masses of the entire Continent are only given the choice between slaving and starving under Hitler—or under Churchill and Roosevelt, Stalin urges on them the advantages of the second course.

But neither hypocritical promises nor Utopian blue-prints for a capitalist paradise can blind the masses for long to the only course that can offer them the real peace and security that they want so urgently. At the moment the workers on one side of the national barriers are held back by fear of a Hitler victory, and those on the other side by fear of a Churchill-Roosevelt victory. The "democratic" leaders are holding up their "eight points" together with the V-sign as indicating the liberation of Europe. But the German workers still see "V" as representing Versailles, and they continue to suffer the Hitler whom they hate, for fear of the Churchill whom they hate even more.

Neither the new order of the Axis nor the so-called Atlantic "Charter of Freedom" of the "democracies" can lead mankind out of the chaos which capitalism has provoked. The continuance of the present system can only deepen the decline of civilisation which World War No. Two has ushered in.

The toilers will write their own programme of peace and plenty—that programme can only be the Socialist United States of Europe and the Socialist World.

These unprecedented actions have come as a shock to the entire labour movement, especially to its most progressive and now dominant sector, the CIO; and to all those who still retain a certain respect for democratic rights and civil liberties. There is, nevertheless, a profound logic in the persecutions and prosecutions in-

transport workers is, as the Department of Justice brazenly announces, "only the first step" in the Federal government's nation-wide drive against "radicals"—a drive, in reality, against the independence of the trade unions.

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THE HONOUR ROLL

Those Indicted in U.S.A.

James P. Cannon	Nat'l Secy, Socialist Workers Party
Farrell Dobbs	National Labour Secretary, SWP
Felix Morrow	Editor, THE MILITANT
Albert Goldman	Attorney for the SWP
Miles B. Dunne	President, Local 544-CIO
Kelly Postal	Secretary-Treasurer, Local 544-CIO
Rose Seiler	Business Agent, Minneapolis Office Workers Union (AFL)
V. R. Dunne	Organizer, Local 544-CIO
Grace Carlson	Minn. State Organizer, SWP
George Frosig	Vice-President, Local 544-CIO
Alfred Russell	Former Organizer, Teamsters Local 544, Omaha, Nebraska
Oscar Coover	Mpls. Secretary, SWP
Grant Dunne	Organizer, Local 544-CIO
Dorothy Schultz	Twin City Secretary, Workers Defence League
Carlos Hudson	Editor, Local 544-CIO weekly
Walter Hagstrom	Organizer, Local 544-CIO
Ray Rainbolt	Organizer, Local 544-CIO
Harry DeBoer	Organizer, Local 544-CIO
Carl Kuehn	Secretary, Federal Workers Section, (WPA workers), Local 544
Edward Palmquist	Chairman, Federal Workers Section, 544
Harold Swanson	Active in Mpls. labour movement
Oscar Schoenfeld	1939 WPA strike participant
Clarence Hamel	Organizer, Local 544-CIO
Nick Wagner	Organizer, Local 544-CIO
Roy Orgon	Minneapolis truck driver
Max Geldman	1939 WPA strike participant
Jay Cooper	Minneapolis truck driver
Emil Hanson	Organizer, Local 544-CIO
Carl Skoglund	Former President, Local 544-CIO

stigated at this time and in this place and against the specifically-designated victims. This must be understood if the fight against these outrages is to be waged successfully.

The United States is on the eve of war. As part of his preparations for complete participation in the war, Roosevelt seeks to remove from the scene militant unionism and militant opposition to his war plans.

In pursuit of his starkly reactionary aims, Roosevelt has accurately chosen Minneapolis as the place to launch his attack. For Minneapolis is the home of Local 544-CIO, renowned for its militancy and its progressive union policies, and regarded as the spearhead of the most progressive forces in the trade union movement. Local 544-CIO has a capable and honest leadership. Its rank and file have been trained and steeled in battle. Since its famous strikes of 1934 electrified the nation, the bosses and all their agents have been unable to break that powerful union. The mighty bureaucratic machine of Tobin's Teamsters International, with its treasure-chest of six million dollars, could not tame 544. Even Roosevelt's public declaration of June 13—an action without precedent in the history of the American Labour movement—could not

is also the traditional centre of opposition to imperialist war. Thus Roosevelt has a double reason for starting his prosecutions in the capital of the Northwest where, in the last elections, the "Trotskyist Anti-War Candidate" received almost 9,000 votes.

The people against whom the FBI prosecutions are being directed are designated as members of the Socialist Workers Party—the Trotskyists.

This, too, is profoundly logical, as Roosevelt rushes into the war. The Communist Party, on behalf of its master, Stalin, has returned to support of Roosevelt. Now it becomes crystal-clear to all militant workers that the only consistent opponents of the imperialist war are the Trotskyists. All the slanders of the Stalinists, all the Moscow frameups, the assassination of Leon Trotsky, have failed to confuse either the capitalist masters or the workers of the United States. Both know the real truth about the Trotskyists. They know that the followers of the martyred Trotsky are the banner-bearers of the revolutionary ideas and traditions of the great Bolshevik movement of Marx and Lenin. That is why Roosevelt wishes to outlaw our party as part of his war preparations.

surrounded the fascist leaders in every country; which has written paens of praise about Hitler, Mussolini and Franco; and which has given plenty of publicity to Mosley and the British fascists, we brand this article as a provocation which savours of fascist reaction.

Significant to note, that despite the capitalist character of the committee in question, it was forced to lift the lid—ever so slightly—and expose the widespread corruption and inefficiency of the ruling class and their managerial staff which is paralysing production and which arises as the result of the cost-plus system of contract. This latter to take the edge of the attack which is made against the workers, and to stifle the disgust which the workers feel at the managerial corruption which is so strikingly evidenced each day in the factory.

But the *Sunday Dispatch* is not concerned with this aspect of the committee's report, it is concerned only with attacking the organised workers!

Replying to this attack, and the demand that 18B be used against the "traitors", we claim that these traitors are to be found in the ranks of those who own, produce, and support this rag.

The method of eliminating the hold up in industry is to kick out the cost-plus merchants and establish workers' control.

Let this be a reply of the workers to the *Sunday Dispatch*!

● READ

Worker's International News

Monthly Twopence

(continued from previous column)

While the Communist Party is overnight transforming itself into an ultra-patriotic gang and showing its yellow colours, we Trotskyists remain true to our red banner, our revolutionary programme, our fight against imperialist war, our struggle for socialism.

We retract nothing, we repent nothing! We will not retreat an inch! We are going to carry forward to ever-wider sections of the working class population the fight in defence of our democratic rights. In doing so we shall be dealing a timely and telling blow to every reactionary move and measure against the rights and liberties of the entire labour movement.

We call upon every serious worker, every honest friend of democratic rights, to assist us in our fight. Together we shall beat back the attacks of reaction and go forward to a better world.

The Socialist Appeal Stands For:

An end to the coalition with the bosses. Labour and Trade Union leaders must break with the capitalist Government and wage a campaign for power on the following programme:

1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, etc. under control of committees elected by housewives, small shopkeepers and factory workers.
6. Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
7. Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers.
9. Establishment of military academies by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
10. Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or Petainism.
11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the Colonies.
12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe on the basis of this programme in Britain to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

Lanarkshire Youth Strive For Fighting Programme

A good example of how the new policy of support for Churchill being operated by the Communist Party, sabotages the development of independent activity on the part of working class youth against the

COMPARE LENIN'S WAY WITH STALIN'S WAY

APPEAL OF TROTSKY, PEOPLES COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U.S.S.R. TO THE TROUBLED, OPPRESSED AND BLEEDING PEOPLES OF EUROPE

The truce has been signed at Brest-Litovsk. Military operations on the Eastern Front have been stopped for twenty-eight days. This act in itself is already a tremendous achievement for humanity. For forty-two months of unbroken slaughter, out of which no way could be seen, the workers' and peasants' revolution in Russia has cleared the way to peace. We have published the secret treaties. During the next few days we shall continue their publication. We have declared that these treaties are in no way binding on the Soviet Power. We have proposed to all nations, whether large or small, advanced or backward, the way to open settlement, on the basis of the recognition of the right to freedom and to self determination of their fate. We do not conceal from anyone that we consider the present capitalist governments are incapable of making a democratic peace. Only the revolutionary struggle of the workers against their present governments can bring such a peace to Europe. Its full realisation will be guaranteed only through the victorious proletarian revolution in all capitalist countries.

If the Council of Peoples' Commissars enter into negotiations with the present governments, whose imperialist tendencies on the part of both sides (Allied and enemy) have become clearly manifest, this does not mean that thereby the Council is swerving a hairsbreadth from the path of the socialist revolution. The fight for a true, democratic peace is before us. In the first stage of this fight the old, monarchist and capitalist governments are still in power, which bear the responsibility for the present war, which have not yet rendered an account to their people, whom they have betrayed, for the blood which has been shed and the riches which have been squandered. We are forced to begin negotiations with those Governments which are in existence at the present moment, just as, on the other hand, the monarchists and reactionary governments of the Central Powers are forced to carry on negotiations with the Soviet Power, because the Russian people have put them up against the fact of a Workers' and Peasants' Government in Russia. The Soviet government, in the peace negotiations is faced with two tasks: first the cessation, as quickly as possible, of the shameful and criminal slaughter which is ruining Europe, and secondly, to help the working class of all countries with every means at our disposal, to overthrow the domination of capital, and to seize power in the State, for the accomplishment of a democratic peace, and the realisation of the socialist transformation of Europe and of mankind.

Truce has been signed on the Eastern Front. On the other fronts the slaughter continues. Peace negotiations are now impending. Socialists of all countries, to perform their religious obligation

themselves incapable in forty two months of bringing you victory, and they have also by no means proved that they will bring victory, even if the war goes on for many years. Secondly, the victory, even if it should be proved possible for one side or the other, would only mean the oppression of the weaker by the stronger and thus sow the seeds for new wars.

It is not the victorious imperialists of the one or the other coalition, who can free Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, Poland, the Ukraine, Greece, Persia and Armenia, but the revolutionary workers of all countries in a victorious fight against all imperialists.

OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE

The following item is taken from a recent Moscow broadcast. In contrast to the class appeals of the old Bolshevik Party under Lenin and Trotsky, the Moscow radio now appeals to the most backward sentiments of the German population.

"We appeal to all German Christians to fight the Godless regime of Nazism and Hitlerism."

"That criminal Hitler is urging war against the hundreds of millions of Slav people, the people of those nations which have given the world great writers, thinkers, scientists, and religious martyrs.

"Help to defeat this domination of madness and misery. In the name of Christianity we appeal to you to crush from within this regime of the anti-Christ.

"The Soviet Union secures, according to her constitution, to the members of all Churches the right to perform their religious obligations

Little Aid For USSR

(continued from page 1)

lish a common bond with the Soviet Union through the Socialist revolution.

The Moscow radio announcements are indistinguishable from those emanating from the B.B.C. They recently announced that Goebbels has been compelled to issue warnings to the German people against the dangers of a defeat at the hands of Britain. What they failed to point out, however, was that Goebbels urged the German masses to rally round Hitler basing himself on the prospects of a British victory and its outcome—the complete annihilation of Germany. This, and this alone, paralyses the struggle of the German proletariat and gives Hitler his strength.

HEROISM IS NOT ENOUGH

The world proletariat places all its hopes on the holding up of the Nazi machine by their heroic Soviet brothers. But for how long can they do this and at what a cost? In the Spanish civil war, the Spanish proletariat, with equal heroism, held up the advance of the fascists at Madrid. But their heroism was insufficient; without a socialist programme they were doomed to defeat. And as long as the proletariat continue to rely solely on the military might of one army against another, without basing themselves on the class nature of their struggle, so long will their struggle for emancipation be doomed.

Let us not forget that it was the so-called "democracies" of Britain and America which deliberately and calculatedly held up supplies of arms to the Spanish republicans in order to assure the victory of Franco. They did this because of their fear that the Spanish masses

would take things into their own hands and overthrow the corrupt and incapable Spanish capitalists. Here we saw decisively what was their major concern—their own imperialist ends—certainly not the fight against fascism. Can we believe that the policy they operated towards Spain will not be operated in the case of Russia as well? In the case of Russia the British and American capitalists have fundamental reasons to ensure the destruction of the Soviet Union. In spite of the degeneration of the Stalinist bureaucracy, Russia remains a workers state. The contradiction between the capitalist world and the U.S.S.R. is far deeper than those between the Axis and the democracies, even though this may appear different on the surface at the present time.

STALIN REASSURES CAPITALISTS

Whatever happens the ruling class will make certain that the Soviet Union will not emerge victorious. That is why the policy of Stalinism can only lead to the victory of world wide reaction and fascism and the destruction of the Soviet state. The capitalist statesmen and newspaper editors, in reassuring their masters that there is no danger in their alliance with Russia, quote the emanations of the Kremlin:

"... at least one broadcast from Moscow has assured the German people that they need have no fear of the Bolshevisation of Germany when Hitler goes." *Economist*, 16th August.

This method of waging the war can only lead to disaster. Only the method of Lenin and Trotsky can alter the present relationship of forces and transform the war into a genuine revolutionary war for the emancipation of the toilers from barbarism and fascism.

TROTSKY REVIEWING THE RED ARMY



this programme in Britain to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

Lanarkshire Youth Strive For Fighting Programme

A good example of how the new policy of support for Churchill being operated by the Communist Party, sabotages the development of independent activity on the part of working class youth against the boss class, is reported from the Lanarkshire area in Scotland.

On Friday, 19th August, a composite meeting of 30 young workers met in Motherwell to discuss the question of joint political discussion circles for the exchange of views; and to arrive at a programme of joint activity in the local Trades Councils in the Lanarkshire area. Called at the instigation of the Motherwell League of Youth, the meeting consisted of delegates from the Lanarkshire Y.C.L.'s, Glasgow Labour League of Youth and Co-op Youth movement, Scottish Nationalists and an I.L.P.

The main speaker for the Y.C.L. was the Chairman of the Motherwell Communist Party. In putting their position, he stated quite bluntly that the Young Communist League were not prepared to conduct any form of joint activity in the Trades Councils, Apprentice Youth movement or anywhere else unless the other organisations would give full support to a "broad Lanarkshire Youth Movement for the defence of the Soviet Union and for full support of Churchill against Hitler."

The Motherwell League of Youth pointed out that the L.O.Y. was the broadest form of youth movement permitted for young class conscious workers. They explained that they stood for the defence of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, but that such a policy **did not at all mean that it was necessary to support the British capitalist class or their representative Churchill**; they explained that to support Churchill, no matter how noble the motives of those workers who did so, could only mean sabotaging the development of an independent working class movement which alone could guarantee assistance to the workers' state: that far from the organisation of a broad "classless" youth movement whose programme should be unreserved support for Churchill, such as the Y.C.L. were proposing, the task of local working class youth was to develop an independent Labour Youth movement which would rally working class youth on a class basis, for the ending of the coalition of the Labour and Trade Union movement with the capitalist class and struggle for the seizure of political power.

It was agreed by the assembled delegates that they report back to their respective organisations; that a further conference be called and a decision taken.

Despite the attitude of the Y.C.L. and its ultimatum that support for Churchill be the basis for joint work, the coolness with which this proposal was received by the delegates is an indication of the temper of the working class youth of Scotland and the meeting marks a step in the direction of an independent struggle on the part of Labour Youth.

Printed and published by

E. GRANT, 61, Northdown Street, N.1.

Soviet government, in the peace negotiations is faced with two tasks: first the cessation, as quickly as possible, of the shameful and criminal slaughter which is ruining Europe, and secondly, to help the working class of all countries with every means at our disposal, to overthrow the domination of capital, and to seize power in the State, for the accomplishment of a democratic peace, and the realisation of the socialist transformation of Europe and of mankind.

Truce has been signed on the Eastern Front. On the other fronts the slaughter continues. Peace negotiations are now impending. Socialists of all countries, and above all, the socialists of Germany, must understand that there is an irreconcilable contradiction between the peace programme of the Russian workers and peasants and that of the German capitalists. If these two programmes were to be confronted, then peace would be clearly impossible, for the Russian people have not shaken off the monarchy and the bourgeoisie in their own country in order to bow before the monarchs and capitalists of other countries. Peace can only be brought closer, realised and guaranteed when, also on the side of Germany and her allies, the strong and determined voice of the working people makes itself heard. The German, Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish workers must confront the imperialist programme of their ruling class with their revolutionary programme for the agreement and co-operation of the working class and the exploited of all countries.

Truce has been concluded first on one front. Our delegation, after a long fight about the conditions of truce procured the agreement of the German Government not to transfer any troops whatever to other fronts. In this way the German regiments, which are stationed between the Black Sea and the Baltic, have got a month's rest from this bloody nightmare. The Rumanian army, also, against the will of the Rumanian Government has been brought into the truce.

But war continues on the French and Italian fronts. The truce remains a partial one. The capitalist governments fear peace, because then will come the reckoning with their people. They are endeavouring to postpone the hour of their final bankruptcy. Will the peoples much longer endure patiently the criminal work of this clique of financiers of France, Great Britain, Italy and the United States?

Behind phrases of eternal justice and the future Society of Nations, the capitalist governments of these countries conceal their contemptible and greedy speculations of the exploiters. They do not want a truce. They resist peace, but you, the people of Europe, you, the proletarians of France, Italy, England, Belgium and Serbia, do you want peace together with us, an honourable democratic peace?

Those who tell you that such a peace can only be obtained through victory are deceiving you. Firstly, they have shown

and Trotsky, the Moscow radio now appeals to the most backward sentiments of the German population.

"We appeal to all German Christians to fight the Godless regime of Nazism and Hitlerism."

"That criminal Hitler is urging war against the hundreds of millions of Slav people, the people of those nations which have given the world great writers, thinkers, scientists, and religious martyrs.

"Help to defeat this domination of madness and misery. In the name of Christianity we appeal to you to crush from within this regime of the anti-Christ.

"The Soviet Union secures, according to her constitution, to the members of all Churches the right to perform their religious obligations. Thus, the festival of the Holy Virgin was recently celebrated with great splendour in Moscow.

"In Holland the Archbishop of Utrecht's pastoral letter, read from all pulpits, accused the German invaders of robbing the property of Christian organisations and friendly societies.

"The Christian Youth organisation officials have been deposed and the organisations taken over by German agents.

"Now, no Christian in Holland is permitted by his Church to join the Nazis. If he joins them he is refused the Holy Sacrament.

"Roman Catholic priests in Holland have been arrested by the German High Command for preaching in a way detrimental to the prestige of the German army of occupation."

We call on you, workers of all countries, to take up this fight. There is no other way. In this way, the ruling, exploiting classes have covered themselves with countless crimes. These crimes demand revolutionary reprisals.

Working humanity would be surrendering itself and its future if it were to submit further to the yoke of the imperialist bourgeoisie and militarism, to follow in the train of their governments and diplomats.

We, the Council of Peoples' Commissars, we the trustees of the Russian workers, peasants, working and peasant women, soldiers, sailors, widows and orphans, we appeal to you take up the common struggle for the immediate ending of the war on all fronts. May the news of the signing of the peace in Brest-Litovsk ring out as a battle cry to the soldiers in all the belligerent countries.

Down with the war! Down with those responsible for war! The governments who oppose peace, the governments who hide their desire for exploitation behind their peace speeches, must go. The workers and soldiers must seize the affairs of peace and war out of the criminal hands of the bourgeoisie, and take them into their own hands. We have a right to demand this from you, because we ourselves have accomplished it. This is the only way to save both you and us. Close your ranks, proletarians of all countries, under the sign of peace and the social revolution.

PETROGRAD, 19th December, 1917.



The Invasion of Iran

(continued from page 2)

attack on Iraq and Syria. Now they will justify this act of aggression as part of the struggle of the "peoples against fascism."

CLASS INTERESTS BEHIND INVASION

The working class must reject with scorn all these perfidious lies and deceptions. What determines our policy is not any abstract moral principle against "aggression", or "who started the war." Our policy must be determined by what class and for what interests the war is being waged.

We condemn the attack of British imperialism on Iran because it is made in the interests of the British capitalist class. The British imperialists have marched to protect their oil interests and other investments in Iran, as well as for strategic reasons. It is always these interests, and these interests alone which determine the policy of a capitalist government.

The Soviet bureaucracy conducts the invasion on the basis of the state ownership of the land and means of production, consequently it has not the same imperialist ends as its capitalist "ally." Nevertheless Stalin's attack is to be condemned because there was no appeal to the masses of the Iranian people to overthrow their rulers; there was no open explanation to them and the world working class that they have been forced, as in the case of Finland, to march for strategic reasons. Instead of this the whole move was conducted by Stalin's methods of secret diplomacy.

Neither under the control of British imperialism, nor by the bureaucratic methods of Stalinism, can the hundreds of millions of oppressed toilers of the East be rallied to the cause of a genuine war against fascism, on the basis of their complete independence and freedom. Only a workers' government in Britain; only the restoration of workers' democracy in Russia can gain the support of the colonial peoples for such a programme.

MOSCOW BLAMES THE GERMAN PEOPLE

Moscow Radio last night changed its propaganda line towards the German people. Previously only Hitler and the "Nazi gang" were blamed; the German people were always contrasted to the Nazis.

Last night Moscow Radio said in German; "The German people must know that they make themselves the accomplices of Hitler, thus sharing the guilt of his crimes."

News Chronicle, Sept. 1st.

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American Trotskyists Indicted

(continued from page 1)

Without the AFL stranglehold on the construction industry, the AFL would collapse altogether and the CIO would emerge then as THE trade union movement of America. Such are the stakes of the battle in Minneapolis.

It is a grim and all important battle. Not only trade union rights hang in the balance. At least equally important are the rights of workers to form an open political party like the Socialist Workers Party, and the right to voice their opposition to the war party led by Roosevelt.

Fortunately the progressive side in this battle is led by leaders steed in battle for the working class. The leaders of Local 544 have a glorious record of class struggle victories, gaining for the union 200,000 "over the road" drivers, and winning many decisive strikes. Likewise the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party have evidenced their selfless loyalty to the labour movement. This will be a battle to the end.