

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Formerly
"Youth
for
Socialism"

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

BLAIRHALL MINERS VICTIMISED

W. GALLAGHER, M.P. CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT

By Jock Haston

THE STRIKE OF 2,000 MINERS AT THE BLAIRHALL, VALLEY FIELD AND COMRIE PITS, HAS ENDED. THE MINERS HAVE BEEN TAUGHT A SERIOUS BUT VICIOUS LESSON AS TO THE MEANING OF "NATIONAL UNITY." PROVOKED INTO STRIKE ACTION BY THE MANAGEMENT, ATTACKED BY THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE COURTS, AND SOLD OUT BY THE LOCAL TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP AND STALINISTS, UPON WHOM THEY HAVE RELIED IN THE PAST, THEY ARE NOW IN A POSITION WITH THEIR BACKS TO THE WALL WHICH IS LIKELY TO SEE THEM SUFFER AN UNMISTAKABLE AND DEFINITE DEFEAT.

END THE REGIME OF TERROR IN IRELAND

Brutal Execution of Irish Youth Provokes Unrest

ON SEPTEMBER THE 2nd, A YOUNG IRISH PATRIOT WAS EXECUTED FOR THE MURDER OF A POLICEMAN IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THIS WAS A CALCULATED AND SPITEFUL PROVOCATION ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

THE CAUSE OF THE INCIDENT WHICH LED TO THE SHOOTING OF A POLICEMAN, WAS THE STAGING OF A SO-CALLED "DIVERSION" BY SOME YOUTHS DURING EASTER, TO ENABLE THE BELFAST NATIONALISTS TO COMMEMORATE THE EASTER RISING OF 1916, DURING WHICH JIM CONNOLLY THE GREAT IRISH SOCIALIST, WAS MURDERED BY THE BRITISH IMPERIALISTS.

THE FACT THAT THE ULSTER GOVERNMENT HAD PROHIBITED SUCH MEETINGS, FORCED THE NATIONALISTS TO RESORT TO THESE METHODS. IN THIS SENSE, FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEATHS AND KILLINGS RESTS ON THE SHOULDERS OF THE ULSTER REACTIONARIES WITH THE REGIME OF FORCE AND TERROR.

Originally six Irish youths had been sentenced to execution for the unpremeditated killing of the policeman. But so great was the volume of protest on both sides of the North Sea, by the masses in Eire and Ulster, by the Labour movement and even a liberal section of the capitalist class, that the British Government was compelled to force the Ulster reactionaries to retreat. But they were not prepared to be deprived of their pound of flesh. Grudgingly, they commuted the death

monstrations and was observed as a day of national mourning. In Ulster strikes took place among the dockers and other sections of the workers. . . . Now news is coming through every day of new incidents, more killings, more shootings. Arms and ammunition dumps are being searched for and are being discovered in different parts of Ulster. Dozens of people are being arrested and interned. In fact, conditions resembling those of German troops in occupied Europe now pertain in Ulster. Soldiers have been confined to barracks. American and

move to the left in Ulster forced them to abandon the attempt to impose conscription. It was becoming clear that the solidarity of the Catholic and Protestant workers in Ulster threatened to break the hold that the Orange jingoes had previously held. Thus, the opportunity was doubly welcome to them to drive the Catholics underground, provoke strife between the differing factions, and once again restore control firmly into their own hands over the heads of a divided working class. That this would revive and increase support for the I.R.A. they were well

MIDLANDS R.O.F. ON TRANSFER RACKET

A.E.U. Shop Stewards'

Committee,

Royal Ordnance Factory,
Midlands.

Sept. 2nd, 1942.

Editor, "Socialist Appeal,"
61 Northdown Street,
London, N.I.

Dear Sir,

Please find enclosed a copy of a statement issued by this committee on the compulsory transfer of skilled labour from R.O.F.s to private enterprise. The following qualifications are

The dispute in this district arose as the result of the actions of the management in the middle of April. 24 men had been working a face for some months where they averaged 4/6 a shift bonus, which was about the best paid in the colliery. One Saturday (which is a short shift, the miners work one hour less), the manager, without consultation with the men on the face, sent 4 extra men to work at this point for the day. Later, he claimed that no extra coal had been produced in the face, and deducted about 3/- each from the bonus of the 24 men, to pay the wages of the 4 he had sent into the face.

After negotiation and argument, the men struck work as a protest and were out three days, when the rest of the colliery came out in support of them in solidarity with their demands.

The Union officials succeeded in getting the men back to work on the promise that the grievance would be attended to. Immediately afterwards, the 24 men who were involved in the original dispute were summonsed for taking part in an "unlawful dispute".

The union officials refused to handle the case unless the miners agreed to plead guilty! In all innocence the miners mistakenly did this—registering a plea of guilty "under provocation". The magistrates, who refused to hear any evidence from the men relative to the dispute other than confirmation of the fact that they had been on strike, fined the 24 miners £5 each.

Two men represented the 24 at the

trial. The rest continued to work and were fined by proxy.

The men were given a month to pay the fines, but they refused to do so under any circumstances. The wives of three, fearful of their men going to prison, paid their fines without the knowledge of the workers themselves.

After weeks of threatening and cajoling, the authorities finally arrested three of the men who refused to pay, in the hope of forcing the other workers to pay the fines. All the men at Blairhall came out immediately in protest against the arrests, and they were followed by Valleyfield and Comrie pits.

On Saturday, 29th August, at a Delegates' Board Meeting of the Fifeshire, Kinross and Clackmannon Miners' Association, to which the men belong, a resolution was passed endorsing the E.C. attitude of refusing to recognise the strike, and urging the men to return to work. James Cook, the General Secretary of the union, in a letter to the branches of the union concerned, condemned the action in the strongest terms and instructed the branches to force the men back to work.

Meanwhile, the Stalinists, who largely control the union in the district, were scurrying about trying to break the strike and get the miners back to work. A local Stalinist paid the £15 fines of the 3 men who had been arrested, against the wishes of the men involved.

On Sunday, 30th August, a mass meeting was held at the Miners' Hall,

Blairhall and it was addressed by Henderson, district secretary of the local branch, who put the position of the E.C., Dryley, Chairman of the F.K.C. M.A., and Abe Moffatt, well-known Fife Stalinist and one time idol of the men in the district. Moffatt told the workers that "there was a war on!" and put over the Stalinist case. There can be no doubt about it—although the men were disgusted with his speech—his past record and personal following was responsible for getting the men back to work. The miners would never have listened, and didn't listen to the union officials or the police. The Union officials are now consummating their sell-out by asking all the local miners to pay towards the fines—(a Stalinist suggestion) this against the wishes of the victimised miners, who rightly look upon the question as one of principle and which must be fought as such.

The feeling among the men is one of bitter resentment. They feel that they have suffered a defeat, despite the magnificent movement of solidarity throughout the country among the miners.

Meanwhile, Willie Gallacher, "Red Willie", in whose constituency the Blairhall colliery lies, and for whom the local miners voted, has kept well out of the way. Instead of fighting for the miners in the locality, he is busy thumping for the "Second Front" and the "Fight against Trotskyism" in other parts of the land. This fact has not escaped the notice of the local miners, who are starting to question the role of Stalinism in the pits.

RUSSIA'S GREATEST ALLY— The German Working Class—Lenin

By ANDREW SCOTT

The position of the Soviet Union grows daily more critical.

Already, despite the claims of what lies behind the Urals, industrial capacity has been reduced by at least half. And this has not just been captured but destroyed. With the loss of the Ukraine alone has gone an annual yield of nearly 100 million tons of coal, representing at least half the total supply. In this same area there was produced formerly 70 per cent. of Russia's aluminium, a third of the manganese and 10 million tons of pig iron. Even in June 1941 Russia only produced 20 million tons of steel compared with the 42 million tons produced by Axis-occupied Europe, and 55,000 tons of aluminium compared with 100,000 tons produced by the Axis.

...movement and even a liberal section of the capitalist class, that the British Government was compelled to force the Ulster reactionaries to retreat. But they were not prepared to be deprived of their pound of flesh. Grudgingly, they commuted the death sentence on five of the youths, inflicting instead, sentences of 20 and 15 years' imprisonment.

But the reprieve of five and the arbitrary selection of the sixth for execution cannot but inflame and embitter the position in Ulster and the feelings of the masses throughout Eire. It was established in the evidence that the shot which killed the policeman was not fired from the revolver of the executed youth, Williams. There was, therefore, no more reason to execute him than the others. Although he had confessed to shooting the policeman, it was quite clear that he did this to save his comrades. He was a youth of high courage and noble character.

As was to be expected, execution has further aggravated the situation in Northern Ireland. In Eire itself, the day of execution was marked by de-

tion dumps are being set up for and are being discovered in different parts of Ulster. Dozens of people are being arrested and interned. In fact, conditions resembling those of German troops in occupied Europe now pertain in Ulster. Soldiers have been confined to barracks. American and British troops have been instructed never to go out in the black-out except in twos and threes. The police are armed, while armoured police cars are patrolling the streets.

The iron hand of the Ulster reactionaries, has seized with joy the pretext given them by the unrest which the execution has caused, to launch savage attacks against the Irish people. Thus, they are provided with the opportunity to divide the forces of the working class. For they have watched with alarm the steady drift to the left of the Irish working class on both sides of the Border. In Dublin, the Labour Party has for the first time received a majority. The bye-election in the last few months in Ulster gave a majority to the Labour candidate, reversing by an enormous majority the vote held by the Unionists in the last election. The

portunity was doubly welcome to them to drive the Catholics underground, provoke strife between the differing factions, and once again restore control firmly into their own hands over the heads of a divided working class. That this would revive and increase support for the I.R.A. they were well aware.

Although at one period the I.R.A. played a relatively progressive role in the struggle against British imperialism, its corrupt middle class leadership has completely degenerated and lost any revolutionary perspective. But it has succeeded in attracting the cream of Irish youth for lack of a revolutionary working class alternative organ of struggle with the Connolly tradition of independence and Socialism. The methods of individual terrorism, which typifies the middle class attitude of despair and lack of confidence and faith in the masses, the pro-fascist attitude of the I.R.A. leadership plays right into the hands of the jingo imperialists. It drives the non-Catholic workers into the arms of reaction, while sacrificing ceaselessly in futile deeds of individual terror, the flower

Continued on back page

London, N.I.

Dear Sir,

Please find enclosed a copy of a statement issued by this committee on the compulsory transfer of skilled labour from R.O.F.s to private enterprise. The following qualification is necessary to the statement—**"The 7½% skilled labour referred to is mainly employed in the 24 engineering plants of the 42 R.O.F.s, giving them a skilled percentage ranging from 30% to 5% (approx.)."**

The statement is being sent to the Press and to various M.P.s whom we consider will support us in our attitude towards this problem.

Yours Fraternally,
J. PEMBERTON, Convener.

For the second time within six months the Ministry of Labour are proposing to transfer skilled labour from some R.O.F.s to private enterprise.

There are some objections to the proposed transfers that cannot be overcome by the simple expedient of presenting the war situation as being so intense that all and every move by any official body, good, bad or indifferent, should be incontestable. And that to raise any objection at all, however justified, constitutes wilful sabotage and mischievous disaffection. That is not true, in fact it can be honestly stated that the reverse is the case.

We claim that the transference of skilled labour is not so much a question of the spreading of the skilled labour to the factories where it is most needed, as one of satisfying the demands of private enterprise at the expense of the state owned factories. (It must be understood that the skilled man today is the goose that lays the golden egg—and sometimes two eggs!).

The debate of August 5th in the "House" on the Select Committee's Report on Royal Ordnance Factories, showed up some things in their correct light. One notable fact being the low percentage of skilled labour employed in R.O.F.s—7½% only. With this low percentage the R.O.F.s manage to turn out 66% of the National gun output. These figures, when

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Already, despite the claims of what lies behind the Urals, industrial capacity has been reduced by at least half. And this has not just been captured but destroyed. With the loss of the Ukraine alone has gone an annual yield of nearly 100 million tons of coal, representing at least half the total supply. In this same area there was produced formerly 70 per cent. of Russia's aluminium, a third of the manganese and 10 million tons of pig iron. Even in June 1941 Russia only produced 20 million tons of steel compared with the 42 million tons produced by Axis-occupied Europe, and 55,000 tons of aluminium compared with Europe's 349,000. Today, with the loss of some of the chief industrial areas that position is worsened in the extreme.

The only true defence of the Soviet Union lies in the hands of the independently organised workers and peasants of Europe and the world, in the extension of the Revolution far beyond the boundaries of the U.S.S.R. Twenty years ago Lenin had to point out: "We know another enemy of German imperialism which blind people have not noticed—the German workers." And again: "The German proletariat is the most trustworthy and the most reliable ally of the Russian and the world proletarian revolution." But the Soviet bureaucracy having turned to the Anglo-American imperialists for aid, are not only

forced to turn their back on the German proletariat but to slander it with a viciousness worthy of a Vansittart, to associate it with the deeds of the Nazis, to appeal to the Red Army to hate all Germans alike. The latest appeal from the Kremlin to the Soviet people reads:

"The Germans promise your father, your wife, your children the fate of a slave and a beast. This shall never be. Russians always beat the Prussians. Fight as the warriors of Nevsky fought, as they fought under Suvorov and Kutusov. . . . May your hearts be filled with hatred for

the foe, may you rejoice when you see the black blood of the enemy flowing in our rivers." The only "Second Front" which could give real assistance to the Soviet Union at the present time is one waged by the German workers against Hitler and the Nazis. But this sort of propaganda is precisely the sort of thing that will hold them back from such a struggle. This is not the internationalism which caused the armies of intervention to melt away when the Soviet Union was in an even worse military position after the Revolution. It is a reactionary nationalism and race hatred which can only serve, like that of Vansittart, as grist for the mill of Goebbels. The Nazis can point to the fate that awaits the German workers at the hands of those who issue such propaganda.

When to this race hatred is added such threats as that in "Pravada," then Goebbels must rest satisfied. "Pravda" recently announced:

"Germany alone is responsible for this war, and she will have to pay the full price. The people of Europe have learned by bitter experience that the Germans understand only one language—that of bullets, bayonets and grenades."

This criminal policy of the Kremlin has assured that after 14 months of war the Soviet workers and peasants are still facing the might of Hitler's armies alone and with an ever decreasing capacity to produce the weapons of war. The German workers have not been won to their side. Not even the workers and soldiers of Rumania and Hungary who are only being used as cannon fodder by Hitler have been won over. Hitler still finds it possible to make use of them. Even in India Stalin's policies have caused the loss of much sympathy among the masses. The "Times" Correspondent has pointed out that:

"Formerly Russia would have been bracketed with China. It appears, however, that the Russians have put themselves outside the scope of Indian benevolence by en-

Continued on back page

Successful Conference Of British Trotskyists

BY M. LEE

A National Pre-Conference of WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE has just been concluded in London on August 22nd and 23rd.

Meeting at a time when the world war is entering its fourth year, and the signs of ending the bloodbath are as remote as when it started, this gathering of British revolutionaries offers hope and encouragement to workers everywhere.

When the traditional mass organisations of the working class, the Labour and Communist Parties, have gone over to open support of the class enemy, and with the I.L.P. incapable of taking the revolutionary road due to its semi-pacifism and the dead-weight of its Parliamentary wing, the banding together of a determined group of revolutionaries, carrying the programme of Workers' Power, is testimony to the fact that the British workers are throwing up yet a fresh layer of conscious leaders to meet the needs of the hour.

DELEGATES FROM ALL PARTS OF BRITAIN ATTENDED

Attending the Conference were delegates from all parts of the country—Scotland, North-East England, the Midlands, Lancashire, Yorkshire, etc. There were twenty-five delegates and several branches were not able to send representatives. Many districts where branches of Workers' International League are in the process of formation, were represented by observers without delegates' rights. Apart from the delegates, about 100 visitors from Lon-

don and the provinces attended the discussions. The composition of the delegates was one hundred percent working class. All wearing their trade union badges, they were representative of workers in every sphere of industrial and military life: engineers, miners, railwaymen, transport, sheet metal workers, carpenters, building workers, soldiers, air force, navy men, and women in the engineering industry. The enthusiasm and confidence in their ideas, their innate faith in their party was the earmark of the discussions, and set the tone to the proceedings.

IN MEMORY OF COMRADE TROTSKY

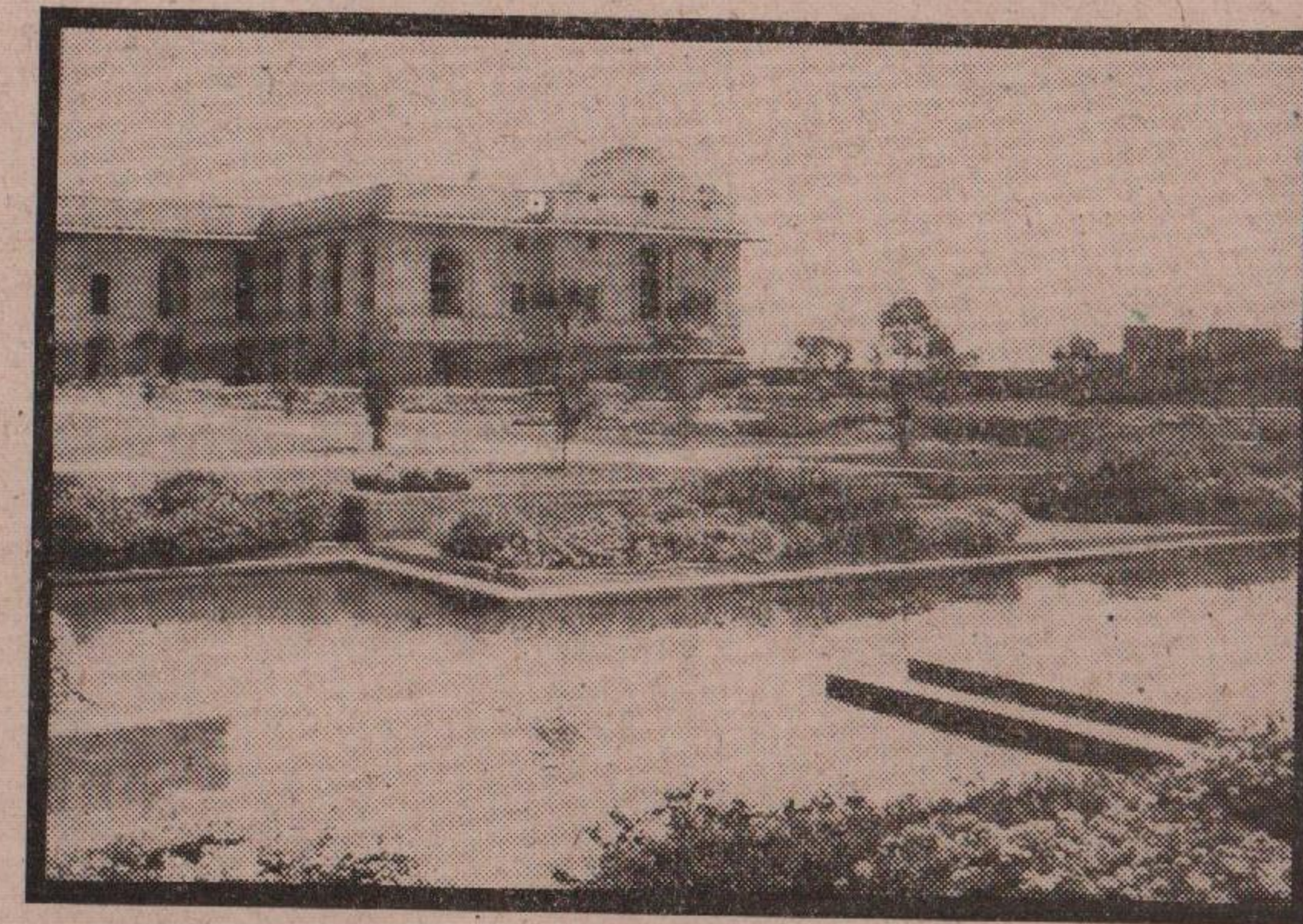
The first act of the assembled workers was dedicated to the memory of our great leader and teacher, Leon Trotsky, whose assassination took place just two years ago. His memory was observed by a silence of one minute. A telegram was sent to Natalia Trotsky in Mexico, pledging the fulfilment of the life work of Comrade Trotsky until the victory of the Fourth International. In this, the building of the revolutionary party of the Fourth International in Britain is the best memorial and tribute to Comrade Trotsky.

GREETINGS TO REVOLUTIONARIES OPPRESSED BY IMPERIALISM

A resolution of solidarity was sent to our American comrades of the Socialist Workers Party, of which 18 members have been recently persecuted and sentenced to imprisonment for advocating the ideas and principles of the victorious Russian Revolution of 1917. Messages of solidarity were sent to our Ceylonese and Indian comrades suffering persecution at the hands of

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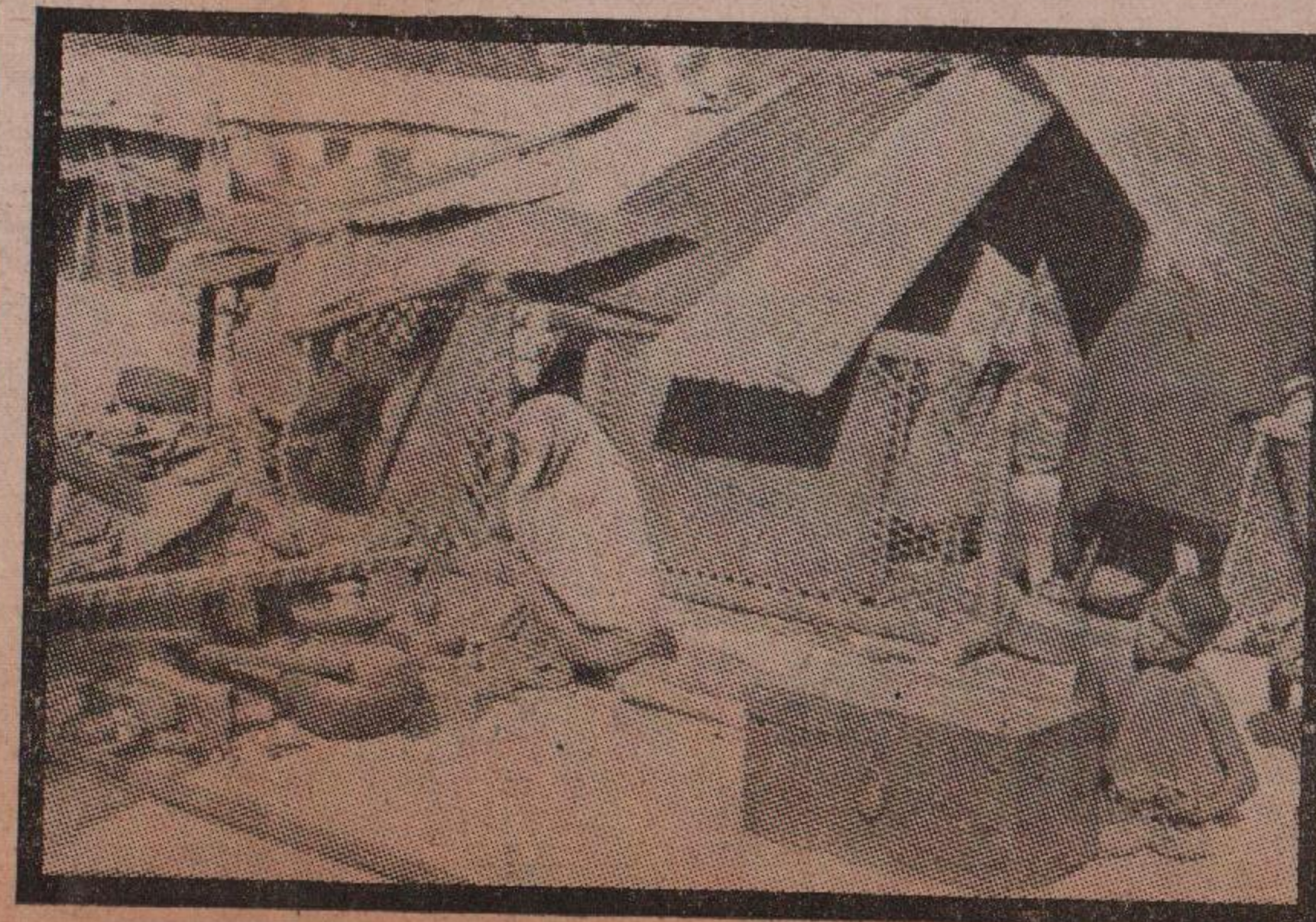
THE HOME OF THE VICEROY



Above: British Viceroy's House at New Delhi, India. Thousands of pounds have been spent on sanitary arrangements, including 100 lavatories.

It was the Viceroy who called on the Indian masses to lead "more frugal lives."

THE HOME OF THE INDIAN WORKER.



This is how the Indian people live. The entire possessions of the family are in the box in the foreground. "In Calcutta, as in every other town, there are open drains which emit stench once you move into the quarters where the poor live." India League Report.

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R.O.F. SHOP STEWARDS' CASE ON TRANSFERS

Continued from page 1

taken into consideration with other facts and with some of the charges laid against the R.O.F.'s, must prove that it is not a question of relieving the R.O.F.'s of any of their skilled labour, but rather is it one of the correct utilization of skilled man power inside the state factory group.

That precisely is the basis of our case. We are not against the transference of skilled labour inside the R.O.F. group, but we oppose the transference of skilled labour from the R.O.F.'s to private enterprise for the following reasons:

It was stated in the "House" that some of the R.O.F.'s were working their labour excessive hours, and that excessive hours in turn produced a high rate of absenteeism and sickness. This unfortunately is true, in at least 3 engineering R.O.F.'s skilled setters are working the two shift system, setting machines for semi-skilled workers on the three shift system. In effect that means that the setter works a 70 hour week, whilst the operator he sets for, works not more than a 50 hour week. The reason for this is the chronic shortage of skilled labour in these particular plants. In essence the critics are right, the hours of work should be reduced for these skilled workers if the quality and quantity of the output is to be maintained. But it is impossible to reduce the hours of work without supplementing the available skilled labour inside these factories.

The only alternative being a reduction in output, and that solution is definitely not acceptable to us.

This is not the first time that skilled labour has been transferred from state factories to private enterprise. A short time ago, despite protests from this shop stewards committee, compulsory transfer of labour was introduced from this factory, and some of our workers were transferred to, amongst others, a private factory in the Midlands. When our skilled workers arrived at this factory they found to their dismay that there was neither work, tools, or equipment available for them, and most of their time was spent in lounging about. One case was cited where one of our transferred workers at this factory was encouraged to remain in the factory for 102½ hours in one week, all this time he was practically without any work to do! Protest was at once made by this committee to the Ministry of Labour Officials, but despite this, further transfers were carried out to this same factory. At the same time as this was taking place, workers in our factory were asked to, and did, work excessive hours to get the months' quota out, working their rest day on the work that should have been done, or partially done by these transferred men. The outcome of this and similar instances, was that we demanded an investigation into the matter, pointing out that no less than

than they have fully employed. We understand that our factory is one that was quoted as working excessive hours, with the drain on skilled labour what alternative is there if production is to be maintained?

We claim that if this policy of transfer of skilled labour is to be carried out in the R.O.F. engineering shops in the face of the Select Committee's Report then it can only constitute a deliberate attack on state enterprise for the benefit of private enterprise.

On the question of the redundancy of skilled labour in the R.O.F.'s we state that this is definitely not true. There can be no redundancy of labour when setters are compelled, both morally and by the Essential Works Order to work excessive hours to the tune of 70 hours per week in order to keep the plant going and the output up. There might be a shortage of work in some plants, but that is different from a redundancy of labour, the solution being a transference of work from private enterprise to the non-profit making state factories (something, by the way we have yet to see). We do not deny that there is an abundance of unskilled labour in the shell filling and powder factories. We do not know. But even that is not true of the engineering plants.

We go further than to state that there should be no transference of skilled labour to private enterprise, we claim that the R.O.F.'s should have precedence over all other munition plants in the country. As they are the property of the community they should be accorded every facility to recruit the best workers and the best managements where necessary. It was particularly noticeable that when Dalmuir R.O.F. (a plant reputed to be worth some millions) was accused of having inefficient managerial staff, the problem was not solved by the compulsory transfer of an experienced management from private enterprise, but by the handing over of the entire factory to private enterprise, since when apparently, the possibility of further transfers of R.O.F.'s to private management has never been out of the minds of some gainful critics. It has even been suggested that some of the state factories should be handed over to certain well-known catering firms, apparently as an attractive alternative to the compulsory transfer of suitable managements!

It is disgraceful enough that munitions of war should be made for profit at all, but when these profit makers are allowed to take skilled workers out of state employment and place them in their own establishments, when a desperate shortage of skilled labour exists in other R.O.F.'s, then it can be inferred that there are more ways than one of interpreting the phrase "successful prosecution of the war."

The statement by some interested papers that there are too many R.O.F.'s is the most audacious statement yet. Is it not true that there

TRADE UNION WAGES FOR WORKERS IN UNIFORM

The Government has issued another White Paper—dealing with pay allowances in the Forces.

For gross overstatement this White Paper takes some beating! It seeks to convince the public that the rates of pay for men in the services are not only adequate, but that they are if anything, equal to the pay of civilian workers! In fact, if one were to take this document at face value one would come to the conclusion that the service man has advantages over the industrial worker.

After calculating what he would have to pay for board and lodging in civilian life, the real value of the soldier's pay is assessed at a minimum of £2.12.0 a week. This sum represents the net income of £3 per week after payment of taxes. After three years service, it is calculated that a Private with no dependants receives "a gross emolument equivalent in value to taxable earnings of 78/- a week."

Dealing with married men, the figures are even more favourable. No longer do the costs of food, transport, clothing, health and unemployment insurance eat up part of the family budget. And where there are no children it is "in the national interest" that the wife undertake war work. Where there are children it is calculated that the average private earns, after three years service, pay which is equivalent to earnings of £4.9.3 per week.

continued below.

This situation may be satisfactory to the capitalist government, but it is certainly not satisfactory to the serving soldier, who is giving his life and limb in a war which is supposed to be waged in defence of his "privileges and rights". No amount of White Papers will convince the service man that he is receiving adequate pay when he is forced to ration his letters home and when his family is not receiving adequate nourishment.

At the Labour Party Conference it was a unanimous decision to demand an increase in the serviceman's pay. So deeply rooted is the discontent on this score that even a section of the capitalist press has been forced to take up the question. In face of this, the only reply of the coalition government is a White Paper to prove how well off the men in the forces are.

When the workers, the miners, the engineers, dockers, strive to improve their conditions and increase their wages, the reactionaries like Lord Londonderry and Sir Roger Keyes screech about the "enormous wages" of the workers compared to the half a crown a day received by the men in the forces. When the soldiers, air force and navy men strive to increase their pay to a bare living standard, the government argues that their standards are on a par with the industrial worker. The hypocrisy and deceit of the ruling class leads them into many contradictions. But one thing stands out clear: if the workers in uniform or in overalls do not fight for their rights every inch of the way, and stand united, they will be set one against

★ Powers' Workers Repudiate Stalinists

During recent weeks the leadership of the Communist Party have issued special instructions to its members in the factories to launch a new campaign of lies and slander against leading shop stewards and active trade unionists. The object of this campaign is twofold. On the one hand it seeks to undermine the strong rank and file trade union movement built up through years of hard struggle in the factories and on the other hand it gives the "all clear" to reactionary employers to operate victimisation and frame-up policies. Indeed the Communist Party does not hide the fact that it fully supports such measures, especially when they are directed against supporters of the "Socialist Appeal".

It is against the growing number of "Socialist Appeal" supporters in the factories that the campaign of lies is specially directed. Hoary old slanders such as "agents of Hitler" etc. are utilised in an attempt to stampede the more backward workers against our comrades. Appeals are made to the more reactionary trade union officials to take a hand in this foul campaign. Communist Party controlled District Committees of the A.E.U. are working overtime in an attempt to quell the growing support for the "Appeal" in the branches. The fact that a number of A.E.U. branches in important industrial areas have come out against the recent attacks on our paper has been the signal for a stream of lying correspondence from the District Committees to these branches. On top of this, special efforts are being made by the Communist Party fraction in the A.E.U. to pack branch meetings in order to get anti-"Appeal" resolutions carried.

At an A.E.U. branch in the Craydon area such a resolution was passed at a meeting in which the Communist Party had packed the branch. The resolution which was specially drafted at Communist Party headquarters attacked three of the oldest and best known trade unionists in the area for circulating the "Socialist Appeal". The individual who moved the resolution, as is usual in such cases, had only been employed in the factory a few weeks and under such circumstances this filthy attack acted as a boomerang against him and his Communist Party sponsors.

At a mass meeting of A.E.U. members held in the canteen on Friday, 4th September the following resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

"This specially convened meeting of A.E.U. members working at Powers

RAIL WORKERS DEMAND A LIVING WAGE

SID BIDWELL (N.U.R.)

There is a widespread spirit of revolt manifesting itself throughout the railway industry over the handling of the railworkers modest claim for 10/- per week increase for all adult employees, which was recently rejected by the railway owners.

In signal boxes and mess-rooms it is impossible to escape the bitter anger of the railway workers against the railway bosses. While these owners have been given a guarantee of £43 million a year by the Government, the workers have to lay a claim for a small increase on their present miserable wage rates. Even if it was granted, this increase would not bring them up to the level of rates won by workers in other industries.

The poster campaign of the owners have been received with sardonic humour. They would prefer a publicity campaign on the "magnificent" reward paid to railway workers for running the industry.

Since the war most grades have received 11/- in war wage increases while the lowest paid men have received a slightly higher rise than the others. The efforts of the union leaders and bosses to secure a niggardly increase for grades other than the lowest paid has led to deep discontent, because some of these grades have received small sums such as 1/-, while others have received nothing at all. The effect of these sectional rises, accepted by the N.U.R. leadership, has been to increase the already multifarious differing rates applied to the industry.

In most cases the railway worker does not work a bonus scheme and has to rely solely on his wage rate or overtime and Sunday work, of which

POWERS' WORKERS REPUDIATE STALINISTS

Continued from previous Col.

in the A.E.U. and will wreck a movement laboriously built up over a number of years by the brothers accused, in order to attain his political ends.

"We also demand that the appropriate disciplinary action be taken against Bro. Field, by D.C. and E.C., with a view to avoiding and eventually eliminating any repetition of such disgraceful conduct by any member of the A.E.U. who happens to belong to a particular political party.

"In conclusion, this meeting expresses its willingness for the D.C. and E.C. to make any enquiry they may think fit into the position of the A.E.U. in this factory."

Brothers Miller, Rappard and Duhj, together with a loyal band of support

there is no guarantee. The grade of Guard and Class 1 Shunter is considered to be among the highest paid. Yet these grades, not reached until after considerable years in the service, receive 65/- basic wage, with 11/- and 12/- respectively, as war wage increase.

The lowest paid men receive approximately 65/-, including war wage. It was revealed at a hearing of the Railway Staff National Tribunal (the highest stage of the machinery) that thousands of men try to exist on this miserable sum. It is no wonder therefore, that everywhere, porters, shunters, signalmen, guards, railway shopmen, and telegraph linemen, are joining their voices in demanding that a far greater display of militancy must come from the N.U.R. Executive.

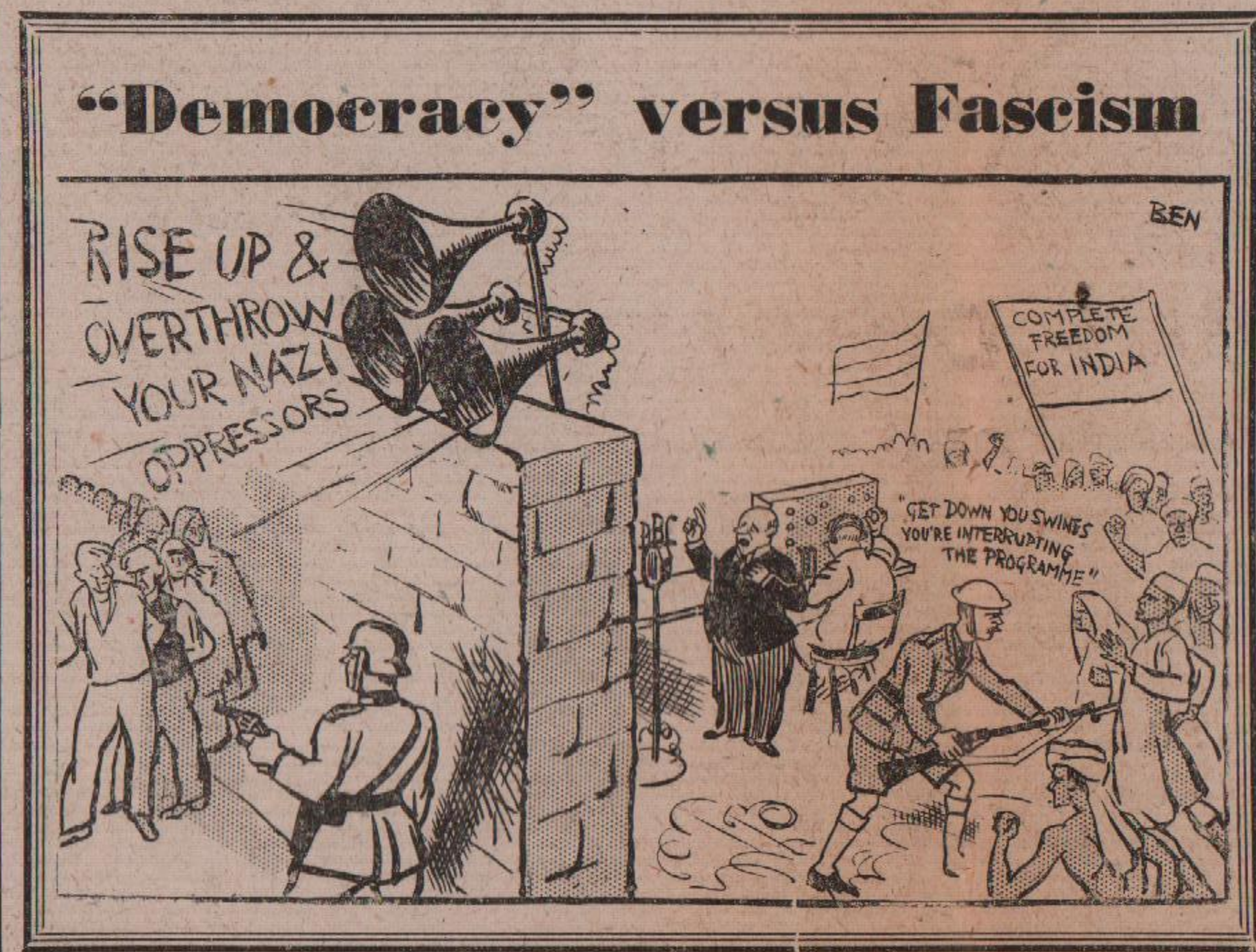
One of the factors holding the railway workers back from a united and determined front against the railway bosses and their agents in the government, is the division of the workers into three main railway trade unions: the N.U.R. (Industrial union), the R.C.A. and the A.S.L.E.&F. (Craft unions). But those already in the industrial union have found themselves coming up against a brick wall of indifference and class collaboration methods of the N.U.R. National E.C., which is comprised of right wing and C.P. reactionaries. These are at one in attempting to direct the railway revolt into safe channels for the bosses.

Their true character was revealed to all workers when they advised the Special General Meeting to accept the Companies' shameful offer of 4/- to males and 3/- to females. However, the delegates knew full well that they would have to face the wrath of their Branches if they accepted. The offer was rejected, and the claim is now to go to the Staff Tribunal, but the workers know what to expect from this body, which is notoriously just another instrument in the hands of the employers for withholding a greater share of the nation's wealth from the oppressed railwaymen.

Unfortunately the movement of unrest threatens to break out into sectional movements of this and that grade, seeking to find a way out for themselves. Due to the disgust of the Signalmen with the leadership of the N.U.R. a mass meeting of the grade is to be called. A sectional movement has come into existence on the L.M.S. among the Telegraph Linemen who feel that their efforts to obtain recognition for their skill, are being frustrated by the N.U.R. leadership. At the moment it is not clear whether a breakaway is contemplated. These highly skilled workers receive at the most 64/- plus 11/- war wage!

Sectional movements play into the hands of the employers who delight in seeing the railway workers at one another's throats. It is only when the rail workers have learned to present a common front to the rail owners, who always speak with one voice, that they will lift themselves from their present position.

It is not the industrial method of organisation that is wrong, and holds this or that grade in check, but the



On top of this, the White Paper illustrates the wonderful possibilities which exist for the soldier increasing his pay by the simple process of promotion. Promotion prospects are claimed to be "more than one in four, and the financial effect of even moderate promotion is considerable."

the other and in the final analysis they will be deprived of what little gains they have made. The labour movement must take action to defend the interests of the workers in uniform. The main reason for the deplorably low rates of pay in the services is the lack of collective

...factory were asked to, and did work excessive hours to get the months' quota out, working their rest day on the work that should have been done, or partially done by these transferred men. The outcome of this and similar instances, was that we demanded an investigation into the middle, pointing out that no less than 100 workers at the above quoted factory, some of them ex this factory, had requested their release on the grounds of insufficient work and lack of equipment. This investigation was refused by the Ministry, who no doubt had excellent reasons for so refusing. This is only one instance and one aspect of the mis-handling of the labour problem, by Officials who are apt to deal with men as units and not as human beings. It is significant to note that the parent factory of the shadow reception factory quoted above, has a local reputation for having more men out of work inside their main factory

desperate shortage of skill labour exists in other R.O.F.'s, then it can be inferred that there are more ways than one of interpreting the phrase "successful prosecution of the war." The statement by some interested papers that there are too many R.O.F.'s is the most audacious statement yet. Is it not true that there are numerous munition plants now being opened by private enterprise throughout the country? How can there be too many R.O.F.'s whilst munitions are still being made for private profit? It would have been better if the statement had been qualified thus—"there are too many R.O.F.'s—for the peace of mind of certain interests!" For the Nottingham R.O.F. A.E.U. Shop Stewards Committee. J. Pemberton, Convenor. W. E. Nightingale, Chairman. 28.8.1942.

'Daily Worker' Attacks R.O.F. Workers

The first issue of the "Daily Worker" has indicated clearly what its role will be—a vicious strike-breaking tool of the bosses. We reprint without comment their attack on the R.O.F. workers. Contrast their lies with the actual position as outlined by the shop stewards of one of the largest R.O.F. in the Midlands.

WRECKERS AT WORK IN R.O.F.s

There is a small group of people at work in our ordnance factories who, unless dealt with without delay, will seriously affect the production of vital munitions of war.

Only prompt action by the London District Committee of the Communist Party last week prevented the extension of a strike over piecework rates.

A strong bid will be made this week to bring out on strike one of the largest R.O.F.s in the Midlands.

MINISTRY REQUEST

The issue is a request by the Ministry of Labour for the release of 100 skilled workers for work in newly-erected factories.

The R.O.F.s turn out 66 per cent. of the national gun output. It seems to me that the authorities should pay some attention to the activities of the small bunch of saboteurs, who although not influential at the moment can cause much harm if their activities are not curtailed. They are repudiated by the leaders of the AEU and by every trade unionist of standing. So out with them without delay." Daily Worker, Sept. 7th, 1942.

WORKER BEATEN AT INDIA LEAGUE MEETING

To the Socialist Appeal, Dear Comrade,

I wish to bring to your notice the following incident which took place at the meeting on India, held by the India League at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, 26th August, 1942.

In the course of a speech by Mr. A. Sloan he said that India will be free "sooner or later". A worker sitting in the audience remarked loudly enough for everyone to hear: "On what day?" A remark which, I think, hit the nail on the head.

Mr. Sloan replied, "Maybe sooner, maybe later." To which the same worker made the same interjection: "On what day?" He probably repeated this two or three times. Suddenly, I saw this worker stand up and shout, "Mr. Chairman, I have been hit." The blood was streaming down his face and he must have been very severely hit, because I could see the blood pouring

from him from a distance of about 50 yards.

However, before he could say anything more, he was hustled out of the meeting by the stewards in customary C.P. fashion.

I hope this incident will receive the widest possible amount of publicity among trade unionists and politically alive sections of the working class. Although called under the auspices of the India League, the meeting was in essence dominated by the Stalinists and the majority of the audience were members and sympathisers of the Party who had come to hear Pollitt. The right to interject at political meetings is a recognised one in the British labour movement. And speakers against whom such remarks are directed, have always attempted to silence them by political answers. It was the Mosleyites and the fascists who introduced this method of dealing with opposition and critical elements—with fists and truncheons. A. K. Mukherji.

On top of this, the White Paper illustrates the wonderful possibilities which exist for the soldier increasing his pay by the simple process of promotion. Promotion prospects are claimed to be "more than one in four, and the financial effect of even moderate promotion is considerable."

First of all let it be stated that even if these rates of pay were substantiated, they would be inadequate to meet the present cost of living. But the actual facts of the matter are that the servicemen's pay is well below the figures given in relation to the actual value of the amenities. Even the "Daily Herald" reported the case of a British soldier in Bombay who was so poorly paid that he could not afford to buy stamps for letters home. This is no exceptional case; the British serviceman's pay is notoriously low. One has only to refer to the Report of the Child Nutrition Council in Glasgow, whose recent investigations revealed that "only 35% of families of serving men receive sufficient money for an adequate diet..." And of expectant mothers "only 5 out of 6 receive enough money to buy a diet consistent with good health..."

the other and in the final analysis they will be deprived of what little gains they have made.

The labour movement must take action to defend the interests of the workers in uniform. The main reason for the deplorably low rates of pay in the services is the lack of collective bargaining machinery. The soldiers are mostly workers in uniform—many of them are trade unionists who have fought bitter struggles for rights now enjoyed by workers in industry. It is the duty of the unions to protect their members in the armed forces. It is the duty of the workers in uniform to see to it that the soldier-worker and his family are adequately provided for.

We fight for an industrial wage which raises the level of the soldier to that of his fellow worker in overalls. We demand that the Labour leaders implement the decision of the Labour Party conference. We demand that the T.U.C. set in motion a campaign for the right of collective bargaining for the workers in the forces. All workers in the army must receive the same rates as the workers in civilian jobs. T.U. wages for all workers in the armed forces!

...against him and his Communist Party sponsors. At a mass meeting of A.E.U. members held in the canteen on Friday, 4th September the following resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

"This specially convened meeting of A.E.U. members working at Powers Ltd. strongly condemns the malicious and totally false statements made against Bros. Duhy, Rappard and Miller, shop stewards at the above firm.

"We also consider that the charges made against the above brothers are not proven, and were brought for the purpose of forcing these brothers out of their official positions in the A.E.U. and replacing them with members of the Communist Party, of which Bro. Field said he was proud to be a member.

"In view of these facts we move that this resolution be placed before the D.C. and the E.C. for their immediate information and action, as we feel that this member of the A.E.U., Bro. Field, who has been at Powers about seven weeks, is a dangerous element

the A.E.U. who happens to belong to a particular political party.

"In conclusion, this meeting expresses its willingness for the D.C. and E.C. to make any enquiry they may think fit into the position of the A.E.U. in this factory."

Brothers Miller, Rappard and Duhy, together with a loyal band of supporters, are mainly responsible for the growing strength of the A.E.U. in this factory, where they have carried out consistent trade union activity for the past five or six years; it is only during recent months that members of the Communist Party have put in an appearance at this factory. The fact that they are showing up now and carrying out what the workers consider to be a campaign of disruption is concrete evidence of the anti-working class nature of C.P. policy.

The real answer to this campaign is to intensify our efforts to push the "Socialist Appeal" among the widest possible number of engineering and factory workers. Every factory and trade union branch must become an "Appeal" stronghold. The answer to the strikebreakers and bosses' men is an increase in the circulation of the "Socialist Appeal".

another's throats. It is only when the rail workers have learned to present a common front to the rail owners, who always speak with one voice, that they will lift themselves from their present position.

It is not the industrial method of organisation that is wrong, and holds this or that grade in check, but the N.U.R. leadership who have gone over to the bosses on the pretext of preserving 'national unity', which boils down to preserving the bosses' profits. They have nothing to grumble about. They are drawing 29/- per day out of the contributions of the railway workers. With one voice they put forward a demand for an increase for the workers; with another voice they assure the owners and the government that as far as they are concerned, they would see that the railwaymen gave no trouble.

This does not reflect the bitter feelings apparent in the cabins and mess rooms. It is the job of the workers to get to their Branches and demand an uncompromising attitude on the part of their leaders, either to fight for their demands, or make way for a new leadership who will reflect the spirit of the railwayworkers today.

WHO IS DANIEL TOBIN ?

This year the T.U.C. is being attended by Daniel Tobin, a fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labour. Little is known in this country of Daniel Tobin, his record, his role in the American Trade Union movement. Here are some facts about him which may be of interest to delegates and be useful for their report back. Daniel Tobin is the General President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (Truckdrivers), A.F.L. His salary is 30,000 dollars a year, plus 12 dollars a day hotel expenses, plus 5 dollars a day incidentals. Translated into English, this is £6,000 a year, or £120 a week, plus about £2. 10. 0 a day for hotel expenses, plus £1 a day for incidentals!

In order to ensure that he will be well protected and well nourished Tobin has written into the Constitution of his union, what is probably the most astonishing clause in the history of trade union organisation. Here it is:

"Article V. Section 2: The General President, for the purpose of promoting the interests and welfare of the International and the making of diplomatic contacts with other organisations and institutions, AND FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONSERVING HIS HEALTH, may in his discretion travel in this country and abroad and may take periodic rests. The General Executive Board shall provide all expenses of the General President when performing the services mentioned herein OR WHEN TAK-

ING PERIODIC RESTS; THE SAID EXPENSES SHALL INCLUDE TRAVEL IN THIS COUNTRY OR ABROAD, THE FULL AND COMPLETE MAINTENANCE OF HIS WIFE SO THAT SHE CAN ACCOMPANY THE GENERAL PRESIDENT, AND ALL SECRETARIAL HELP AND SERVICES WHICH HE DEEMS NECESSARY WHILE ENGAGED AS AFORE REFERRED TO. The expenses provided for herein are in addition to all other constitutional compensation and allowances."

There it is without exaggeration and without embellishments! No petty official is Daniel Tobin. Even his fellow bureaucrats in Britain must be green with envy.

To maintain this well paid, well lived position, Tobin has shown himself prepared to split the American trade union movement and attack militants in his own union.

At the beginning of last year he launched a vicious attack against one of the best organised union branches in the States, Local 544—the Minneapolis Branch of his own union. Through its militant leadership this local was responsible for organising 200,000 truck drivers in the central states and had won substantial gains for the members. In order to clear the path for the signing of agreements with the bosses behind the backs of the workers, he demanded the right to appoint a dictator-receiver over Local 544 with power to remove its lawfully

elected officials and run its affairs.

These provocative actions infuriated the Minneapolis truck drivers. At a meeting of over 4,000 members jammed in three halls in Minneapolis, with thousands who could not get into

READ
The Defence of Militants in TOBIN'S Union at the U.S.A. FRAME-UP TRIAL

AN A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM
★ A PAMPHLET NO WORKER SHOULD MISS

Price: One Shilling

the halls, it was decided by an almost unanimous vote, to leave the reactionary Tobin controlled A.F.L. and to join the rising progressive Industrial Union, the C.I.O. This action was hailed by the C.I.O. as a great progressive step for the American trade

union movement. And it was predicted by the capitalists that it was the first step towards the general exodus by other locals and unions from the A.F.L. and into the C.I.O. This meant the beginning of the end of the protracted and artificial split in the American trade union movement. Roosevelt didn't want this, and nor did Daniel Tobin.

Although he had never given a single cent of the central funds of the union towards fighting local strikes, Tobin stated:

"We have \$6,000,000 in our defence fund and if we have to spend it all to keep our locals in the A.F.L. we are going to do it."

Tobin forthwith consulted his boss—Roosevelt, who, through his secretary Stephen Early, informed the press that he condemned the C.I.O. for allowing Local 544 to affiliate. Following on this, leaders of Local 544 together with leaders of the American Socialist Workers' Party (Trotskyist) were charged with "sedition" and 18 were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

On June 3rd, 1941, Tobin sent about 300 gangsters into Minneapolis to smash the Local 544, now affiliated to the C.I.O. He did this without interference from the local corrupt governor Stassen and his police. Scores of cars which bore Michigan plates and contained thugs arrived in the district. These thugs assaulted and attacked the

truckdrivers of Local 544 with guns and knives. They forced workers to sign membership of Tobin's A.F.L. at the point of the gun, maiming for life many of those who refused to do so.

These are the lengths to which Daniel Tobin will go in order to preserve his fleshpots; these are the lengths he will go to prevent the unity of the American workers into progressive Industrial Unions.

We leave it to the reader to decide whether Daniel Tobin is a worthy representative of American trade unionism, and whether his visit is inspired by progressive motives. For our part, we condemn him as an agent of capitalism who operates within the ranks of the workers. He has destroyed the Union organisation of the Teamsters in Minneapolis by his methods. He has incited to the railroading of American socialists and trade union militants to jail for opposing his policies in the union. With the aid of the reactionary police and officialdom he has prevented the truckdrivers of Minneapolis from exercising the elementary democratic and working class right to choose which union was to represent their interests. Yet he pretends to represent the workers of America and the rights of democracy!

Trade Union delegates will draw their own conclusions from this.

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Editorial
MASSES WILL
END THE WAR

This month marks the beginning of the fourth year of the world war. All the continents and oceans, seas and countries, in one way or another are involved in the conflict. From its beginning, the war has spread from one country to another, from one continent to the next like a fearsome plague, plunging more and more millions into misery, desolation and slaughter with its deadly touch.

When it began both sides were optimistic of a quick and easy victory. Chamberlain announced three years as the span of the war. Hitler, after the fall of France, imagined that victory was within his grasp. Yet today, as the agony of the peoples of Europe and Asia increases to an unbearable intensity, more sombre conclusions are drawn by the ruling classes of the different countries. None can see that the end is yet in sight. Roosevelt and Churchill in their last speeches have announced that it is going to be a 'long war'. Earle Paige, former Prime Minister of Australia has suggested a ten years duration. And the owner of the 'New York Times' in an interview in Britain has gone one better and made it his 'lifetime'. On the other side, Hitler and the Japanese militarists have now exhorted the masses to prepare for a long and protracted struggle. Rosenberg, the Nazi spokesman, has forecast that the struggle will resolve itself into a 30 years war. So that all that both sides can offer the peoples of the world is interminable war, carnage and destruction.

The workers of Britain and America know what to expect if Hitler should emerge victorious in the struggle. The concentration camps and execution squads of the Gestapo and the S.S. gunmen in all the countries of Europe have revealed the full horrors of Hitler's projected 'New Order'.

But for the workers of the world, for the workers of Britain and America, no rosier prospect is opened out by the victory of Anglo-American imperialism. Seven million unemployed is Arthur Greenwood's prediction for Britain. A lower standard of living for the British working class than for the past century, the continuation of rationing for years, says Mr. R. S. Hudson, representative of Lever Bros. Trust in the Government, and an army of four million men is announced by Ernest Bevin. This for the workers at home. Meanwhile the suppression by armed force of the Indian masses shows what the programme is for abroad. The holding down of not only

NEW ALLIES OF COMMUNIST PARTY

BY E. GRANT.

The whole style, the whole method of presentation, the falsifications and the distortions, the amalgam dishonestly linking the policies of the I.L.P. with that of the Trotskyists, all these savour of the familiar methods of Stalinism. Unable to attack the real ideas of Trotskyism, the Communist Party and its new-found ally, the 'Sunday Dispatch,' attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the workers by confusing the policies of two different working class parties, and link us both up with Hitler. It is clear that the article is written by an ardent supporter of the Communist Party. Indeed it could have been written with the pen of W. Wainwright himself, the author of 'CLEAR OUT HITLER'S AGENTS.'

TROTSKY ALONE
WARNED THE WORKERS

The entire article is based on falsification and slander. Our political position has been and is openly proclaimed in the pages of the 'Socialist Appeal.' The charge that we would seek a compromise peace with Hitler is reduced to a despicable lie upon one reading of any issue of the 'Socialist Appeal.' We alone in the labour movement warned of the disastrous outcome of Hitler's coming to power. Trotsky alone, advocated the policy which would have prevented Hitler's rise, the policy of the united front of all working class organisations which was attacked by Stalin in the following terms:—

"It is significant, that Trotsky has come out in defence of a united front between the communist and social democratic parties against Fascism. No more disruptive and counter revolutionary class lead could possibly have been given at a time like the present." ('Daily Worker,' May 26, 1932.)

THE AMALGAM
BETWEEN THE I.L.P.
AND THE TROTSKYISTS

Both the 'Sunday Dispatch' and the Communist Party attempt to depict the resolution of the Glasgow I.L.P. which voted against the supply of arms for the U.S.S.R., as a Trotskyist resolution. This is somewhat stupid when Point 1 in our Programme of demands is "The immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and Factory Committees." In any case, the defeating of this resolution arises, not from any lack of desire on the part of the I.L.P. to assist the U.S.S.R., but from the sectarian attitude on their part, for which the Trotskyists have always criticised them. In the July issue of the 'Socialist Appeal,' Marc Loris writes on this point:

"At the I.L.P. National Conference an amendment was presented asking for the 'advocacy of the production and transport of war materials to the Soviet Union under workers' con-

THE "SUNDAY DISPATCH" IS CONTINUING ITS SLANDER CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE "SOCIALIST APPEAL." UNDER THE TITLE "SOCIALIST APPEAL STILL AT IT" THE STORY IS REVEALED OF HOW "DIRECTIVES" FROM GERMANY ARE TRANSMITTED TO THE BRITISH TROTSKYISTS THROUGH A "WORKERS' CHALLENGE" STATION.

If this were true, surely the Sunday Dispatch's Diplomatic Correspondent, the author of the article, would have supplied more details, such as the time and the date. Surely he would have notified the police, and formal charges would have been made against the Trotskyists.

BUT THE PRO-FASCIST "SUNDAY DISPATCH" DOES NOT PURSUE THE POLICY OF TRUTH. TAKING A LEAF OUT OF THE BOOK OF THEIR MENTOR, HITLER, THEY BASE THEMSELVES ON THE AXIOM—THE BIGGER THE LIE, THE MORE EASILY IT WILL BE BELIEVED.



"SUNDAY DISPATCH"
THEN — and — NOW

"The passionate sincerity of Hitler cried aloud. This was no cheap tub-thumping political firebrand, but a fervent patriot and a realist. . . ."

"It is monstrously untrue to say that the Storm Troops and Brown Shirts are a new German army in disguise. Germany does not want another war. . . ."

SUNDAY DISPATCH, 1933.

TROTSKYISM

THEN — and — NOW

"HITLER IS CHANCELLOR!
 Workers, do you know what that means? It

"The sort of Government which the Trotskyists would like to follow the present regime here, not only would not open a second front, but under the guise of alleged Left-Wing pacifism, would seek a compromise peace."

SUNDAY DISPATCH,
 1942.

"The only way in which the struggle against fascism can be successfully waged

Eggs must be broken to make an omelette. Suffering is inevitable in the reconstruction of a State

But if I may judge from my personal knowledge of Herr Hitler, peace and justice are the keywords of his policy, and given time, the support of his people, and the goodwill of his colleagues, he will carry that policy to success"

On December 31st, 1933, the 'Dispatch' published a special feature article by Mussolini, "The Whole World Going Fascist?"

To come closer home it was the 'Dispatch' and the 'Daily Mail' which were among the principal backers of Mosley and his blackshirt thugs in their attempt to organise fascism in Britain. Their pages were opened to Mosley and they gave him every possible publicity. On January 21st, 1934, on a special page was a picture of Mosley and a signed article by him entitled: "Why We Wear The Black Shirt":

"The Blackshirts have faced and overcome the Socialist bullies of the razor, the knife, and the broken bottle, by standing together and fighting in the ordered ranks which the Blackshirt makes possible. England already has to thank them for breaking the Red Terror of the streets, although greater ordeals may yet await them.

Thus we wear the Blackshirt for that combination of ideal and practical reasons which is so characteristic of the faith of fascism."

An esthetic editorial of the same date was entitled, "The Blackshirts are Coming."

Thus they supported the paid thugs and hooligans in the ranks of Mosley's bands in their efforts to create an organisation to destroy the workers' movement and rights in Britain. On January 28th, 1934, they wrote this description of Mosley:

"To the world Sir Oswald Mosley; to Blackshirts, the Leader.

"He quests for a better, healthier, happier England like a King Arthur Knight for the Holy Grail."

On May 21st 1934, this rag proudly announced that:

"The editor has purchased a limited number of seats to be presented to 'Sunday Dispatch' readers for Mosley's Olympia Meeting."

On the brutal thuggery at the fascist meeting in Olympia, which provoked an outcry in nearly the whole of the British press, the 'Dispatch' headlined an article by G. Ward Price, friend of Hitler: "No Communist Badly Injured. But Blackshirts still in Hospital. Elaborate 'Red' Plot Miscarries. Armed Interrupters Wreck Meeting."

Their leader of June 17th, 1934, was headed MUSSOLINI-HITLER TALKS—HOPES FOR PEACE in which they say of these fascist gangsters:

"However that may be they have this in common. That each is the beloved leader of a great nation that regards him as its saviour and to which his blackshirt army is the



Our Programme
For Power

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, and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.
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. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
9. Establishment of military schools 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.

TROTSKYISM

THEN — and — NOW

"HITLER IS CHANCELLOR!"

Workers, do you know what that means? It means complete starvation and loss of all rights, it means the destruction of all the active elements of the proletariat! After the speeches of the Nazi leader, there can be no doubt of this. **HITLER'S PROGRAMME IS THE COMPLETE SMASHING OF ALL THE POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS,** to clear the way for a still more monstrous impoverishment of the working class. The aim of his foreign policy is **WAR WITH SOVIET RUSSIA.**"

Manifesto of German Trotskyists, 1933.

"The only way in which the struggle against fascism can be successfully waged would be by taking the control of the army and industry by the working class. . . . If necessary, a Second Front would be established by the British workers to aid the German workers in over-throwing Hitler and giving real aid to the Soviet Union. . . ."

SOCIALIST APPEAL.

1942.

participation in the Popular Front Government which lead the Spanish workers to their defeat.

"DISPATCH" PRAISED FASCISM IN ALL COUNTRIES

In their frantic efforts to besmirch the revolutionaries, the Stalinists are willing to use any methods and any pro-fascist people or paper to suit their ends. And what is the record of these

In one of the many articles which they published by Sir Oswald Mosley on their ideal of a fascist Europe of the future, he openly called for Germany to be allowed to attack the Soviet Union. Britain would gain the advantage from this by the mutual exhaustion of both Germany and the Soviet Union. This is, in fact, the secret policy of the "Sunday Dispatch" and its backers today.

While the revolutionaries were waging a struggle against fascism in all countries of the world, what was the attitude of the new knight errant of the holy struggle against fascism? While the brown murder bands were murdering the worker-militants (including the Trotskyists) and destroying the trade unions with terror and torture in the first months of fascism in Germany, here are some samples of what the "Sunday Dispatch" was saying. In October of 1933, Geoffrey Harmsworth wrote:

"... The passionate sincerity of Hitler cried aloud. This was no cheap tub-thumping political fire-brand but a fervent patriot and a realist. It is monstrously untrue to say that the Storm Troops and Brown Shirts are a new German army in disguise. Germany does not want another war. . . ."

In an article of October 22nd, 1933

by Colonel T. C. R. Moore, M.P., we were told by the "Sunday Dispatch":

"Germany welcomed her saviour, and largely owing to the obviously sincere and single-minded appeal of his policy he is today the adored leader of certainly 90% of the German population. Eight months ago Herr Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich. Today, and I now speak of experience barely a week old, the whole atmosphere of Germany has changed. Sobriety has replaced licence, patriotism has usurped Communism, virtue has abolished vice."

"The servants of the law have crushed the masters of the gun. Women and children are safe; animals are mercifully treated; social services have received a new impetus. . . ."

This is how the "Sunday Dispatch" smoothed over and justified the horrible atrocities of the Nazis. The article continues:

"These are some of the changes I have seen, but I realise that in making these changes there has been unjustified persecution, misery and suffering caused to many innocent German nationals of varied creed and faith."

But experience has taught us to be tolerant of the ways of revolution.

DUKE OF WINDSOR "CALMS" BAHAMA STRIKERS

The strike and militant demonstrations of 2,000 native workers two weeks ago at the United States base in the British Bahamas compelled the Duke of Windsor to cancel his shopping tour and visit to Washington and hustle home to "calm" the strikers.

The ex-King of England's first step in "calming" the strikers and their sympathizers was to deliver a speech over the radio blaming the conflict on "outside agitators." He had already received a little preliminary assistance from British troops who shot three strikers to death, wounded scores and jailed over 40.

Then came the further report that the Duke is "calming" the native workers by—giving them a free feed on the construction job. "The Duke of Windsor saw today 2,000 labourers receive a free noonday meal at a United States project from which they started a riot on June 1 over their pay of 80 cents (about 3/9) a day."

We have no doubt that the workers needed this meal. But we wonder how—on about 3/9 a day—they are going to feed their families and themselves for every succeeding day after the free meal.

The Duke promised the natives that he was going to see what he could do about getting the U.S. government to raise the native workers' pay. On his return to the United States on June

Wreck Meeting." Their leader of June 17th, 1934 was headed MUSSOLINI-HITLER TALKS—HOPES FOR PEACE in which they say of these fascist gangsters: "However that may be they have this in common. That each is the beloved leader of a great nation that regards him as its saviour and to which his lightest word is almost a divine command."

Their support of the Japanese militarists, of Hitler, of Mussolini was continued right up to the outbreak of the war. Now these gentlemen, aided, abetted and supported by the Communist Party, have the audacity to slander the International Socialists. To-morrow they would favour a deal with Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, if it suited the interests of their masters, the capitalist class. If the capitalists were threatened by the working class they would be the first to appeal to Hitler for help, just as their equivalents did in France. From this yellow rag the workers expect nothing different. But that the so-called Communist Party, should assist and aid reaction by the peddling of slanders against the revolutionaries, is a danger and a warning to the workers. They have linked themselves up with the most reactionary and pro-fascist section of the ruling class in this country, and the most foul anti-working class section of the capitalist press.

In the eyes of all honest workers the role of the Communist Party is becoming clear. It is becoming clear too, that the reason the Communist Party and the "Sunday Dispatch" attack us is not at all that they think we are "pro-fascist" it is our programme they fear. Despite the smallness of our numbers at present, they know that ours is the only programme which represents the interests of the working class; the programme of working class struggle against fascism at home and abroad; the programme which will lead to Socialism.

In the teeth of the barrage of lies and slanders we are unafraid. We base ourselves on truth and honesty. We base ourselves on the interests of the working class. No matter the obstacles placed in our path, our programme will find the road to the workers, and the workers will find the road to our programme.

12 he stated, "Everything is fine in Nassau now."

White American workers brought to the islands are getting a minimum of 1 dollar an hour for the same work the natives are doing. Since the arrival of the Americans, moreover, the merchants have shot up prices, which has made it even tougher on the native workers.

HOW THE AGREEMENT WAS WORKED OUT

What the Duke does not state is that the agreement by the U.S. government to pay native workers no more than the starvation prevailing wages on the islands was made at the request of the British government. The British ruling class plantation owners insisted on this agreement in fear that native workers getting a taste of American union wage scales would not want to go back to agricultural peonage at a few cents a day.

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.

SHIP OWNERS IMPEDE PRODUCTION

'Profits First' Is Their Motto

BY G. READ

Everyone is well aware that the shipping situation is serious. The government, after handing full control over policy and construction, to the vested interests in the shipping industry, is apparently satisfied that nothing further can be done and has refused repeated requests for a public debate on the question.

The workers are being told to tighten their belts, scantier clothing for the coming winter months is anticipated, bread is to be largely supplanted by potatoes in the already meagre diet—all this and many other sacrifices are being called forth from the workers to "save shipping space". Yet what is being done to face up to the situation, apart from squeezing further sacrifices from the workers?

Whilst the working class in general has been deliberately kept in the dark concerning the shipping situation severe criticism of the shipbuilding programme is being voiced by those actively associated with the industry. Accusations of direct sabotage have been levelled against the shipping magnates, that the prospects of post war profit earning capacity are being allowed to slow down the production of ships.

The "Evening Standard", 29/6/42, stated, "Peacetime designs have been followed so closely that portholes have been fitted although it is a war regulation that they must not be opened at sea. As soon as the portholes are finished they have to be screwed up and blacked out."

It is well known that to face up to the U-boat campaign and in view of convoy difficulties, small, fast, oil-burning or diesel streamlined vessels are needed. Yet production is centred around slow, large and cheap to run vessels.

The cause for this apparent contradiction is not hard to find. The person appointed Controller of merchant shipping and repairs at the Admiralty is none other than Sir James Lithgow. Can it be wondered that the long term interests of the shipping financiers, whilst at variance with the need for "all-out production" are precisely the interests that are deciding the present shipbuilding programme? For the

(continued on back page)

sectarian attitude on their part for which the Trotskyists have always criticised them. In the July issue of the "Socialist Appeal," Marc Loris writes on this point:

"At the I.L.P. National Conference an amendment was presented asking for the 'advocacy of the production and transport of war materials to the Soviet Union under workers' control.' The idea of tying the defence of the Soviet Union to the class struggle of the English workers is excellent. The slogan has an offensive character as much against the English bourgeoisie as against its agents, the Labourite and Stalinist leaders. But the leadership of the I.L.P. hastened to oppose this proposition. The arguments of its spokesmen were, taken as a whole, that the proposals are impracticable. Thus the I.L.P. leaders reveal once more their total incomprehension of the dynamics of revolutionary action. How render 'practicable' tomorrow that which is 'practicable' today? They have no idea. They find it very 'practicable' to praise the 'statesmanship' of Stalin, to insult Lenin by attending fraudulent ceremonies; but to call on the English workers to demand an accounting from the capitalists on aid to the Soviet Union, that is 'impracticable!'"

On the question of McGovern's attitude towards Munich, which the "Sunday Dispatch" triumphantly uses, and which the Communist Party never

£10 Reward

TO ANY MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY WHO CAN PROVE THAT THE SO-CALLED QUOTATIONS FROM TROTSKYIST PUBLICATIONS IN THEIR PAMPHLET "CLEAR OUT HITLER'S AGENTS!" ARE NOT FORGERIES.

— OR —

TO ANY MEMBER OF THE C.P. WHO CAN SHOW ANY PAGE OF THIS PAMPHLET WHICH DOES NOT CONTAIN A MINIMUM OF FIVE LIES.

SOCIALIST APPEAL.

fails to use, the Trotskyists have always criticised the I.L.P. on this question. It is one of the points which separates us. This position springs from the pacifist and centrist position of the I.L.P. But at any rate, we stand whole-heartedly with the I.L.P. against the foul allegation that this springs from the desire to help Hitler or Fascism. The accusation is one that only the pen prostitutes of the pro-fascist "Sunday Dispatch" or the Communist Party falsifiers would dare to make.

The ignorant reference of the I.L.P. defending the "Trotskyist" P.O.U.M. in Spain is typical. The P.O.U.M. was never Trotskyist as they claim, but precisely the Spanish version of the I.L.P. So it is natural that the I.L.P. should defend its policies. We on the other hand consistently criticised the policies of the P.O.U.M. for its

new found friends and comrades-in-lies? These people who now accuse the Trotskyists and the I.L.P. of assisting fascism, are the very ones who have consistently supported fascism and reaction throughout the world. The question of Munichism is one on which they should keep silent. It was the "Sunday Dispatch" more than any other paper, which supported Chamberlain at that time. And precisely because they wished to help Hitler. They openly said so! The reference to Spain is even more injudicious. When the P.O.U.M. was fighting on the barricades against Franco, they supported this butcher as the saviour of Christianity and civilisation! Their tender regard for the Soviet Union which they now manifest, is shown for the hypocrisy that it is by the fact that they incited the British government to allow a free hand to Germany in the East.

British working class than for the past century, the continuation of rationing for years, says Mr. R. S. Hudson, representative of Lever Bros. Trust in the Government, and an army of four million men is announced by Ernest Bevin. This for the workers at home. Meanwhile the suppression by armed force of the Indian masses shows what the programme is for abroad. The holding down of not only Germany and Italy, but the whole of Europe by the British and American forces. This is clearly indicated by the special training of American officers to administer Europe.

The fakers in the labour movement are laying hopes on a revolution to end the bloodbath . . . a revolution in Germany, which the imperialists will drown in blood. But, as the "Daily Telegraph" of August 2nd puts it in its leader columns of August 2nd, "It can, however, be regarded as reasonably certain that most Germans have received a healthy premonition of the wrath to come in the event of defeat, and that they will continue to support Hitler in whatever fresh crimes he may commit until the truth dawns that ultimate disaster is inevitable."

It is this which has paralysed the forces of German, Italian and Japanese workers: fear of the consequences of Allied victory.

At the same time the masses in Britain and America continue to tolerate their rulers because of the nightmare of a Nazi victory. This, thanks to the support given the ruling class by the Labour and trade union leaders and the so-called "Communist" Party.

The war drags on and the suffering of the toiling masses in both Axis and Allied countries increases. But the clique of monopoly capitalists in Germany, Italy and Japan as well as in Britain and America are growing rich at the expense of the blood and toil of the workers of all lands. The workers are called on to make greater and greater sacrifices while the rich live well and pile up enormous profits.

The contrast between words and deeds is having its effect on the people. The contrast between words and deeds is leaving its imprint. The plans of the rulers that the working peoples in all countries will continue for years and decades to slaughter one another are based on shifting sands.

Wherever the masses still have the possibility of showing their feelings in elections, as in Ireland, South Africa, England, the voting has shown a steady tendency to the Left. The voting for working class or pseudo-left candidates has increased enormously. For the first time in history, Dublin has a Labour majority. The same applies to far away East London, South Africa. All the indications in recent by-elections in Britain show the same trend. In the occupied countries, constant rumblings of revolt are echoed by the announcements of executions and repressions. The iron heel of fascism cannot prevent the movement of the masses against the horrors of hunger and overwork. In India, the colonial masses are already stirring against the centuries-old oppression and misery.

All these are portents of the coming period. The workers throughout the world are beginning to realise that they are being used as pawns to decide which group of gangsters, those of American capitalism or of German capitalism, are to dominate the world. This war will be ended, as was the last, by a series of revolutions. This will be the way that the masses of one country after another will break the way out of the horrible impasse in which they find themselves. No attempt on the part of the imperialists or their lackeys can hold back the wrath of the working class. The war will be ended, not by the victory of any of the contending powers, but by the revolution.

AMERICAN MONOPOLIES SABOTAGE "WAR EFFORT"

BY ROSE CARSON

While President Roosevelt is preparing for a gigantic slashing of the standards and conditions of the American working class, some very interesting facts are being revealed as to the real nature of the "Equality of sacrifice" on the part of the American capitalist class, as the result of the investigations of the Department of Justice and two Senate Investigating Committees into the activities of big monopolies.

We find that in the "Arsenal of Democracy" the monopoly capitalists, through their international cartels, are not only sabotaging the "war effort" by withholding inventions and patents and thus limiting the production of essential war goods; they are directly aiding the Nazis by continuing their agreements to restrict the manufacture of such essential war commodities as butyl rubber, magnesium, aluminium, tungsten, carbide, drugs, dyestuffs and other vital materials of war, in order to aid the monopolies of their German affiliates.

There is not a single monopoly in any capitalist country, Britain, Germany, France, Japan and America, which does not have international cartel agreements, and which does not attempt to continue their agreements despite the war.

Outstanding examples of the workings of the American cartel system are given by Art Preiss in the June issue of the "Fourth International". The World Aluminium Cartel, which is a combine of American, German, British, French and Swiss interests, pooled their resources, bought up all surpluses and withheld them from the world market, limiting world production and fixing world prices. The same steps have been taken by many other giant concerns, including, The Chemical and Dyestuffs Cartel, Du Pont, I.G. Farbenindustrie, British Imperial Chemical Industries, the establishment Kuhlman, the Mitsui interests of Japan and Standard Oil Company. For these giant concerns who control the wealth and the means of production of nations, the war with the Axis is not an ideological war, a war "against fascism" or for "freedom of the peoples", it is in the words of a Standard Oil official "an unfortunate interruption in our trade."

METHODS BY WHICH CARTELS OPERATE

The methods by which the cartels operate are further demonstrated by Art Preiss. They restrict the number of producers by excluding independent companies, and by limiting the quantities produced, keep up prices. The fact that they are thus sabotaging the production of essential war goods does not in any way deter them. Through price fixing the same process continues. When independent companies apply for licences to produce certain goods protected by American or British-Nazi patents, they can only obtain such licenses by agreeing to sell their products at the high prices established by the cartels.

In addition to limiting production so as to eliminate competition, the cartels have sabotaged the war effort by even more direct methods. By giving the Nazis exclusive patents for industrial processes of the utmost importance to the prosecution of the war, such as butyl rubber and synthetic oil, they directly aid the Nazis.

Information of military value relating to American and British production was regularly provided to the Nazis. In one American company's files, the Truman Arnold investigation discovered a patent license for making steam turbine engines used by the Navy, with an agreement to furnish Germany with duplicates of all correspondence with the U.S. Navy, as well as drawings worked out by the former.

The cartels' withholding of military information from the U.S. is another important form of indirect aid being given to the Nazis. The same source reveals that American Companies "have failed to give the government information about the patents they give the German interests, or to keep the government informed of patents secured from Germany."

Standard Oil gave to the German firm, I.G. Farben, the secret of synthetic rubber manufacture, its acetylene process, and its method for producing high octane aviation and synthetic petrol. The tungsten carbide formula of the General Electric Co. was also given to the Nazis.

When Nazi and Italian fascist airlines, prior to American entry into the war, could not secure fuel in South

America due to the British blockade, Standard's Brazilian subsidiary supplied the necessary petrol in defiance of objections from the American State Department. The Standard officials claimed that they had contracts which they had to fulfil as a matter of "business honour".

Military information was supplied to the Nazis through supplying Krupp with the complete list of the sources and amounts of royalties paid by its tungsten carbide licenses, General Electric's Subsidiary Carboly Inc. kept the Nazis informed on the number and location of plants producing Tungsten carbide and the exact quantities of this vital war metal being produced in America.

A. P. dispatch of April 17th, 1942, stated that Du Pont "gave a German Company access to military information through the Remington Arms Royalty payments on all tetracene primer produced in America."

After the outbreak of war between Germany and Britain, Standard Oil made an agreement with the British oil interests, pooling patents for the important hydrogenation and polymerisation processes in the production of synthetic gasoline. In order to get this agreement, Standard had executed a fake dissolution of its arrangement with I.G. Farben. But as late as March 1940, as documents from Standard's files revealed, Standard was secretly passing on to I.G. Farben, all the confidential data and technical information it was securing from the British and other American oil firms in the Anglo-American pool.

Thus the hypocrisy of the so-called "war for democracy" is revealed in all its hollowness. All that the trusts and combines of both Britain and America are concerned with is profits and more profits. For the purpose of protecting their profits they would make agreements with the devil himself and even Hitler. They are not in the least interested in a struggle against Hitlerism. The only protection the workers have against fascism at home or abroad would be by taking power and expropriating the trusts without compensation. Only then in a war waged by the workers in the interests of the workers would the war become a war against fascism, and not a means whereby the monopolies and trusts can further enrich themselves.

INDIAN MASSES LIVE LIKE ANIMALS

WHILE BRITISH IMPERIALISTS ARE SHOUTING TO THE WHOLE WORLD, THEIR LOVE FOR FREEDOM OF ALL NATIONS, THEY HAVE BEEN BUSY TEACHING THE INDIANS EXACTLY WHAT THEY MEAN BY THIS.

They have refused the request of the Indian nationalists to grant the right of self determination, and have replied to the protests of the masses with a brutal and savage repression, which parallels Hitler's savageries against the peoples of occupied Europe.

Collective fines are now imposed on villages—and they are the most poverty stricken villages in the world—for suspected sabotage. The death penalty is imposed for cutting telephone wires. Anyone suspected of causing fires is shot. For daring to struggle against British rule thousands of Indians are now being whipped and beaten.

Every day there comes news, even through the close meshes of the censorship, of further shootings of unarmed Indian workers and peasants, of the use of British troops to terrorise the Indian people into submission, of thousands of arrests.

But all in vain! The whip, the lathi and the machine gun are proving unable to cow the spirit of India's masses. The movement, far from having been put down, has now spread from the cities to the country. Now the peasants as well as the workers are demonstrating their burning hatred of the foreign yoke.

By a sort of "gentleman's agreement" the British press has played down the Indian events in an effort to make them seem trivial. But one Correspondent has pointed out that the movement continues "with surface demonstrations reduced in the cities, although still boiling up in the villages, and with the movement generally spreading "underground".

Who can believe that anything has been solved by the campaign of repression? Who can believe that the movement for liberation has been crushed? The agitated behaviour of leading circles in India shows that they at least do not believe this. Steadily the mass pressure from below and the seriousness of the struggle of the workers and peasants is pushing all Parties and all leaderships Leftward. The "London Times" has pointed out that no Party in India which does not at least claim to stand for independence can hope any longer to be taken seriously. Even the reactionary "Hindu Mahasabha" has issued a resolution calling for an immediate declaration of the independent status of India. The same resolution asserts that if the British Government does not respond to its demand the Mahasabha will be compelled to revise

its programme and devise ways and means whereby Britain and her Allies "will realise that India, as a self-respecting nation can no longer be suppressed."

This in itself indicates the tremendous scope of the movement that is sweeping the Indian masses. So also do the frantic efforts of leaders of all parties and sections to reach some sort of a compromise. The "rebel" Rajagopalachari has been forced to return to the camp of Gandhi and Nehru, by the fact that outside of some sort of movement for liberation, his voice was merely being projected into a vacuum.

Desperate efforts are being made to reach a solution from above. But all that this indicates is that all sections of the leadership, including Gandhi and the Congress leaders, are afraid of a solution from below.

But neither the efforts of the British Press to belittle the movement nor the efforts of the Indian leaders to achieve a compromise can dam up the movement. For the Indian Revolution draws its strength from the efforts of 400 million people to achieve a standard of living above that of animals; to emerge from their black cave of backwardness into the world of civilisation and culture.

Read what the Delegation sent by the India League in 1932 had to say about housing conditions:

"Our first impression was that of the slums of Poona, a town which is a summer resort of H.E. the Governor of Bombay. In the slum area, on less than one acre of ground, at least 500 humans and a number of cows, calves, goats, etc., were accommodated. The mud huts were roofed with old kerosene oil tin sheets, thatch, and all sorts of scrap material, and the walls were about 4 feet high. There were no windows and no sanitary arrangements. Our friend who accompanied us told us that practically every infant under three years was drugged with opium. Not far from there, we saw the housing estates of the Poona Municipality, where there were good houses with sanitary provision and open space.

The working class tenements in the mill area, Perambur, Madras, were small mud-built houses, with hardly any ventilation, overcrowded and dark, but kept scrupulously clean inside. Outside, however, were cesspools of stagnant water. There was no proper drainage. In Calcutta, as in every other town, there are open drains

Shipowners Sabotage Output

Continued from page 3

shipyard industry with which Sir James Lithgow is associated, is designed primarily for building the big, slow steam vessels. His concern for post war profits has been revealed by the British Iron and Steel Federation, of which he is President, in their fear of creating "excess capacity" in the construction of steel plants needed now, but which they would have to scrap after the war.

The Twelfth report of the Select committee throws a nasty, though well merited, slur, upon the "patriotism" of such Controllers as Sir James and his ilk when it suggests, that the introduction of any ruling that controllers should sever connections with their businesses "would deprive the Government in wartime of men in a position to render invaluable help to the State."

It is such people who are directing the war industries. The list of the Controllers is cluttered up with the names of those who, prior to the war, were busily engaged in destroying Britain's productive capacity, in closing mills, mines and shipyards all over the country. It is they who are now to get down to "reorganising" the industries that they themselves so efficiently disorganised.

The policy of the government of handing control of industry over to the representatives of finance capital has met a growing volume of adverse criticism. "The system, states the Economist, has come to its finest flower since the war, with every trade 'controlling' itself and with the nation left wondering why its productive effort is so sluggish."

The Admiralty has been forced to issue an apology in defence of those responsible for the restriction of output. It is claimed that twenty-three establishments closed by the National Shipbuilders Security have now been reopened. At the Annual meeting of the NSS held in 1936, Sir James Lithgow, presiding stated that 149 berths, capable of an annual output of one million tons had been closed, others were closed on a care and maintenance basis. It is because of this policy of the present Controller and his friends that present shipbuilding capacity is well below the strength of 1930. It is their present policy that is sabotaging 100 per cent production.

Chief of Production, Mr. Lyttleton, has spoken of the widespread "frustration and discontent" among the workers. Can it be wondered as the workers contrast their sacrifices with those of the capitalists. In the dockyards lowering wage values and worsening conditions are contrasted to the Ca'Canny of the shipowners. The vicious penalties meted out to workers who violate the bosses anti-labour laws are compared to the ease with which the capitalists can obstruct output in the interests of post war profits.

Not along the lines of class collaboration and looking up to the capitalists can the way forward be found. Now more than ever before it is necessary to reassert the solidarity and confidence of the workers in the strength of their own independent organisations.

By placing shipping under the con-

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who violate the bosses anti-labour laws are compared to the ease with which the capitalists can obstruct output in the interests of post war profits. Not along the lines of class collaboration and looking up to the capitalists can the way forward be found. Now more than ever before it is necessary to reassert the solidarity and confidence of the workers in the strength of their own independent organisations. By placing shipping under the control of the shop stewards and the technicians, production of shipping would be enormously increased. Not only that, but the conditions of the workers in the shipping industry would be immeasurably improved. The shipping bosses ruthlessly destroyed shipyards capable of building a million tons of shipping in peace time. What did they care if this meant unemployment and hunger for tens of thousands of shipping workers, so long as their profits were protected. So in war time, they sabotage the production of shipping where this conflicts with their post-war prospects of profits. At the same time they let out howls against the workers for "slacking".

It is time that this farce was ended! For increased production and decent conditions and wages demand workers' control of shipbuilding by the workers! Make an end to the shameful profit-hunting of the shipping bosses. Nationalise the shipping industry without compensation!

Conference Discussed Future Tasks

Continued from page 1

British imperialism; to the German, French and European Trotskyists languishing in the concentration camps of Hitler and Mussolini; and to the heroic Russian workers and peasants in their unparalleled resistance against the forces of German imperialism. To all those revolutionaries throughout the world fighting for the establishment of a socialist society, persecuted by fascist reaction on the one hand, and "democratic" imperialism on the other, our messages of solidarity are cemented in our expressed determination to overthrow imperialism which alone will lead to the salvation of the workers of the world.

Basing ourselves on the principles of the Fourth International, Conference formally adopted the theses of our international "War and the World Revolution" and "The Transitional Programme of the Fourth International." From there, discussions were held on all the major issues confronting us: India, the Perspectives and Tasks of the British workers in the coming period, a programme for our members in the Trade unions and factories, as well as the more detailed question of the new Constitution. While time did not permit for discussion on a resolution on our Military Policy, the military policy of our international movement was unanimously endorsed.

FREEDOM FOR INDIA

In the midst of the profound events taking place in India, with the Indian masses hammering at the gates of freedom, the Conference condemned the actions of the British imperialists in their brutal suppression of the Indian people and castigated their lackeys in the labour movement for supporting the oppressors. The demand was made for the immediate release of all political prisoners; the granting of unconditional freedom for India on the basis of a Constituent Assembly and the arming of a free India to defend herself against imperialist aggression.

IN DEFENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Conference reaffirmed the policy of the Fourth International on the Soviet Union: Recognising Russia as a workers' state, despite the degeneracy of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and accepting the formula of "unconditional defence of the Soviet Union" as elaborated by Comrade Trotsky. We assist the struggle against the onslaught of German imperialism not by foul capitulation to Churchill and the ruling class, the bitter enemies of the

workers' state; not by accepting the capitalist programme of so-called "defence of the Soviet Union", but by demanding the sending of aid to the Soviet Union under the control of the trade unions and workers' committees and by continuing the fight for the overthrow of British imperialism and the establishment of a workers' Britain. Only in this way can we assist the Soviet workers to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy in their struggle for the re-establishment of workers' control and return to the aims and methods of Lenin and Trotsky.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE COMING PERIOD

The most important discussions centred around the Thesis on Perspectives for Britain for the coming period and the tasks of the Fourth Internationalists. This thesis had been circulated throughout the organisation for two months prior to the Conference and had been discussed in all the locals. In it is analysed the trend of

bourgeoisie rests in the failure of the leadership of the workers to offer an alternative to continued capitalist rule, which they justify with the threat from "foreign fascism". Nevertheless the distrust and hostility towards the ruling class is increasing within all strata of the population. The eyes of the workers cannot remain closed to the incapacity and corruption of bourgeois rule. It confronts them in every sphere of their daily lives. This awakening is preparing for a revolutionary wave of such titanic proportions that even the great struggles of Spain and France will appear lilliputian. Fascism could only arise in the event of a defeat of this movement resulting from the betrayal of the Labour and Stalinist Parties, and if we do not succeed in gaining the support of the decisive section of the British workers."

The document demonstrates the way in which the capitalist class has been forced to rely on the Labour and trade union leaders, and how these leaders have become integrated with the capitalist state machine. How the rising discontent of the workers is pushing

the trade union and labour bureaucrats, including the majority of the parliamentary representatives, will be forced into an open break with the capitalist class and a breaking of the coalition."

The document goes on to deal with the possibility of a section of the Labour Lefts breaking to fuse with the I.L.P., together to form the basis for a new centrist organisation and the tactics of the revolutionary socialists in that event.

No unimportant section of the thesis is that dealing with the role of the Communist Party and its strike breaking activities in the industrial field. Of great significance to the growth of the revolutionary party is that section of the Communist Party which is being driven out and expelled for refusing to accept the new treacherous line and which must be drawn into the ranks of the Fourth International.

Britain is entering a pre-revolutionary period. This must be the motivating force of our policy in the immediate struggles which lie ahead. This

These tasks must be accomplished. Our untrained and untested organisation will, within a few years at most, be hurled into the turmoil of the revolution. The problem of the organisation, the problem of building the Party, goes hand in hand with the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses. Every member must raise himself and herself to the understanding that the key to world history lies in our hands. The conquest of power is on the order of the day in Britain—but only if we find the road to the masses.

Revolutionary audacity can achieve everything. The organisation must consciously pose itself and see itself as the decisive factor in the situation. This was the message; this was the spirit which permeated the conference proceedings.

THE FUTURE IS OURS

Compared to the Conferences of the Labour Party and the Communist Party, the gathering at the Holborn Hall was a small one. But it was a gathering that is destined to play a decisive role in the coming revolutionary struggles. For, as Comrade Trotsky predicted, tomorrow our party will be the party of millions. What separates us and guarantees our future is the power of our ideas. The great Labour and Communist Parties on the Continent had millions of members and tens of millions of supporters. But they were swept aside at the first onward rush of fascist reaction. Their programmes failed to measure up to the test of history and their mass organisations were rendered impotent.

The delegates assembled at the Conference were conscious that their ideas, the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky, alone had stood the test of history. That only their programme could face up to the tremendous tasks in the coming period. The Communist Party and the Labour Party could grovel on their knees before Churchill and the imperialist rulers, they could rally mass demonstrations and parades, but their programme of capitulation and concessions to the capitalists, of strike-breaking against their fellow workers did not serve the interests of the workers or fit in with their aspirations. Only the programme of the Fourth International was capable of doing that.

Conscious of the tremendous tasks and obstacles confronting our numerically weak forces, the delegates were not intoxicated with modest achievements already made. They returned to their localities with renewed determination, vigour and hope in the future of the working class, in the future of their party as the instrument which will lead to the victory of the socialist revolution.

Russia's Greatest Ally

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tering into a treaty of alliance with Great Britain, which 'guarantees the British Empire for 20 years'."

But the whole position of the Soviet Union makes it clear and unmistakable that only the independent action of the workers in other countries can save the country of the October Revolution from disaster. Stalin and the bureaucracy have led it to the very edge of the abyss. A continuation of the policies both inside and outside the U.S.S.R. will mean that imperialism will push the first workers state over that edge.

The British workers have left no doubt as to their enthusiasm

for the struggle of the Soviet masses against Fascism. But that enthusiasm and that eagerness to help have amounted in practice to exactly nothing, for they have been diverted into the channels of the imperialist government by the Labour and Trade Union and Communist Party leaders.

If that will to give real assistance is to be translated into action then it can only do so on the road of independence.

For a Workers' Government in Britain which will appeal to the German workers to overthrow Hitler and establish the United Socialist States of Europe!

For a Revolutionary War against Fascism!

Support Irish Freedom

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of the heroic Irish youth. The betrayal of the Communist Party in Ireland, which is lining itself up with the pogromist Orange government, is a further factor which is driving the youth in despair to the blind alley of the adventurous and impotent terrorism of the I.R.A.

Not by such methods can the Irish gain their freedom. Only by the mobilisation of the workers, Protestant and Catholic, around their common needs and interests, can Ulster be rid of the sectional strife and face the imperialists in one united force.

British workers must demand the ending of the Partition. Full national freedom to be given to the Irish people! The interests of the Irish workers and the interests of the British workers are one and the same.

The "Socialist Appeal" will fight ceaselessly for the ending of the oppression in Ulster! For the ending of the Exceptional Laws and for the Restoration of Democracy in Ulster! We will fight ceaselessly for the ending of the partition and the restoration of Freedom to a United Ireland! For the Unity of the Irish and British Workers!

Read Workers International News
The Tasks and Perspectives of The 4th Internationalists in Britain
PREPARING FOR POWER
The Thesis Adopted at the National Pre-Conference of Workers International League, held on Aug. 22-23rd 1942

developments of British imperialism, its decline as a first rate power as a result of the defeats on the military fronts and her ever increasing dependence on American imperialism. Resulting from Britain's defeats, her loss of markets and raw materials, great social and political convulsions are in the process of maturing which can find no outlet other than through revolutionary channels. The underlying theme throughout the perspective is the inevitable revolution which is coming in Britain.

"The bourgeoisie has no reserve weapons at the present time. The ruined middle class; the dissatisfied workers; the lack of confidence of the rulers themselves all lay the basis, not for a turn in the direction of Fascism, but for the most revolutionary period in British history. The fragile basis for the rule of the

a section of the Labour leaders to the left in order to keep a hold on the leftward moving masses . . .

"A split in the Labour Party is inevitable. The thoroughly rotten and decayed elements of the extreme right wing will step over into the camp of the ruling class as did MacDonald. The left will be driven to break the coalition and form an open opposition in parliament, and what is more, they will almost certainly gain a majority. In 1931 in spite of the demoralisation of the masses, only the most degraded and corrupt of the labour bureaucracy went openly over to the camp of the class enemy."

"Already at the first signs of a critical spirit awakening, the Labour 'lefts' have been forced into opposition. On the basis of the rising wave of discontent with potential revolutionary implications, it is inevitable that the decisive section of

pre-revolutionary period offers the most favourable opportunities for the growth and development of our party.

"The disproportion in the situation in Britain lies in the lack of relationship between the ripeness of the objective situation and the immaturity and weakness of our organisation," says the thesis. Prospects of a swift impulsion of the masses leading to a spectacular growth of the organisation on the lines of the P.O.U.M. in the Spanish revolution, are rooted in the situation. But only if we realise the scope of the tasks and possibilities which history has placed before us. We will rise to the situation only if in the interim, skeleton cadres are built throughout the country. These cadres would serve as the bones on which the body of a powerful organisation could be built up from the new and fresh recruits who will come towards us in thousands as the crisis develops.