

SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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TWO PENCE

'GO FORWARD!

*I am sure of the
Victory of the
Fourth International!*

Trotsky's last words.

SKILLED ENGINEERS FIGHT COMPULSORY TRANSFERS

2,500 DOWN TOOLS IN STAY-IN STRIKE AT MIDLANDS FACTORY

AT THE MOST IMPORTANT GOVERNMENT ROYAL ORDNANCE FACTORY IN THE MIDLANDS, 2,500 MEN STRUCK WORK ON A TWO DAY STAY-IN STRIKE. THE STRIKERS COMPRISED THE SKILLED A.E.U. PERSONNEL OF THE FACTORY AND THEY HAD THE BACKING OF THE ENTIRE FACTORY ALTHOUGH THEY WERE NOT DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY THE DISPUTE.

The strike commenced on Saturday, 18th April and ended on Monday 20th. The action of the workers was taken as the result of the provocative actions of the Ministry of Labour who proposed to transfer a large number of skilled men (about 400) to private enterprise—mainly at lower rates.

As can be seen from the Memorandum which we publish here and which was unanimously adopted for press circulation by two mass meetings of the skilled men prior to the strike, these workers recognise that the transfer of skilled labour under present conditions is necessary and inevitable. All that they request is certain minimum conditions for the workers who are to be transferred.

The Works Committee at this factory claim that Government owned Royal Ordnance Factories are being sabotaged by the government in the interest of private enterprise. They claim that the process of transferring R.O.F.'s to private enterprise, as at Dalmeir's, Glasgow, is now being supplemented by transferring machinery to private firms and limiting the work at the R.O.F.'s. Finally, by transferring highly skilled workers to private firms.

News of the dispute was carefully kept out of the national press. In a number of Ordnance factories in different parts of the country meetings of Shop Stewards and Works Committees were called expressing solidarity with the Midlands workers. The dispute would have undoubtedly spread had the Midlands workers called for aid.

The District Committee of the A.E.U. have given full backing to the

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LIBEL WRIT TO GAG

"Socialist Appeal"

LIVERPOOL STALINISTS
DEMAND ACTION
FROM E.T.U.

The Central Liverpool Branch of the Electrical Trades Union has moved a resolution instructing the E.C. of the E.T.U. to issue a writ (libel) against the "Socialist Appeal" because of the article in our last issue on Camell Lairds! The article has caused a sensation amongst the E.T.U. members on the Merseyside. The majority of the members on the job, including the best elements, are in full support of the article, including its attacks against the D.C. stooges. Somehow, we do not think that the "instruction" from the Central Branch will come to fruition. When the stage has been reached when truthful reports of proceedings at workers meetings have to be counteracted by threats of libel, at that stage, we can feel confident that the truth is beginning to prevail—and that is just too bad for the Stalinist stooges.

Every time the C.P. Liverpool threaten 'libel' against us (this is not the first occasion) then we know things are going right for us.

MASSES LOSING CONFIDENCE IN BOSS CLASS GOVERNMENT

Labour Leaders Hold Workers Back

By E. GRANT

THE RECENT BYE-ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN THE MEANS OF DEMONSTRATING THE PRESENT MOOD AND FEELINGS OF THE BRITISH MASSES. RUGBY, WALLASEY, GRANTHAM, CATHCART, AND CARDIFF — ALL THESE PRESENT A BROAD CROSS-SECTION OF THE MOOD AMONG THE PEOPLE—NOT ONLY THE WORKERS, BUT THE MIDDLE CLASS AS WELL.

What is striking about these elections is the clarity with which they reveal the change in outlook of the working people. All of these constituencies were previously represented by Tories—some with big majorities. Now we have the situation, where, for the first time since the outbreak of the war, the government is suffering defeats, while a substantial vote is recorded for the I.L.P. in the constituencies which they have contested.

Coupled with the growing restlessness in industry, as evidenced by the growing strikes among the miners, dockers and engineers, the defeats underline the rapidly developing distrust of the masses of the people in the rule of the capitalist class. The reasons for their disillusionment are becoming clearer daily: the military defeats, the incompetence and bungling of the military officer caste; the profiteering, chaos and mismanagement in production; the pauperisation of the small business men—all these have played their part in developing an anti-capitalist sentiment among the working class and the general radicalisation of the masses as a whole.

portion of the former Tory voters are steadily moving to the left by voting against the official government candidates, while large numbers have become apathetic and indifferent.

The feeling prevailing in the country is demonstrated by events in Rugby where a large number of workers—Socialists, trade union militants, and shop stewards, Labour Party and members of the Trades Council came together to discuss the putting up of an independent "Socialist" candidate to fight the official government candidate. They went so far as to elect their nominee. The intervention of W. J. Brown on a fake left programme, caused their nominee to

DRIVE LAWYERISM FROM MINERS' UNION

Blackhall Lodge Gives a Lead!

BY J. HASTON

The recent struggle at Blackhall Colliery has been fully justified. The estimated loss of 240 tons of coal a week to the pay checks of the miners has already been shown to have been a conservative under-estimation on

In the last few weeks controlled weighing has proven that the loss the miners had sustained through uncontrolled weighing was twice to three times what they had estimated! Never in the entire history of the colliery have the miners had such favourable

Imperialism WILL NOT FREE INDIAN PEOPLE

profiteering, chaos and mismanagement in production; the pauperisation of the small business men—all these have played their part in developing an anti-capitalist sentiment among the working class and the general radicalisation of the masses as a whole.

Despite all the attempts of the labour and trade union leadership to drive the labour supporters into the camp of the Tory candidates, the elections show that only a negligible proportion of labour supporters have allowed themselves to be led in this direction. As a matter of fact, a substantial pro-

together to discuss the putting up of an independent "Socialist" candidate to fight the official government candidate. They went so far as to elect their nominee. The intervention of W. J. Brown on a fake left programme, caused their nominee to withdraw. Despite the particularly vituperative attacks of Transport House, Brown was enabled to win the seat by a narrow majority. In Grantham, on a pretence of supporting a "Labour" programme, the independ-

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The recent struggle at Blackhall Colliery has been fully justified. The estimated loss of 240 tons of coal a week to the pay checks of the miners has already been shown to have been a conservative under-estimation on their part.

But Mr. Chicken, the manager, is not allowing the workers to celebrate their victory easily. He has made the weighing times so difficult and inconvenient as to make it almost impossible for the checkweighmen to operate. By maintaining this attitude he is causing a great deal of antagonism and friction at the pit. His actions show that he is not concerned with production as such, but is even prepared to endanger production in the interests of maintaining his capitalist bureaucratic interests. The miners have warned him that unless he co-operates, he can expect further trouble.

SIX VOTES SAVE LAWTHER'S SCALP

Having successfully conducted their struggle, the Blackhall miners have carried their victory a stage further. They have raised before the whole of the Durham miners, the strike-breaking actions of Will Lawther in their recent dispute and demanded that he be brought to heel by the miners who employ him. At the Durham Miners' Council meeting held on Saturday, April 25, their delegates moved a resolution demanding an apology from Lawther for his statement to the pro-fascist "Sunday Dispatch" that their demands were untenable and would revolutionise the industry, if accepted. Out of a Council Meeting of over 130 delegates, Lawther's neck was saved by only 6 votes!

Lawther's reply to the censure was that he had not made the statement attributed to him! By these means he attempted to squirm out of the corner into which the Blackhall delegates drove him. But there is an old Durham saying that the proof of the pudding is in the eating. If Lawther did not make the statements attributed to him, why did he not immediately write a letter to the press repudiating their alleged report of his statement?

The Blackhall delegates did not accept one whittle of his excuses—nor for that matter does any other Durham miner who has a spark of working class consciousness in him. But the issue is not yet settled. The question has yet to go back to the Lodges. The Blackhall miners are convinced that their demands will yet be carried and Lawther will be brought to heel.

By this action the Blackhall Lodge have placed the struggle on a new plane which shows a high level of

In the last few weeks controlled weighing has proven that the loss the miners had sustained through uncontrolled weighing was twice to three times what they had estimated! Never in the entire history of the colliery have the miners had such favourable weights.

class consciousness. They have justified our statement of last month that they were drawing the correct conclusions from their recent experiences.

PURGE THE UNION OF BOSSES' LACKEYS

The other Lodges in Durham must follow the lead which Blackhall has given. It is necessary to rid the trade union movement of officials who do not and will not fight in the interest of the workers who employ them. In June of this year there will arise an opportunity to take a step in this direction. The Five Year Rules revision period is due. The Durham miners must use this opportunity to oust the present clique who control the union and elect fresh worker militants to leading positions in the unions. They must use this opportunity to undermine the legal position of the bureaucrats through which they have succeeded in entrenching themselves. By making their paid officials justify themselves before the workers every year or two years at the outset, they can be sure that their officials will carry out their dictates and not act as agents of the bosses. That is the way to drive Lawtherism out of the trade union movement!

Imperialism WILL NOT FREE INDIAN PEOPLE

BY ANDREW SCOTT

The whole farce of the Cripps mission to India is becoming increasingly clear as events develop in the Far East. It was only when Singapore and Malaya had gone, and with Burma in process of falling, that the mission was dispatched at all. It had the task of stirring up the Indian masses to a greater enthusiasm for British "democracy" than had been displayed by the workers and peasants of the East Indies, Malaya and Burma. But even in such a desperate situation and with so much to lose, the British imperialists could offer nothing more to the Indian people to "enthuse" them, than the stale old promise of "Dominion status" in that period of general millenium which they are now assuring all mankind will follow their victory.

And they could think of nothing more to justify their refusal to grant India immediate freedom than the equally stale fairy-tale that they had to stay on in order to safeguard the "minorities," such as the Moslems, against the "majorities," such as the Hindus.

Even the Indian capitalists, who want to come to an arrangement with the British Government, were forced by their fear of the masses to turn down the drab grey promises which Churchill had tried to brighten up with the neon lights of Cripps' "Leftism". For the Indian capital-

ists were and are only too well aware that the masses, far from responding, as Churchill hoped, would either remain completely apathetic or would take action to express their rage and disgust.

The Indian capitalists are mortally afraid of a repetition of the Burmese events. Their fear is clearly revealed by the fact that the Working Committee of Congress has passed a resolution "about events in Rangoon and the probability of similar events in India."

The events referred to in Rangoon consisted in the uprising of the population when the Japanese were approaching, and the "disorders" which compelled the British forces to retreat quickly and hand over Rangoon to the Japanese with scarcely a struggle. The reason for the Congress resolution is clear. They fear a repetition of the Rangoon events in India; they fear a victory of Japan or, more terrible for the Indian capitalists, the masses getting "out of control".

As significant as the passing of this resolution is the fact that it has been banned from publication. The Home Department of the Government of India have prohibited all printers, publishers and editors in British India from publishing the whole or any part of the resolution.

The British imperialists are afraid not only of the lessons of Rangoon

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HANDS OFF THE 'SOCIALIST APPEAL'!

Sir Jocelyn Lucas, M.P. wants the Home Secretary to warn or ban the Socialist Appeal. The particular features that have aroused his wrath are "an illustration under a caption 'British atrocity in Burma', and the contents of a leading article entitled 'Remember Hong Kong and all this too...'" The article showed the similarity in method between Japanese and British imperialist rule.

Let it be stated immediately that the Socialist Appeal stands by that picture and that article. The authenticity of the picture, the aptness of the caption and the facts contained in the article are beyond all doubt. If this noble knight who has rushed in to the defence of British imperialism in Burma wants to base his demand for the suppression of the Socialist Appeal on any alleged inaccuracy of these items or on their being completely untrue, let him say so and we will meet him on these grounds. We will overwhelm him with a deluge of further facts and figures about atrocities (and general conditions of living which amount to atrocities) in the other parts of the empire.

Or does Sir Galahad base himself on the conclusions which the Socialist Appeal draws from the picture and from the facts of British imperialism's oppressive rule in Burma? Let him deny the conclusions if he will! For already, within the brief space of a month, the events of the war in Burma have not only justified but have emphasised and underlined these conclusions in no uncertain manner.

At the very moment when Sir Jocelyn was raising this matter in the House of Commons the Japanese were advancing towards Lashio and Mandalay at the unprecedented rate of 70 miles a day! Thousands of battered and weary British soldiers, who had been fighting against the heaviest odds for months on end, were in full retreat. And they found that it was not any lack of fighting quality in themselves nor any superiority on the part of the Japanese that was the cause of this. It was their complete lack of support among the Burmese population that was the real reason for their military disasters. And not only did they get no support, but they met with active hostility. The Daily Herald Correspondent pointed out on April 29:

"Burmese Fifth Column activity has flared up behind the backs of our tired troops... Their task is to burn petrol dumps, block essential supply routes, poison drinking wells and spread panic and sedition among the loyal peoples of the Shan States... If all that I hear of the extent and nature of these uprisings behind our backs and along our lines of supply is true, then the time has come to consider the advisability of making a fighting withdrawal."

And again on May 4th, the Daily Herald Correspondent wrote:

"Everywhere the Burmans sought to harm them, or steer them towards the Japanese. Often Burmans would offer them food and shelter so as to detain them while the enemy was told where they were."

Let Sir Jocelyn Lucas and his entire class realise that the consideration of these events is no academic matter to the British working class, nor is it a financial matter of reckoning how much the government will pay out to shareholders until such time as the Burma oil wells come under the control again of British interests. For the working class it is a matter of seeing sons, brothers, husbands, friends sent out to almost certain death because of the treatment the Burmese masses have received at the hands of the imperialists. The atrocities which Sir Jocelyn wants to leave unmentioned cannot be effaced from the memory of the Burmese people upon whose kinsfolk they were perpetrated. And the result has been that, far from regarding the British Tommies as their allies in a struggle against the oppression of the Japanese, they identify them with the horrible crimes of the imperialists and made use of their difficulties in order to seek some measure of revenge.

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FREE INDIA NOW HEAR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONALIST POLICY



AJIT ROY

Support the demand for a
Constituent Assembly
MEETING

on
Sunday, 24th May at 6.30
AT HOLBORN HALL,
Grays Inn Road - W.C.1

Speakers:

AJIT ROY

V. SASTRY

Sec. Indian Workers' Assn.
Birmingham

TED GRANT

Editor "Socialist Appeal"

G. HEALY in the chair

Doors open 6 p.m.

ENGINEERS FIGHT TRANSFER SCHEME

(Continued from front page)

demands of the workers on the issue at dispute. The E.C. of the A.E.U., it is understood, have officially informed the Works Committee that it "cannot approve of the transfer of their members from R.O.F.'s to any other factory other than an R.O.F." ("Bulletin", Works Committee.) The workers must not be under any illusion, however, that the A.E.U. Executive will fight the government and the ruling class on this issue. Their in-

evitable course will be to strike a compromise and try to dress it up to look like victory.

R.O.F. workers! Seek the support of the workers and not the bureaucrats!

Fellow Workers! Popularise their demands among the widest section of the workers!

Only on this course will it be possible to defend the conditions and standards which ordnance workers have achieved.

WORKS COMMITTEE (A.E.U.) ROYAL ORDNANCE FACTORY

The Editor,
Socialist Appeal.

Friday, April 10th, 1942.

Dear Sir,

The Shop Stewards Committee at the R.O.F. ———, have decided to oppose the compulsory transfer of skilled men from this factory, under the present conditions.

Two mass meetings of the skilled workers from this factory, unanimously decided to support its committee, in their attitude to this problem. In order to prevent confused reports reaching the press, we consider it advisable to circulate the press, with our reasons for adopting the attitude we have done, and our proposed solutions for the various weak points in the present method of transfers.

We would like to make it perfectly clear, that we realise the urgent need, for skilled labour to be transferred to factories throughout the country, but we know that forced labour will not give production in any way comparable to that of men receiving a square deal, and who are willing to be transferred.

We as a committee representing several thousand workers, mainly skilled, are familiar with the problems they have to face, and the reactions to these problems.

The Ministry of Labour officials on the other hand, have shown an incapacity to solve these problems and deal with any large scale movement of labour. Take the question of rehousing workers, a vital matter to every worker who is putting in long hours under trying conditions. In the M.L.N.S. leaflet: "Going away on War Work", we note the following under the heading "WILL LODGINGS BE FOUND FOR ME?"

"The Employment Exchange will help you to find lodgings. Being away is not quite the same as living at home. Your landlady may not always understand exactly what you like. Also she may not be used to having anyone in the house, any

more than you are used to being away from home. Give and take must be on both sides. And again: "Your landlady may be able to provide your meals but when it is not possible for her to do so (she may herself be doing war work) you should find out whether there is a canteen in your factory or whether one of the new Community Kitchens has been set up in your district. There may be a club nearby which provides meals. You can get advice from the Citizens' Advice Bureau."

This ridiculous attitude is typical of the bureaucratic way in which our problems are being handled! As the result of the shortage of accommodation, workers are being forced to accept third rate lodgings whilst paying high rates for the scanty fare which such places provide. In addition: there is considerable overcrowding of the limited accommodation available.

We also find that trade unionists are forced to go into shops that do not and will not recognise the trade unions. To staunch trade unionists this is antagonising. We know what a raw deal most of these shops gave to skilled workers in the past. We know that they are using the Essential Works Order to their advantage at the present time.

Officials point out that skilled men are protected insofar as such firms have to pay the local trade union rates, but we know from bitter experience that men who leave a well organised factory to work in one of these shops nearly always suffer loss of earnings and have a lower standard of conditions.

Having worked in a state factory, such as the ——— R.O.F., the men resent going to work in private firms.

A deputation has been sent to London to put the ideas of the R.O.F. workers before the responsible authorities. These ideas will be presented to the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Supply, in the form of a memorandum which is reproduced below.

6,000 DURHAM MINERS STRIKE

For Release of Imprisoned Youths

6,000 men and boys at Ferryhill and district, County Durham downed tools to redress the victimisation of two local youths. These lads had been sent to prison for two months for refusing to be transferred from surface work and compelled to work down the pit. The lads had been fined £5 each and on refusal to pay were imprisoned.

The "protest" started on Wednesday, 29th April at the Mainsforth Colliery, Ferryhill where the lads had been employed on the heap as surface workers. The action was entirely spontaneous and taken in the teeth of the opposition of the local and regional union officials. It commenced when the night-shift who were just about to go on heard that the two lads had been sent to prison. They decided to call a meeting of the Lodge and an overwhelming majority of the miners decided not to work until the two lads were released. 1,800 men and boys refused to work.

The following evening, a meeting of the Mainsforth Lodge was convened and Messrs. Swan and Gilliland, agents of the Durham Miners' Association appealed to the men to go back to work and negotiations would be started for the release of the imprisoned youths. Over 600 men and boys attended the meeting—the largest and most enthusiastic meeting since the General Strike of 1926! Only a tiny handful of the men who were assembled were in favour of starting work on the basis of the official position and there was a solid demand for the immediate and unconditional release of the lads.

The cynical attitude of the authorities enraged the workers and the protest rapidly spread to other pits. Deanbridge, Dean and Chapter came out in turn. In all, 6,000 men and boys were involved and the movement looked like spreading to a number of other pits—when the local parson saved the situation by paying the fines! The miners themselves could easily have taken this course, but they knew that it would not solve the situation, the Government could play a cat and mouse policy and fine the lads again.

The miners wanted to fight the issue out!

The action of the Government was undertaken as the result of a recommendation by the Pit Production Committee to the Ministry of Labour. It recommended that the youths should be compelled to go down the pit!

Bro. Steele, checkweighman and local official, in explaining the situation, said that the Pit Production Committee had exceeded its terms of reference under the Essential Works Order. The Pit Production Committee was set up to deal primarily with absenteeism and was certainly not entitled to make the recommendation compelling the youths to work down the pit. About 75% of all fatal accidents in the mining industry happen to youths of 17 to 21. A pressed man was not worth his salt in the pit. Not only their own lives depended on the question, but also the lives of the other men. If the lads have not got pit sense, they certainly would not get it by compulsory means. The lads had volunteered to go into the R.A.F. but had been rejected. They were willing to carry on with their present work or go into the army, but refused to go down the pit.

The astonishing stupidity of the local government officials on this question is only paralleled by the incapacity of the Pit Production Committee to increase production. *Their recommendation and its consequences lost more coal than the lads could have produced had they worked down the pit for 20 years!* The "Socialist Appeal" has consistently explained that joint committees of this description act only as weapons against the interests of the workers. They can only increase production in the coal-fields at the expense of the miners.

The only way to increase production and protect the interests of the workers, is for the miners to use compulsion against the bosses. Withdraw the miners' representatives from the Pit Production Committees. Down with the Pit Production Committees which tie the hands of the workers. Fight for the operation of the mines under workers' control!

COALITION



★ Trotsky's Book on Stalin Withdrawn

By H. ATKINSON

When Leon Trotsky was assassinated he left unfinished a biography of Stalin which he had been writing to the order of Harper and Brothers, American publishers.

He had completed seven chapters and there were also left notes which constituted a rough draft of an introduction and five additional chapters.

By the last will and testament of the author, recognised in the Mexican court, all of his property, including the draft of the last chapter of the book, was left to Natalia Trotsky. The publishers had no claim on it whatever, legal or moral, even though they had advanced money to Trotsky for the writing of the book. The agreement was for a completed manuscript and not notes or a draft. The publishers had the right to either publish the seven chapters that were completed, or to return the manuscript and ask for a refund of the advancement.

Both the widow and the close political associates of Leon Trotsky were anxious to see the Stalin biography published and they reached an agreement with the publishers to produce

WORKERS! OUR VOICE DEPENDS ON YOU!!

Owing to excessive costs of printing and conducting the general work of our organisation, the cost of which has almost doubled in the last year, we have been forced to take drastic measures to stabilise our finances. The first of these is to raise the price of the "Socialist Appeal" from one penny to two pence. Before taking this step we have circularised our comrades throughout the country asking their opinion, and the response has been unanimous that the increase would not at all affect the sales, and indeed that the workers would willingly pay an extra penny for a paper which stands alone in voicing their demands.

The second measure has been to appeal for guarantees from groups and individuals to be paid within a period of one month as commencing from May 1942. Our membership is the most heavily taxed of any working class organisation in the country; and yet each time an appeal is made for money our members again and again respond in a manner worthy of their historic responsibilities. That we will receive the utmost from our members we are confident. We address our appeal here primarily to our close supporters and sympathisers who have not yet pledged themselves to any specific amount this month. We ask them to make their

Fig. "WILL LODGINGS BE FOUND FOR ME?"

"The Employment Exchange will help you to find lodgings. Being away is not quite the same as living at home. Your landlady may not always understand exactly what you like. Also she may not be used to having anyone in the house, any

MEMORANDUM

1. The commandeering of the Hotels in districts where there is no accommodation available for transferred workers. These Hotels to be run as Hostels or dormitory clubs for the single workers and as flats for the married workers.
2. That all skilled labour in this factory be pooled and used as a common pool for ordnance factories to draw from. Transfer of labour to be on a rota system. No worker to be transferred for more than six months at a time without his consent.
3. That the conditions of employment, wages etc. be comparable with those obtaining at this factory.
4. That the A.E.U. Shop Stewards Committee be consulted in all such transfers and that the right of this committee to obtain fair treatment for its transferred members be recognised. All such transfers to be within the R.O.F. group.

In return for the above concessions the Shop Stewards Committee will guarantee to see that the transfer of labour is carried out to the advantage of the Ministry of Supply, i.e. that the best of skilled labour suitable for the particular job will be selected by the stewards, and that transfers will be carried out in a regular and orderly manner. That any demand made on

such as the R.O.F., the men resent going to work in private firms.

A deputation has been sent to London to put the ideas of the R.O.F. workers before the responsible authorities. These ideas will be presented to the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Supply, in the form of a memorandum which is reproduced below.

the Shop Stewards Committee for extra or essential effort at any other R.O.F. will be met with the complete and intelligent co-operation of the stewards and the skilled workers concerned.

It is the considered opinion of the R.O.F. workers that this memorandum contains the only practical solution to the transfer of labour from this factory—consistent with the interests and well-being of the workers.

The deputation has the advantage of having the complete confidence of the R.O.F. workers and consists of the convenor—Bro. Pemberton, the chairman—Bro. Nightingale, and Bro. Clarke. The officials they have met will do well to note carefully what they have to say, as they reflect the mood and temper of the workers whose resentment is rising at the mismanagement and incapacity of the present controllers of production.

C. BARTHOLOMEW.

Betteshanger Miners Resist Police Attempt to Collect Fines

The Betteshanger miners returned to work, having gained a magnificent strike victory on the promise of their leaders Grenfel and Edwards, that all their demands would be met. Demands for the minimum wage, the back payment on wages deducted from certain of the men's paypackets, the release of their leaders from imprisonment under the E.W.O. and the quashing of the fines.

However, the government has not let the matter drop. They still believe that some "punishment" be inflicted on the Betteshanger miners for daring to stand up for their legitimate trade union rights.

The latest news received from the Betteshanger miners is as follows: "The police attempted to collect the fines in a few cases last week. It was reported to the union officials, who immediately went to see the person at

saved the situation by paying the fines. The miners themselves could easily have taken this course, but they knew that it would not solve the situation, the Government could play a cat and mouse policy and fine the lads again.

TROTSKYISTS IN ULSTER

Extracts from Letter by BOB ARMSTRONG

The report reproduced below is sent us by Comrade Bob Armstrong, well-known militant and fighter in the cause of the working class. One of the leading members of our Belfast section, he fought in Spain in the International Brigade, where he was wounded. On his return to Britain, he became an official speaker for the International Brigade Dependents Aid Committee. His turn to the Fourth International was the logical outcome of his realisation that Stalinism and the Third In-

Our members are young and almost without exception, comparative newcomers to the organised Labour movement. This is not to say that they are not interested in or capable of tackling theoretical difficulties. However, it was felt in some respects that we had a different set of problems from you. No conscription; the split in the Labour movement being along somewhat different lines here, etc. Your criticism of the slogan for a "Third Labour Government" clears up the only lingering doubt we had as to whether or not our attitude to this question coincided. The Workers' International League slogan of "Labour to Power" is absolutely applicable to both North and South.

We have been, of late, subjected to a campaign of threats and intimidation from both the Home Office and the Stalinists. My interrogation at the Special Crimes Department was, some of it, utterly fantastic. "Are you trying to break the Anglo-Soviet Pact?" "Do you consider Stalin's Government legal?" "Aren't you trying to disrupt the Communist Party?"

Canterbury responsible for authorising the police to collect the fines, and told him in no uncertain terms what the result would be if the police attempted to collect them. He agreed to postpone it for one month."

If the Government, assisted by the miners' leaders Ebby Edwards and Mr. Grenfel, are seriously contemplating forcing the issue, they will get the answer in terms of militant working class action. The Betteshanger Miners' leaders—Powell, Davis, Methuen

and the others backed by the solidarity of the miners, led a magnificent struggle in which it was amply demonstrated that if the E.W.O. was to be used against anybody, it should be used against the management. The lessons have not been lost on the Betteshanger miners.

representatives from the Pit Production Committees. Down with the Pit Production Committees which tie the hands of the workers. Fight for the operation of the mines under workers' control!

ternational, by its reactionary Popular Front policy of class collaboration, had betrayed the Spanish working class and led the way to the victory of Fascism. Comrade Armstrong was one of the six comrades who were expelled from the Islington Communist Party during the early period of 1939, for opposing the same Popular Front policy in Britain which was carried out in Spain and which led to the defeat of the Spanish working class.

[Editor

Anonymous letters are the latest tactics. "Fifth Columnists—beware! The Government is watching you!" etc., etc. They have even written to one comrade's father. We anticipate that letters to employers will be the next step.

The London "Times" report (that there was to be an investigation into the "communists or people with Communist ideas in the Belfast Labour Party) assuredly refers to us. The right wing opportunists are in league with the Stalinists and employ exactly the same methods and epithets in combatting us.

As for the Communist Party, it is a stagnant cesspool. Despite an unprecedented opportunity, they have registered no gains over the past year. In the South, the Party is officially liquidated, following a threat from De Valera. All the "leaders" came up here. Draw your own conclusions. Months ago Stormont raised the ban on the "Irish Workers Weekly"; yet it has not appeared.

The report appearing in the "New Leader" concerning the "Socialist" Party is facetious, to put it mildly. This party stands for 100% support for the war. It favours a bureaucratic "deal" over the Border issue—Ireland will get unity and Britain a new ally. It somehow contrives to support Churchill, De Valera and the Republicans all at one and the same time. Its membership has dwindled from 120 to a mere handful.

While our own membership is very small, its activity puts the other movements in the shade. In the immediate future our main field of expansion will be in industry. All our comrades are proletarians in the strict Marxist sense of the term. We have a well attended Marxist study class and several comrades have attained a very satisfactory political level.

to return the manuscript and ask for a refund of the advancement.

Both the widow and the close political associates of Leon Trotsky were anxious to see the Stalin biography published and they reached an agreement with the publishers to produce the seven chapters and the rough draft either as an appendix or as additional chapters.

Harper and Brothers thereupon hired Mr. Charles Malamuth to translate the manuscript from the original Russian into English. Malamuth was a political adversary of Trotsky. He belongs to the clique of renegade intellectuals who regard Stalinism as the logical development of Bolshevism; a theme the most prominent advocate of which is Souvarine. A theme which Trotsky spent a large part of his time attacking, not least of all in the chapters of the work which Malamuth was "translating".

It turned out, however, when the manuscript was completed, that Malamuth, with the permission of the publishers, had not only translated but "edited" Trotsky's work. He had written into it the direct opposite of the author's views in the guise of "connecting sentences". Chapter XI, for example, consists of 29 pages approximately one half of which belong not to the author, but to the "editor".

In many other respects Malamuth's editing is nothing but a running polemic with Trotsky.

If the publishers and translator had been interested in explaining certain sections of the notes, they would have submitted the interpolations either to Natalia Trotsky or to the closest co-workers of Trotsky, but they did not. This failure to do so proves that they were not interested in explaining anything, but only with contradicting the whole theory expounded by the author.

The protests of Trotsky's friends to Malamuth and the publishers were of no avail. A suit to enjoin the publication and distribution was therefore filed. The case is still pending but in the meantime the book has been withdrawn from publication, not through a court injunction, but due to the pressure of Stalin applied through the U.S. Government. The manuscript was printed some months after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, and copies of the book were sent to the reviewers recently. It was only after this came to the attention of Litvinov, Stalin's agent in Washington, that the hint was passed on to the State Department and thence to Harpers. They certainly would not have withdrawn it without pressure, as a patriotic gesture, after having invested money in the publication.

In these two acts: the falsification of the ideas of Trotsky in a book presented as his production; and the

our members again and again respond in a manner worthy of their historic responsibilities. That we will receive the utmost from our members we are confident. We address our appeal here primarily to our close supporters and sympathisers who have not yet pledged themselves to any specific amount this month. We ask them to make their own figure.

The conditions for the growth and development of our tendency are more favourable now than ever before; Trotskyism has more roots today in the organised labour movement, especially the shop stewards movement, than at any time in the past; the workers generally are receptive to our policy during the present period; every copy of the Socialist Appeal sold now will reap manifold results for our organisation in the near future. The circulation of our paper is limited only by financial considerations.

AMOUNTS GUARANTEED BY MAY 31st

LONDON

	£	s.	d.
Kilburn	3	15	0
Shepherds Bush	2	0	0
Southall	1	10	0
East End	5	0	0
South	10	0	0
Edmonton	5	0	0
Islington	2	0	0
Anonymous	1	0	0
Willesden	10	0	0
Total	30	15	0

PROVINCES

Glasgow	5	0	0
Edinburgh	2	0	0
Motherwell	1	0	0
Nottingham	5	0	0
Birmingham	3	0	0
Coventry	2	0	0
Liverpool and Birkenhead	5	0	0
Burnley	2	0	0
Wolverhampton	1	10	0
Leeds	3	0	0
Northampton	10	0	0
Slough	2	0	0
Bristol	3	0	0
Derby	1	0	0
Barnet	5	0	0
R.A.F. Wilts	2	0	0
Grantham	12	6	0
Welwyn Garden City	1	5	0

£70 17 6

Amounts Received

	£	s.	d.
Kilburn	15	0	0
Shepherds Bush	5	10	0
Edmonton	10	0	0
Islington	2	0	0
Anonymous	1	0	0
Willesden	10	0	0
Total	10	5	0
Slough	2	0	0
Barnet	5	0	0
Grantham Shop Steward	12	6	0
Welwyn Garden City	1	5	0
Total	14	7	0

suppression of the work, for diplomatic reasons, is revealed the depths to which culture is debased in the interests of the ruling capitalist class. It is also revealing as a measure of the hypocrisy of Malamuth and the tribe who with him wax indignant at the "amoralism" of Bolshevism.

What to Read . .

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- TRADE UNIONS 1d
- STALINISM & BOLSHEVISM 2d
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SOCIALIST APPEAL
ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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EDITORIAL

THE SECOND FRONT

Spring opens up the new battle period on the Eastern front. Despite severe mauling at the hands of the Red Army, nine tenths of the German army is being massed and organised on the borders of the Soviet Union for the most terrific onslaught in world history.

Meanwhile, the tired and heroic Red Army is compelled to face the Nazi war machine alone. In this situation, the question of how best to serve the interests of the British and American ruling classes has aroused sharp differences within the ranks of the bourgeoisie. These differences have been underlined by the outburst of an unprecedented polemical struggle in the newspapers of the capitalist class. That these differences are not of a principled but of a tactical character is shown by the whole background of the contestants.

"Never, never will the world forgive Stalin for his butchery. Where will his grasping hand try to make its next grab?"

Such was the theme of the "Daily Express" at the time of the Finnish war, the paper of none other than Beaverbrook, who is today the noisiest proponent for the Second Front to assist Stalin.

Beaverbrook represents that section of the ruling class which is now confident that the Soviet Union is sufficiently weakened, that, even in the event of victory she will be completely dependent upon British and American imperialism. He represents that section which is sufficiently confident too, that due to the counter-revolutionary role of Stalin, the Soviet Union could no longer survive.

On the other hand, the bitter opponents of the Second Front, are the Munichers and the "Cliveden Set." This, the most reactionary section of the British capitalist class, is not yet satisfied that the Soviet Union is sufficiently weakened. In spite of Stalin, they stand terrorised before the spectre of the revolution spreading throughout Europe. Their policy of mutual exhaustion of their two enemies is to be pursued to the end. . . .

Whether Churchill opens up the Second Front, or whether he decides against the Second Front, will be dependent entirely upon the interests of British Imperialism. Appeals by working class organisations do not and will not influence such decisions in the least. The Communist Party, in telling the workers that they will influence the issue merely by appeals serve to deceive and confuse them. Instead of applying

WORKERS' DAY—1942

By A. SCOTT

May Day 1942 sees the working class of the entire world facing the most difficult circumstances. In Hitler's Europe and in Asia the totalitarian machine prevents the workers from openly celebrating their day of international solidarity at all. In the "democracies" the capitalists hypocritically pretend to support the ideals for which this day stands. And their lackeys of the Labour and Communist Parties vie with each other in making use of the traditions of May Day in order to turn it into its very opposite. Instead of the 8-hour day, the first and greatest demand of May Day in the past, they eagerly accept longer hours; instead of the class struggle they offer class collaboration; instead of international solidarity of labour they call for the continuation and extension of imperialist war, with the workers of every country slaughtering each other without end; instead of the solution of the workers' problems through class independence, they offer only the intensification of these problems through the acceptance of the continued rule of capitalism.

From the capitalist class nothing else was expected. Their abuse of this May Day is only a variation of their abuse of every other May Day in the past. But the gross betrayals of the Labour Party and Communist Party leaders come at a time when every event of our time throughout the world calls for the independence of the workers, for the class struggle, for the taking of power.

For nearly three years the war has been spreading like a black plague from the confines of Poland to the farthest corners of the globe. In Britain there has gone with this an increasingly critical attitude of the masses towards the Government's claim that the war is being fought for "democracy" and the rights of nations. In particular, the events of Malaya, Burma and now India have sent waves of doubt spreading through the ranks of the workers. It is at such a time, when the workers' confidence in the ruling class is diminishing rapidly, that the leaders of the Labour and Communist Parties choose to re-

affirm their faith in the capitalist class, its leader Churchill and its Old School Tie officer caste in the army. The cry of the Pollitts and the Bevins, that to carry on the class struggle is to help Hitler, is exactly the opposite of the truth! A real fight against fascism will only be possible on the basis of the workers basing their actions firmly on the traditions of May Day, that is, the traditions of relying on their own powers and not on subservience to the capitalists.

In Europe the enslaved peoples are waiting eagerly for an opportunity to cast off the chains of Nazi slavery. In Asia the enslaved masses of China and Manchuria look forward to the breaking of the Japanese yoke. In India and Africa the colonial peoples watch the crumbling of British imperial power and see that the day of their liberation is not so far off as they may have thought.

These stirrings among the masses of both the advanced countries and the enslaved, backward areas of the earth are but portents of what is to come.

Imperialism sits uneasily in the seats of power. Neither side can be victorious by military means alone. They can only go on battering at each other indefinitely till the resources of the world have been destroyed.

The dilemma which the imperialists face is that the same antagonisms which led to the war have become intensified in the very course of the war. This has rendered impossible the continued existence as Great Powers of Britain and America on the one side, and of Germany and Japan on the other. There is not room in the world for more than one group of dominant Powers.

Though uneasy, the imperialists delude themselves that they hold the reins firmly in their hands. The complete paralysis of the working class because of the failure of the leadership of their mass organisations to give a revolutionary alternative, has given a false appearance of solidarity and strength to the tottering structure of imperialism.

To the imperialists, the discontent

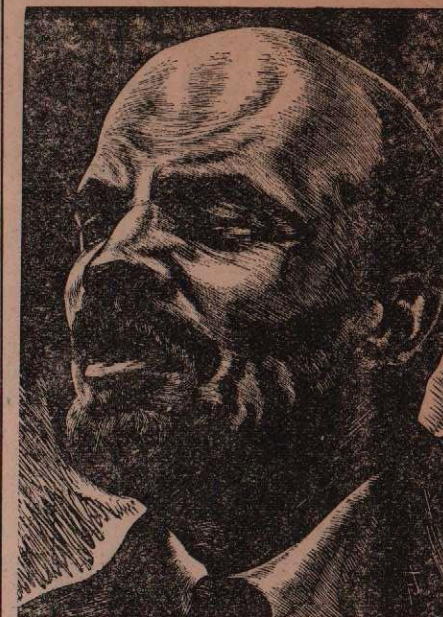
of the workers seems like a cloud no bigger than a man's hand. But for those with eyes to see, it is an indication of the gathering storm. The betrayed and tortured masses are beginning to see that world capitalism threatens to destroy them altogether. Dimly and instinctively they are beginning to realise that there is no way of saving mankind from being reduced to barbarism except by taking power into their own hands.

The masses will not tolerate the war indefinitely. Indeed, it is unlikely that even another winter or two will pass without serious cracks appearing in the structure of world imperialism. The war will be ended, not by the imperialists meeting in the mirrored halls of Versailles or under the dome of the Capitol, but by the Socialist Revolution of the working class.

Instead of accepting the jingoism of the ruling class and the fratricidal slaughter of its wars, they will march under the banner of the collaboration of the peoples of Europe and Asia—of the peoples of the entire world.

Imperialism has bound the fate of the workers of the world together. It is now clear to even the most backward worker that what happens in Germany, or China, or Peru directly affects his own life. The international solidarity of labour is no empty phrase, but a reality. In spite of the betrayals of the leadership of the working class it will find its way to the hearts of the masses. They will realise that the struggle against fascism, the struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union, is the struggle to build an international movement which genuinely represents the interests of the workers of the world.

On this May Day we re-affirm across the blood-stained continents the international brotherhood of Labour. In Britain, Workers' International League proudly carries on the traditions of Marx and Engels, of Lenin and Trotsky. Under this banner we will build a leadership which, together with the Fourth International in other lands will lead the masses out of the nightmare of war into a future of genuine peace and plenty.



**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 academies by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
10. Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of

Whether Churchill opens up the Second Front, or whether he decides against the Second Front, will be dependent entirely upon the interests of British Imperialism. Appeals by working class organisations do not and will not influence such decisions in the least. The Communist Party, in telling the workers that they will influence the issue merely by appeals serve to deceive and confuse them. Instead of applying the criterion of Marx and Lenin to the problem, instead of showing clearly the class content of the policies of the ruling class, they have given full support to Churchill. If the working class were strong enough to force on the government a policy opposed to the interests of the class it represents—then obviously it is powerful enough to take power into its own hands and eject the entire upper crust of incompetents, profiteers and exploiters who control the destiny of the nation at the present time.

Among the British and American workers and soldiers there has grown a powerful desire to render all assistance to the Soviet Union and at the same time destroy Hitler. And in this, the class instinct of the workers and soldiers is correct. What then is the genuine policy that will offer the workers a real means of smashing Hitlerism and helping the workers' state? This can only be a policy of the struggle for power by the working class. By this means alone will the foundations of Hitler's power be undermined. No longer will the German workers feel themselves compelled to accept him for fear of Churchill imposing another Versailles on the German masses.

If necessary, a Second Front would be established by the British workers to aid the German workers in overthrowing Hitler and giving real aid to the Soviet Union. Unlike an invasion under imperialist rule which would ruthlessly suppress an uprising of the workers aimed at the overthrow of capitalism, a workers' army would be an army of liberation. Together with the German and European workers they will establish the United Socialist States of Europe.

Always and under all conditions the workers must rely on their own forces, organisations and powers. All other roads are but a deception and a trap which can only lead to disaster. Especially is this the case on the fundamental question of war.

We can do no better than cite Lenin in guiding the workers to a correct evaluation of the situation. These words of Lenin apply with as much force today as when they were written in November 1918:

"The Mensheviks deceived the people in a most despicable manner by calling this war a defensive or revolutionary war; and by approving the policy of the Mensheviks, Kautsky is approving the deception practised on the people, is approving the part played by the petty bourgeoisie who are helping capital to trick the workers and to harness them to the chariot of the imperialists. Kautsky is advocating a characteristically petty bourgeois philistine policy by pretending (and trying to make the masses believe the absurd idea) that putting forward a slogan alters the position. The entire history of bourgeois democracy refutes this illusion; the bourgeois democrats have always advanced, and still advance, all sorts of attractive "slogans" in order to deceive the people. The point is to test their sincerity, to compare their words with their deeds, not to be satisfied with idealistic charlatan phrases, but to get down to class reality. An imperialist war does not cease to be an imperialist war when charlatans or phrasemongers or petty bourgeois philistines put forward sentimental "slogans"; it ceases to be such only when the class which is conducting the imperialist war, and which is bound to it by millions of economic threads (and sometimes ropes), is overthrown and is replaced at the helm of state by the really revolutionary class, the proletariat. There is no other way of getting out of an imperialist war, and out of an imperialist and predatory peace."

Burma and New India have sent waves of doubt spreading through the ranks of the workers. It is at such a time, when the workers' confidence in the ruling class is diminishing rapidly, that the leaders of the Labour and Communist Parties choose to re-

of their mass organisations to give a revolutionary alternative, has given a false appearance of solidarity and strength to the tottering structure of imperialism.

To the imperialists, the discontent

ions of Marx and Engels, of Lenin and Trotsky. Under this banner we will build a leadership which, together with the Fourth International in other lands will lead the masses out of the nightmare of war into a future of genuine peace and plenty.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION IS NOT THE ANSWER—

Chief Defence Council and Defendant in the U.S.A. Sedition Trial — Sentenced to 16 months Imprisonment — Albert Goldman expounds the Socialist alternative, the Military Policy of the Fourth International.

The indictment charges us with conspiring to create insurrection and disobedience in the armed forces of the United States. It is important to discuss our so-called military policy. The government depends upon that policy, I think, in its attempt to convince you that we are guilty of that section of the indictment.

When the question of compulsory military service was first taken up in Congress and a discussion upon it began in the country, our party felt it necessary to take a position on that question.

As you know, there are people in this country who are pacifists and conscientious objectors who, under no circumstances, would fight in the armed forces or even allow themselves to be drafted for military service. There are many socialists who take a similar stand.

We, on the other hand, considered the situation from its fundamental aspect, namely, that in this epoch when fascism has come upon the scene with its horrible violence, it is futile not to recognise the fact that all important questions will be settled by military means. Not only futile, but extremely dangerous! Of all groups in society, we are most vehemently opposed to war but so long as war exists in the world and so long as there are fascists ready to use violence against the working class, every worker has the duty of training to defend himself. Young people will have to go to war whether they like it or not and since that is the case, we are in favour of having our youth trained in the arts of war. Modern warfare requires great technical skill and he is foolish who does not understand that it is necessary to acquire that skill.

We cannot tell the young generation to oppose military training when we know that it will be dragged into war. And it is on the basis of this fundamental proposition that we say to the young men: Do not resist compulsory military training; go into the army and do your best to get the training necessary to defend yourselves against the enemy from without and—we also added—against the enemy from within. In a world where fascism and violence and war dominates the scene, it is necessary for you to accept military training in order to defend yourselves.

Naturally, we would like our members, wherever they are, in the factory or in a union or in the army, to propagate our ideas, but we understand that the army is not a place where one can speak as freely as outside of the army. We don't like it but we are realistic enough to understand that in the army it is necessary to be cautious. Just as a trade unionist in an open shop must be careful in propagating his ideas for trade unionism, so must a soldier in the army be careful in propagating ideas frowned upon by the generals. In the army, of course, it is far more dangerous to propagate socialism than it is to propagate trade unionism in an open shop. The greatest open shop institution in this country is the United States Army.

Conditions in our army are not so bad as they were fifty or a hundred years ago. There was a time when it was impossible for a human being who was not brutalized to remain in the army. That has been changed and not without a struggle.

FOR EQUAL RIGHTS IN THE ARMY

At present we advocate the idea that soldiers in the army should be on terms of equality with the officers. We consider the private soldiers equal in every way, except from the point of view of technical training, to the officers and we insist that they be treated in the same way as officers are treated. We advocate legislation compelling the officers to treat privates with respect and to change the rules which permit officers in charge of a military tribunal to inflict inhuman punishment for some minor infraction of the Military Code.

The government has introduced evidence that we urge the soldiers to kick about their food. I do not know whether there have been complaints about food in the army. If the food is not good, then the soldiers, including members of our party who are drafted, should kick about the food. If the prosecution is interested in preventing such complaints about the food, then let it see to it that the soldiers are provided with good food. Are we in a situation where soldiers must eat rotten food without complaining? That seems to be the theory of the prosecution.

MILITARY TRAINING UNDER TRADE UNION CONTROL.

We have put forth the idea of military training under trade union control. As Mr. Cannon testified, a training camp was operated in Plattsburg, New York, for the purpose of training business men and professional men as officers, and the government furnished the necessary funds. Why not have training camps where the trade unions could train their men both as soldiers and as officers?

In our opinion the great majority of generals and higher officers in the army are hostile to the labouring class. The higher officers are raised and trained in an environment which makes them hostile to the workers. They are not interested in democracy or in fighting for democracy. Have not the events in France confirmed our opinion in that respect? The American and British generals are not any different from the French generals. Who surrendered to Germany? Not the rank and file, but Petain and Weygand and the other generals in command of the French army. Who permitted the Germans to enter Norway? Not the rank and file soldiers, but the fascists in the upper ranks. We say plainly that we do not trust the generals and higher officers to fight for democracy.

Because of that we propose that the trade unions train their own officers—officers in whom the workers can have confidence and whom they can control. And you must remember, when you consider this point, that the trade unions are not under the control of the Socialist Workers Party, but under the control of men who are, from our viewpoint, very conservative, and even reactionary. Still, rather than have officers trained at West Point, we prefer to have them trained under trade union control because the trade unions are organizations of workers. Furthermore, you must remember that our programme of military training under trade union control is a legislative programme. We want Congress to pass legislation making such training possible by appropriating fund for that purpose.

9. Establishment of military academies by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
10. Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or Petainism.
11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the Colonies.
12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe on the basis of this programme in Britain to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

Of course, as with all other activities and policies of the Socialist Workers Party, our idea of military training under trade union control is evidence, as far as the prosecution is concerned, of a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force. No matter what we do, it is taken by the government as evidence of this conspiracy. If we opposed military training, that would constitute evidence of a conspiracy; when we are for military training, that is brought in as evidence of a conspiracy!

WHY WE WANT WORKERS DEFENCE GUARDS

Another policy of ours which the government introduced as evidence of a conspiracy is our proposal of establishing Workers Defence Guards. We have no hesitation to admit that we would like to see the workers create such defence guards. I shall even admit—and let the government make the most of it—that if Workers Defence Guards should be created, they would defend the revolution of the majority against the violence of the minority. We shall do our utmost to create Workers Defence Guards so that when the majority of the people take power, it will be able to put down any revolt by the minority.

The charge that is levelled against us, you must remember, is that we are conspiring to overthrow and to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. The government must first prove that charge beyond a reasonable doubt, and it cannot prove it by introducing evidence that we advise the establishment of Workers Defence Guards or a Union Defence Guard. If the jury agrees with me that we do not advocate the use of violence, but predict that the minority will use violence against the majority, then everything else is immaterial. It is perfectly proper for us to propose to workers the idea of creating defence guards to protect them against fascist violence, and mind you, we are not advocating a policy of creating defence guards of our own members. We want the workers to build these defence guards.

MASSES LOSING CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT

(Continued from front page)

ent candidate was elected. But the clearest and most decisive indication of all was given by the result of the Wallasey election. On a programme of "common ownership of the means of production", the former Labour Party member Alderman Reakes was elected by a large majority! This in a constituency with a strong middle class vote and formerly a fairly safe Tory seat. Cripps' brother, who intervened on a "non-party" independent platform did not even succeed in retaining his deposit.

In the areas which the I.L.P. contested they received a substantial proportion of the Labour vote, but did not win the majority of working class supporters primarily because of their pacifist or semi-pacifist position and their negative sectarian approach.

A particularly pernicious role in these elections was played by the so-called Communist Party. In all the elections they attempted to influence the voters to support the government candidate. These "communists" attempted to utilise the stirring resistance of the Red Army in their appeals to the electorate to support the representatives of Big Business! Despite all their propaganda, the decisive majority of the workers refused to be diverted from expressing their growing opposition and mistrust of the capitalists and bankers who control the policy of the Churchill Government.

The capitalists and their representatives have realised clearly the lesson of these elections. Commenting on Sir Stafford Cripps' speech appealing for "economic democracy" after the war, the "Times" comments:

"The country is in a mood to respond to such a programme. Recent bye-elections are among many symptoms which show that the challenge of a positive appeal will bring fresh heart and fresh enthusiasm to the ordinary citizen bearing without complaint (!) the burden and the drabness of war on the home front. The candidate who can offer such an appeal will in the long run win the suffrages of the electorate."

The ruling class has seen the striking fact that all the anti-government candidates achieved victory on the basis of left demagoguery; of an anti-capitalist, anti-profiteering appeal on the basis of a more efficient organisation of production to "prosecute the struggle against Hitlerism"; and lastly, on the basis of more help for the Soviet

ership is false and shameful? They claim to be in the Government in the interests of waging a war against fascism; in the interests of the working class. But they have entered into a truce with those elements who represent the bankers and financiers who subsidised, armed and helped to organise Hitler and his gangsters. They talk about "equality of sacrifice" while the big monopolies continue to pile up profits at the expense of the toilers. They ask the workers to accept lower rations, while the rich live well. They shout for increased production by greater strain and effort on the part of the workers, while the profits and greed of the bosses impedes and sabotages production. *And they persist in remaining with the capitalists as their obedient tools and lackeys.*

They tell us, "national unity" is necessary to defeat fascism! But the feeling among the people is that "national unity" with the ruling class is leading the people to major disaster, both on the home front and the military front; that "national unity" is leading to the strengthening of reaction at home and fascism abroad. In reality, the reason is that these "leaders" are content with the present line up—they are content to remain tied to the millionaire combines and banks. If the labour leaders would end the so-called political truce and fight for a general election on a fighting Socialist policy—on the programme of the *Socialist Appeal*—they would obtain an overwhelming majority throughout the country. In the past the Labour leaders have always used the excuse that the workers were not ready for a "full socialist case". Today that excuse is shown to be completely exposed. It is these so-called leaders who are holding the struggle back. The workers are only waiting for an enthusiastic, positive lead. They are looking for a way out of the impasse in which they have found themselves. Shame on those who have no faith and no confidence in the working class. These bye-elections have been a means of demonstrating the correct class instincts of the workers. Their progressive aspirations are being utilised and misdirected by these fake left opportunists. *Now is the time to harness this feeling in the interests of Socialism.*

Workers' International League believes that the solution of the prob-

I.L.P. CONFERENCE

Revolutionary Left Emerging

At its Annual Conference, held at Morecombe at Easter Week-end, the I.L.P. reaffirmed its principled opposition to the war. Alone of the traditional parties of the British working class, it challenged the character of the war; denied it was being waged for democracy; proclaimed it as imperialist on the part of the British, American and German Governments and proposed socialism as an alternative to imperialist carnage and slaughter.

In this the I.L.P. stands on the platform of socialism as opposed to the patriotic, chauvinistic policy of the Labour Leaders, Stalinists and other traitors within the ranks of the Labour Movement. But on the key questions of how to implement the Socialist programme, the platform and its lieutenants had only a negative answer.

On the central question of *military* policy—a policy of arms for the workers and workers' control of the arms, there was silence and utter confusion on the part of the platform. Resolutions were passed of:

"Greetings to all our members and to all workers in the armed forces."

"Greetings to the conscientious objectors throughout the country."

These are the polar expressions of the utter confusion which reigns inside the party. Instead of a clear cut unified military policy which a revolutionary party would expect its members to implement in a disciplined manner, the I.L.P. leadership suggests that every member should carry out the dictates of his own personal conscience! With such a frivolous attitude it will be impossible to make the socialist revolution.

On the problems facing the industrial workers within the party and the workers as a whole, there was no discussion, nor any policy outlined by the leadership or the conference. Whether the party members should support, participate in, or oppose joint production committees was left hanging in the air. On this question too the members were, to all appearances, left to follow their conscience! No attempt was made by the leadership to explain the reactionary character of the joint production committees or to instruct the rank and file as to what form of propaganda and activity must be undertaken in regard to them. Failing to face up to this issue the leadership was incapable of propagating and explaining the concrete transitional idea of "workers' control" as expounded in the "Socialist Appeal."

So also on the question of political tactics and the relations of the party to the mass organisations of the working class. But here the leadership

National Government and wage a campaign for power on the basis of the nationalisation of the banks, land and basic industries without compensation to the present owners. ; etc."

The discussion on this question showed a healthy tendency on the part of the rank and file to discard the sectarian policy of the leadership with regard to the mass organisations; it showed a healthy tendency to demand that the leadership of the party conduct a struggle against the Labour leaders to expose them in deeds as well as in words.

On the one hand the I.L.P. leadership adopts an ultra left and sectarian attitude and refrains from exposing the Labour leaders by demanding that they break with the capitalist class and conduct a struggle for socialism. On the other hand it adopts an opportunist policy and refrains from putting up candidates against the Labour Party at the bye-elections.

Suspicion that the Party leadership was evading a direct challenge to the Labour leaders on this latter question was strongly voiced from the conference. delegates when a resolution was opposed by the N.A.C. which demanded that "the I.L.P. . . make a stand against the Labour Party at bye-elections." The resolution was defeated on the plea of Jimmy Maxton that it was a practical problem which would solve itself with the development of the necessary conditions for conducting a struggle.

But it was on the question of the Soviet Union that the centrist character of the leadership, in particular, the "left" wing of the leadership, found fullest expression.

The Resolution on Soviet Russia stated that "Under Stalin's leadership (!) however, great progress was made in industrial, agricultural, social and economic development, and in the advance of the material and cultural conditions of the workers and peasants, for which the I.L.P. repeatedly congratulated the Soviet Government. . ."

This completely false and capitulatory statement reveals that the I.L.P. leadership learn nothing and are even incapable of learning!

Far from Stalin's "leadership" being responsible for the advances of the Soviet Union, it has been the greatest possible brake upon Soviet developments. The economic and cultural development of Russia has arisen as the result of the new social basis introduced by the October Revolution. Just as the Citrines and the Bevins of the Trade Union movement were not responsible for the advances made by the organised workers in Britain;

CEYLON Fourth Internationalists Illegalised

The policy of repression of the masses that British imperialism intends to continue in India was demonstrated when Governor Sir Andrew Caldecott of Ceylon decreed the suppression of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon Socialist Party), adherent of the Fourth International.

This repressive move is undoubtedly connected with the growing political crisis in India, with whose fate that of Ceylon is intimately bound up. The Lanka Sama Samaja is a source of "infection" of major significance for the coming revolutionary developments in the fight for Indian independence.

The numerous successes of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in mobilising the workers and peasants in political and economic struggles against the Ceylon Planters Association and the Crown Colony government has

of the development of Soviet Russia since the Revolution, the I.L.P. leaders manage to do this without even mentioning the role and policy of Trotsky and the Russian opposition. Nor yet is it an accident that the N.A.C. chose Bob Edwards to push over this "potted history," as one delegate termed it. The I.L.P. leaders have yet to define their principled attitude to the Soviet Union and to Stalinism—that they have not yet done so is only so that they can compromise and capitulate to Stalinism on the morrow.

On the whole the conference showed a definite improvement over last year. Then the principal discussions were between the pro-war C. A. Smith and the pacifists; now they centred on the pacifists and the growing revolutionary socialist wing. The larger number of delegates showed a more youthful and proletarian composition which is to be welcomed. The discussions showed a definite groping on the part of the rank and file for a genuinely revolutionary programme which would act as a bridge from the present situation to the Socialist Britain.

The left wing were mainly young and still undeveloped. But despite their weakness the fighting spirit they displayed is an indication that the process of differentiation which is taking place within the whole of the working class is having repercussions in the I.L.P.

The tasks of the more developed revolutionists is to assist in training these young workers to face up to their historic responsibilities. By teaching them Bolshevik theory and Bolshevik history; in clarifying their ideas by intense political discussions;

been a source of inspiration to the revolutionists of India. Founded as recently as 1935, the L.S.S.P. has had a phenomenal growth, soon becoming the authoritative leadership of large masses of Ceylon workers and peasants. Combining electoral and mass activity with Bolshevik flexibility, the Party won two seats in the State Council in the very first election in which it participated, forced through an act limiting the working day to 10 hours instead of the previous 12 and 16, and led numerous strikes to victory.

From the first, the L.S.S.P. has published its propaganda in three languages: Sinhalese, English and Tamil. This literature quickly found its way the short distance to the main land of India and was largely instrumental in inspiring the recent formation of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India and, more recently, the establishment of the Federation of Bolshevik-Leninist Parties of India, Burma and Ceylon, adhering to the Fourth International.

On April 9th, the *Times* prominently featured the following despatch from its Colombo (Ceylon) correspondent:

"Four Ceylonese who have been confined under the Defence of the Realm Ordinance in the detention barracks at Kandy escaped early this morning. It is presumed that they left with their gaol guard who is missing. The men are Dr. N. M. Perera and Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardene, members of the State Council (Parliament), Dr. Colin R. de Silva, a barrister and Mr. Edmund Samarakody, a solicitor.

"They have been in detention since June 1940 and are members of the banned Lanka Samasamajist—'A' Equal—Party, which is affiliated to the Fourth International. Another member of the Party, Mr. Leslie Gunawardene, an advocate, has been evading arrest since 1940. Last Thursday the State Council again granted the Samasamajist members three months' leave of absence as it was physically impossible for them to attend the meetings."

The formal suppression of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party coincided with Sir Stafford Cripps' visit to India. An appropriate symbol! We are sure that it will be so understood by the advanced sections of the workers and peasants in India. But repressions will no longer save British rule over India. This latest move is an act of desperation which will produce no results for the British imperialists.

The Stalinists have suppressed the fact that Governor Caldecott of Ceylon has also suppressed the Socialist

candidates achieved victory on the basis of left demogogy; of an anti-capitalist, anti-profitereering appeal on the basis of a more efficient organisation of production to "prosecute the struggle against Hitlerism"; and lastly, on the basis of more help for the Soviet Union.

Unmistakably, despite all the efforts of the Labour leaders, despite all the efforts of the Communist Party leaders to hold the masses in check, the war itself is pushing them irresistably in the direction of Socialism. The only thing holding this development back, is the betrayal of the Labour, Trade Union and C.P. leadership. The verdict of the working class electorate is clear. *They are demanding by their votes an end to the electoral truce.* They have given a vote of no-confidence in the policy of the official labour leaders.

Comrades of the Labour Party and Trade Unions, Comrades of the Co-op, Comrades of the factory Committees, Comrades of the whole Labour movement! Is it not clear that the policy of the Labour and Trade Union lead-

ers. Their progressive aspirations are being utilised and misdirected by these fake left opportunists. *Now is the time to harness this feeling in the interests of Socialism.*

Workers' International League believes that the solution of the problems which confront the working class can only be solved by the workers taking power into their own hands. But the first step in this direction must be re-establishment of the independence of the organisations of the working class from subordination to the bosses. While the workers still have faith and trust in their leaders we will fight side by side with them to put these leaders to the test. In this way we believe that the correctness of our ideas will become apparent to the whole of the working class.

The Labour leaders claim to represent the interests and aspirations of the workers: the workers have demonstrated their desires!

The coalition must be ended! Labour must take power! Put into force the programme of the "Socialist Appeal!"

HANDS OFF THE "SOCIALIST APPEAL!"

(Continued from front page)

The atrocities perpetrated by British imperialism in Burma were directly responsible for the death of thousands of British soldiers in the jungles and swamps of Burma, and also for any barbarities which the Japanese imperialists have instigated and encouraged against those who were captured.

What is it about this picture and article that has so aroused Sir Jocelyn? The answer is not far to seek. These items stripped British imperialism of its ersatz covering of "democracy". They went straight to the heart of one of the central deceptions of the war—the tale that the imperialists of Britain are leading a fight in defence of democracy against the forces of freedom and national oppression.

Both the British workers at home and the soldiers who have been sent abroad have every desire to wage war to the death against fascism and national oppression, but events are hammering into them that when they attempt to do this under the leadership and control of the oppressors of Malayan and Burmese people, they are treated by the masses of these countries not as allies and liberators but as enslavers.

If Burma had been granted genuine freedom, then not only would this position have been remedied but it would have been made entirely unnecessary for even a single British soldier to have been sent to defend Burma from the Japanese conquerors. For the millions of Burmese workers and peasants would have been aroused in a genuine war in defence of their liberty, and the handful of Japanese who have conquered their land would have been completely impotent against an armed and mobilised nation of fifteen million—even if the arms were of the simplest type. So long as the British working class continues to support the imperialist policies of their capitalists—so long as they identify themselves with the imperialist enslavers—so long will they be regarded as oppressors by the colonial masses.

Sir Jocelyn Lucas has raised once more the issue of the freedom of the Press. On the first occasion during the war when a paper was banned it was a working class paper—the *Daily Worker*. In spite of fundamental disagreements with the policy of the *Daily Worker*, the *Socialist Appeal* immediately demanded that the ban should be raised. For the banning of a working class paper by the Government of Big Business was in reality aimed at the entire working class.

The same applies today. The attack launched by Sir Jocelyn Lucas against the *Socialist Appeal* is prompted by the fear of this representative of imperialism that the workers are at last finding a voice that expresses their real interests and their true aspirations. At last a time has come when not only are the horrors of imperialism being exposed but also a fighting alternative is being offered to the masses.

If Sir Jocelyn Lucas has his way, the *Socialist Appeal* will be banned. The *Socialist Appeal* relies on the spirit of the organised workers to guarantee that the imperialists will not have their way. The *Socialist Appeal* will continue to speak the truth and to place before the British workers the only policy that can lead to their emancipation and the ending of all imperialist atrocities.

was incapable of propagating and explaining the concrete transitional idea of "workers' control" as expounded in the "Socialist Appeal."

So also on the question of political tactics and the relations of the party to the mass organisations of the working class. But here the leadership was to suffer a thoroughgoing defeat.

A composite resolution, presented by Cardiff, who accepted an amendment from Tooting, was passed by an overwhelming majority. In essence it put the political platform of the "Socialist Appeal"—unfortunately, without our military demands. Reaffirming the basic premise of the class struggle it proposed to "call upon the Labour and trade union leaders to break their anti-working class alliance with the

possible brake upon Soviet developments. The economic and cultural development of Russia has arisen as the result of the new social basis introduced by the October Revolution. Just as the Citrines and the Bevin of the Trade Union movement were not responsible for the advances made by the organised workers in Britain; indeed, just as the advances of the working class have been made in spite of the sabotage of these union bureaucrats—so the advances in Soviet Russia have been made in spite of Stalin's false leadership and the degenerate politics of the bureaucratic clique who control the Soviet Government.

It is no accident that in a resolution purporting to give an historical outline

place with the whole of the working class is having repercussions in the I.L.P.

The tasks of the more developed revolutionists is to assist in training these young workers to face up to their historic responsibilities. By teaching them Bolshevik theory and Bolshevik history; in clarifying their ideas by intense political discussions; by organising them on a national scale around a militant transitional programme; by unifying their activities with the Trotskyists and conducting a campaign against pacifism which retards and holds back the revolutionary movement, on this road the left wing in the I.L.P. can assist in preparing the revolutionary party which will make the Socialist revolution in Britain.

it will be so understood by the advanced sections of the workers and peasants in India. But reprisals will no longer save British rule over India. This latest move is an act of desperation which will produce no results for the British imperialists.

The Stalinists have suppressed the fact that Governor Caldecott of Ceylon has also suppressed the Stalinist organisation there, the "United Socialist Party."

The L.S.S.P. survived the arrest of its leaders, the suppression of its press, the vigilante terror of the planters. Likewise it will survive this formal outlawry. With its sister parties in the Far East it will go on to even greater battles for national liberation against all the imperialists and for world socialism.

BRITISH IMPERIALISTS WILL NOT FREE INDIA

(Continued from front page)

being learnt, but of these events being even mentioned. But to attempt to tackle this situation by banning a resolution is not only to bury their heads in the sand but to throw the apple of their imperial eye straight into the lap of the Mikado. However, they do not do this so blindly after all, for what is their alternative? If they want to keep Japan out their only real alternative would be to give the Indian masses something to fight for—that is, give them complete freedom and then help them to arm and organise in their millions for resistance. With the resources in materials and manpower of India, mobilised on this basis, any threat from the handful of soldiers which Japan could deploy against this entire sub-continent would be rendered laughable. With the army of 20 to 50 million men that India could provide, and with the support of an aroused population, any attempt on Japan's part to dominate India would be quite impossible.

But the British capitalists cannot take this alternative. They are only too well aware that, having driven out the Japanese invaders, an armed and mobilised Indian people would not pause before they had also kicked out the British invaders. To keep Japan out that way, would mean that they were sealing their own doom. A million times would they rather "defend" India with the "thin red line" of British troops they have used to "defend" Malaya and Burma than rouse, arm and organise the millions of potential allies in the Indian masses. They believe that it would be possible for them to take India back from the Japanese, but from the Indians—never.

This entire position is in itself a refutation of the tale that the British capitalist class are fighting their way

for democracy and the freedom of nations. It is in itself a proof that this war is being fought for markets, raw materials and colonial slaves. The "Atlantic Charter" applies only to the countries over-run by German and Japanese imperialism, and not to those over-run by Britain and America.

The hundreds of millions of India are seething with discontent, as the banned Congress resolution shows. The underlying causes of this are contained in the naked facts of the conditions and treatment of the Indian workers and peasants.

Congress and the Indian capitalist class have been attempting to arrive at an agreement with the British capitalist class at the expense of the masses. Only the pressure from below has prevented this from taking place. Congress is not interested in waging a real struggle for independence. The Indian capitalists are too dependent on British power to afford that luxury. Only the Indian workers, leading the peasants, can achieve India's liberation.

If the British ruling class had any intention of giving freedom to India, they would immediately give the Indian people the right to elect their own Government. The "democracy" which they claim to be defending, and are asking the Indian masses to defend, would demand a Constituent Assembly freely elected on the basis of universal suffrage. That they do not grant this is proof of their hypocrisy. Their excuse, that they are protecting the "minorities" against the Congress "majority" is shown to be false by the fact that Congress has the support not only of the Hindus but of the majority of the Moslems. In the 1937 elections the Moslem League only

polled 4.7 per cent of its possible Moslem votes. The tale about "protection" is only a cover for the continuation of the domination of India by the tiniest minority of all—that of the British capitalists.

The British Labour leaders have shamefully supported the capitalists in their refusal to grant India freedom. Bevin has even shed crocodile tears as he contemplated the unfortunate lot of the Untouchables, and has vowed that the Labour movement will never deliver them into the hands of the "Hindu majority". This hypocrisy is even more odious than that of the capitalists themselves. Bevin and the other Labour leaders have never in the past proposed one genuine measure to lessen the terrible burdens of the Untouchables and do not make any now. They only make use of them in order to justify the continued presence of British imperialism in India.

By their policy they are condemning thousands of British soldiers to die needlessly in India. Not only that, but they doom them to fight in a country where the entire population regards them, not as allies in a common struggle, but as alien invaders. As in Rangoon and Burma, the British soldiers would find that at the first defeats they would have to fare not only the Japanese but also an embittered and hostile population. Many, and indeed probably most, would be indifferent and apathetic. But some, as in Burma, would turn actively against them, seeking revenge for the years of oppression, starvation, exploitation and poverty.

Thus a farcical situation is arising.

British and even American troops are pouring into India to defend its "freedom" not only against the Japanese but against the Indians! These troops are in danger of finding themselves in the same predicament as their comrades in Burma and Malaya. The British capitalists are prepared to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of British soldiers in order to preserve their domination over India. Yet a free India would not need a single British soldier for its defence. The 400 millions of free Indian people would form a force that would shatter even an army of millions let alone the comparative handful of soldiers with which Japan has won her victories so far.

The only way to avoid this and to win the Indian masses as allies in a genuine struggle against Japanese imperialism is for the British workers to struggle for power on a programme which has as one of its central points the giving of complete freedom to India.

Workers' International League fights for a programme, which reflects the interests of the workers of both Britain and India. Only through the success of such a programme can the world be rid of national oppression and fascism.

In the Trade Unions, in the Labour Movement and in the factories, the advanced workers must fight for this programme to be put into action.

Freedom for India—on the basis of a freely elected Constituent Assembly.

Arm the Indian workers and peasants to defend a free India—The sending of all possible aid in arms and equipment to the Indian people.

Not one British soldier for India! Let a free India defend India's Freedom!