

SUPPLEMENT TO

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TWOPENCE.

CLYDE WORKERS COMMITTEE REVIVED

Official Statement of Provisional Committee for the Co-ordination of Militant Industrial Activity

ON MAY 15TH 1943, THE "CLYDE WORKERS' COMMITTEE" PROCLAIMED AS REVIVED. THIS COMMITTEE, COMPOSED OF ADVANCED, TRIED AND TESTED MILITANT UNIONISTS, HAS BEEN THROWN UP OUT OF THE SHARPENING STRUGGLES ON THE CLYDE. IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY WORKERS COMMITTEE, OR ORGANISATION CAPABLE OF PROTECTING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AGAINST THE INCREASING ATTACKS OF THE "BOSS CLASS," SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WAS INEVITABLE.

L.P. ENDORSES TRUCE

Not Reflection of Rank and File Feeling

By **TED GRANT**

THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE MET THIS YEAR WHEN A CRITICAL ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE MASS OF THE POPULATION TOWARDS THE CAPITALIST CLASS AND THE GOVERNMENT, HAS BECOME WIDESPREAD THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. IT MET WHEN THE MILITARY SITUATION HAS CHANGED SHARPLY IN FAVOUR OF ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND WHEN THE POSSIBILITY OF THE WAR ENDING LOOMS AHEAD IN A SHARP FORM. WITH THIS THE WORKING CLASS IS BEGINNING TO ASK WHAT SORT OF WORLD THE RULERS ARE PREPARING FOR AFTER THE WAR.

What will be the reward for all this blood and toil, tears and sweat, is the thought that grips every working man and woman? The Labour workers remember how they were fooled by promises in the last war, which were not carried out after the "glorious victory" had been won.

The real role of the Labour Party in the coalition was clearly demonstrated by the speech of one of the delegates, Alderman Luke Hogan of Liverpool.

"The Labour members of the Government had been given the most 'sticky jobs.' Bevin, Morrison and Dalton were doing jobs that the Prime Minister knew he could not have got

negotiating for months, and years, since the Coalition was formed, for a repeal of some of the provisions of the Trades Dispute Act. They have not even demanded the repeal of this

cessions can only be extracted from the capitalists when they are forced to give them by the pressure of the workers. Even the super-constitutionalist, Sir Walter Citrine, who could never be

COLVILLE'S Steel Strike

By **TOM BURNS**

A dispute occurred in a Mill in Scotland owned by the big Scottish steel monopoly, Colvilles, when two fitters were victimised by the management being given three days suspension. Within an hour's time 400 skilled engineers walked out in protest.

On Tuesday, 25th May, the General Manager, Mr. Ross, strutting through the workshop looking for a "kill" picked out a key from a keyway and finding it an inexact fit flung it to the ground in a dramatic rage. Although this job seems to be a "tear and rush" one, the two fitters responsible, a dilutee and a skilled tradesman were instantly suspended for 3 days. The shop stewards were not consulted by the management. When they approached him he bluntly refused to consider the position anew.

At an immediate mass meeting of all the skilled engineers held during working hours the decision to stop work for 3 full days as a protest was a unanimous one. The General Manager, later threatened to take proceedings against the workers for holding a meeting in a "protected area."

The background of the case is very interesting and reveals clearly just why Mr. Ross is guilty of provocation in the present instance.

When the National Arbitration Board refused the engineers their claim for a 10/- increase etc., the Joint Shop Stewards Committee, represent-

The advent of this committee is characteristic of the period, and synchronises with the formation of similar committees in various other parts of the country, such as London, Newcastle, Barrow, etc. Each of these committees has been conducting individual local struggles in their respective areas. All have felt the need for unity of action between themselves and other similar committees. As isolated bodies they have been "easy meat" for their repressive Bosses, and they have suffered accordingly. This complete lack of unity was never more clear than during the sporadic struggles of the Transport and the Engineering workers against the "Arbitration Tribunal" awards.

The "Clyde Workers Committee," with its advanced militants, recognised this lack of unity for the danger it is to the organised workers, and set out to overcome this tragic weakness.

The "Clyde Workers Committee" has much to live up to, its predecessor occupies an honoured and proud place in British working class history, but with the assumption of this name, and with its militant programme, this new committee, it was felt, would be able to sound the tocsin to all organised workers. This, clearly was the duty of the committee, and they have not failed in their task.

On Saturday and Sunday, June 5 and 6th the first meeting of militants from Glasgow, London, Barrow, the Midlands, Yorkshire, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, convened by a circular issued by the "Clyde Workers Committee," met at the I.L.P. rooms in Dundas Street, Glasgow.

For an inaugural meeting, the conference was well attended. In the course of the two days, at least 30 delegates attended.

The Delegates gave reports to the meeting of the conditions and strug-

gles in their respective districts. In various aspects of the reports there were marked similarities, in general these similarities could be summarised as follows:—

Since the commencement of the war, the Workers, in all walks of life, have suffered a series of heavy defeats and set-backs at the hands of the Capitalist class. The heavy burden of income tax was causing keen resentment amongst the workers. The Essential Works Order, the compulsory transfer of labour, and that monument to collaboration, the "Joint Production Committee," the Dr. Jekyll of industry, with its Mr. Hyde transformation, the "Joint Absentee Committee" handing out fines to all and sundry in industry, all these things together with the long hours of compulsory labour, were forcing the workers to take a belated stand in protection of their own rights and interests. The compulsory "Arbitration Tribunal," with its hopelessly inadequate, and heavily biased "Awards," had caused resentment to break out into strike action and "Go Slow" policies.

The different districts had learnt, that whenever the Workers were forced to take up the cudgels on their own behalf, the Trade Union and Labour leaders, invariably abandoned them, and lined up with the other side in attempts to get the incensed workers to accept defeat. These leaders elected and paid to protect the sectional interests of the workers, showed their real character in the abandonment of the Workers struggle, and their development of chauvinistic tendencies to such a high degree, that its equal is only to be found in the speeches and activities of the Trade Union and Labour leaders of the last war.

These lessons, together with other experiences of the war, had forced

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11,000 AFRICAN

one of the delegates, Alderman Luke Hogan of Liverpool.

"The Labour members of the Government had been given the most 'sticky jobs.' Bevin, Morrison and Dalton were doing jobs that the Prime Minister knew he could not have got a Tory to carry through successfully."

No better description of the role of Labour in the government could possibly be given. They have been given the job of doing all the dirty work for the bosses, and what have they received in return? Ask any rank and file worker in factory, mine or workshop, and the reply would be given in unequivocal terms. The capitalists have taken everything and given nothing in return. That this is so, is indicated by the position on the Trades Dispute Act which was revealed at the Conference. The T.U.C. has been

negotiating for months, and years, since the Coalition was formed, for a repeal of some of the provisions of the Trades Dispute Act. They have not even demanded the repeal of this obnoxious and vindictive anti-trade union and anti-working class Act, as would seem an elementary demand which should be made in what is supposed to be a 50-50 coalition. But the capitalists are not prepared to budge an inch. They are preparing systematically to attack the workers' standards of living as savagely, or even more savagely, after the war than they are doing at the present time. They are not prepared to make a concession with regard to affiliation of civil servants to the T.U.C., which would strengthen the unity of the working class. Con-

cessions can only be extracted from the capitalists when they are forced to give them by the pressure of the workers. Even the super-constitutionalist, Sir Walter Citrine, who could never be accused of being in favour of direct action, has been pushed from behind by the postal workers and compelled to recommend "unconstitutional" action and to support the defying of the law by the postal workers in applying for re-affiliation. Because of the bold stand of the postal workers it is possible that a section of the Act may be repealed. The capitalists may fear complications if they do not retreat on this question. But this in itself, is an indication of what the coalition is worth to the workers.

THE POLITICAL TRUCE

The first item on the agenda was the most important one for the Conference—The Political Truce. The resolution for its ending was defeated by a big majority: on a card vote 2,243,000 votes to 374,000 votes. A large number of Trade Union representatives and individual Labour Parties abstained from voting. At first sight this may seem surprising, compared with the result of last year's conference when the truce, despite all the pleas of the Labour leaders was only upheld by the narrow majority of 66,000 votes. What has happened in the meantime to make this big difference?

In the ordinary course of events, with the extension of discontent with the government, it might have been

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delegates attended. The Delegates gave reports to the meeting of the conditions and strug-

When the National Arbitration Board refused the engineers their claim for a 10/- increase etc., the Joint Shop Stewards Committee, representing the ten factories of Colvilles combine called mass meetings inside the works. The decision was taken to place an embargo on all overtime for a fortnight if the engineers' demands were not immediately met by the employers. The claim was simply shouldered by this rich company. No overtime was worked for two weeks.

Another point which stung this reactionary grouping, occurred shortly afterwards. A worker called a foreman a blackleg for doing overtime during the dispute. When the matter was reported to the General Manager he stated that he would not tolerate such practices. The shop steward told him plainly that what the worker stated was the unanimous view held by the workers. To prove this: a mass meeting was held and in strong language the workers fully supported this policy of exposing blacklegs.

It can be seen therefore why, around a simple error made by the two fitters, the management was prepared to make a stand against the rising militancy of the workshop. The vicious sentence imposed by the management, made the workers extremely angry. The shop stewards worked hard that day and other days to get a satisfactory settlement. Appeals were made to obtain the immediate reinstatement of the victimised workers

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JOE HALL SUED BY CORTONWOOD MINER

Reported by Ron Blake

Against a background of strikes all over the coalfield, the struggle of the Yorkshire miners to protect their standards, went a stage further in the Barnsley Court on June 9th.

Bro. Bernard McKay, one of the Cortonwood colliers, who participated in two strikes last year, was lucky in winning the ballot, the privilege of doing what most of the branch wanted to do: sue the man responsible for the strikes, their own "leader" Joe Hall, Readers of the "Socialist Appeal" will remember Mr. Hall as the man who started the campaign of slander and lies against our paper in order to get it suppressed last year.

To recall briefly what happened. In May 1942 the Cortonwood miners struck, refusing to work the agreement signed in November 1941, which reduced the price of coal for fillers from 1/7 to 1/3 per ton. This meant wage cuts of from 30/- to £3. To aggravate the situation, this agreement, contrary to the Constitution of the Y.M.A., was signed by the Management and the Union leaders but not by a representative of the local branch, and without their sanction.

The agreement was suspended and the dispute went to arbitration, which as could be expected decided against the miners. Once again the bosses attempted to enforce the wage cut. But the miners came out solid and for six weeks, over the Christmas holiday, not a tub of Cortonwood coal was fetched. This was a direct expression of the need for a new militant leadership in the struggle.

But the men had to go back to work owing to the fact that they were



JOE HALL

fighting not only against the bosses, but their own "leaders" as well. After passing a resolution forbidding Hall and Oakey to act as their representatives in negotiations, the Cortonwood men subsequently decided to sue Joe Hall for the loss of wages that occurred through the wage cut. Their case was that Hall had broken the union rules.

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Successful Meeting for the Fourth International

Enthusiastic workers from all parts of London attended the meeting at the Conway Hall, on June 9th, called by Workers' International League on "The Comintern is Buried! Long Live the Fourth International!" The hall was packed, workers crowding in the doorways unable to get seats.

The three speakers—Comrades Jock Haston, Ajit Roy and Ted Grant all spoke well and received a rousing applause.

In discussion, the supporters of the Fourth International were specifically asked to refrain from participating in order to give every facility to the opposition to express its ideas. Several Communist Party members participated, but it was clear that they were decidedly on the defensive. Their contributions consisted in justifying the dissolution of the Comintern, referring to the dissolution of the First International as an analogy. This was adequately dealt with when it was pointed out that Karl Marx considered the dissolution of the First International a grave defeat for the working class, and expressed confidence that the new

international would rise again. One thing was significant. There were more C.P. members than usually attend Trotskyist meetings, and their obvious confusion demonstrates the effect of this recent event on the rank and file. The Central Committee of the C.P. was represented by one of its members, Springhall. We do not know whether it was a deviation from the "party line" on his part or whether he was merely looking in to see if any of his flock were straying from the path.

The sum of £14 odd was collected and this included a donation of fifty rupees (equivalent of £3) equal to one year's earnings of an Indian peasant, from an Indian comrade "in appreciation of and in gratitude for the work of the British Fourth Internationalists." It can be said without doubt, that this was the most enthusiastic meeting that the British Trotskyists have ever held. It bodes well for the task of building the Fourth International in the coming years. The meeting ended with the singing of the Internationale and a rousing cheer for the Fourth International.

11,000 AFRICAN NATIVES ARRESTED

Nazi Methods in South Africa

A few weeks ago the British press reported a speech by General Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa. "This is the social century . . . the ideas and ideals of social service are beginning to permeate the modern state . . ." he said. The capitalist press lauded this speech of the "enlightened democrat" and "great statesman." But during the course of the same period, events were taking place in South Africa which did not find their way into the "democratic" press in Britain.

South Africa already has racial laws restricting the rights of the Negro people which would put Hitler to shame. As an "ally" in the "war against Hitlerism" the South African capitalists are apparently endeavouring to add new achievements to their record of vile oppression and enslavement of the subject peoples.

New laws directed against Indians restricting their rights to buy property are being introduced into the South African parliament. Preparations are being made to restrict the rights of the coloured (half-white, half Negro) population, by the proposal to set up a Coloured Affairs Department as the first step in this direction. The Native (Negro) Affairs Department has been a notorious instrument for the subjection and enslavement of the native population due to the starvation conditions which prevail owing to the low wages and high prices. Meetings of natives in Pretoria and other towns in South Africa to protest against their inhuman conditions have been dispersed by calling out the army. In the prevailing conflicts many unarmed natives have been killed and injured.

In the very week that Smuts was making his pious and hypocritical speech, raids were being conducted on the Negroes in Johannesburg and the neighbouring towns, which rival those of Himmler and his S.S. thugs in Europe. Night after night; from 11 o'clock till the early hours of the morning, terror raids were being conducted on the peaceable native-population during that very week, in which close on 11,000 negroes had been thrown into jail. And what was their "crime"? They were sleeping outside of the Negro ghettos without permission. With violence and brutality, in a large number of cases, they were dragged from the rooms of their womenfolk and of their male friends, who as domestic servants live in the cities. Any who offered any show of resistance, would as is usual in South

Africa, be beaten up by the armed police. Even the European press in South Africa felt itself compelled to protest against the wanton and senseless arrests made under the excuse of "rounding up criminals." The South African "Forward", organ of the White Labour Party comments in its issue of April 16th:

"... on the same grounds if the police, after a series of car thefts, arrested nearly 10 thousand Europeans, it is more than likely that a number of crimes would be pinned on those caught up in the net."

Thus, on the flimsy pretext of finding "vagrants" (i.e. unemployed natives) and "criminals", the whole native population is terrorised. In the same issue of "Forward" one incident, (mild when compared with what usually takes place on such man-hunts) is described by a white housewife, as she was listening to Smuts' speech on the wireless:

"Last night at 11.30 my little native cook-girl rushed into the house shaking and crying—the police had broken into her room—would madam please come and tell them that her husband, whom they were taking 'in charge' had been given madam's permission to sleep here, sometimes?"

"I went out to the yard to find the most decent native I know (and that's saying a lot) making a shame-faced exit, with bootlaces undone and still struggling into his jacket under the stern supervision of a plain clothes policeman and a prettily-uniformed Civic Guard."

"Having explained my dastardly complicity, I am now to be charged with 'harbouring natives.'"

It should be explained here that it is an "offence" for a negro to spend the night outside of the "locations" or ghettos, unless living on his employers premises. There is a £50 penalty for a white person for allowing a native to sleep on his own property unless employed by him. Thus the "herrenvolk" of South Africa treat the subject races!

The article in "Forward" continues: "There is the case, reported to me by a prominent city councillor, of his native who was afraid of opening his door when police battered on it at midnight and ordered him out. With the employer's assistance the native opened his door. He was immediately arrested on a charge of 'resisting the police'!"

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Declaration for the 4th International

By SOME GERMAN WORKERS IN BRITAIN

A group of German friends have submitted the following Declaration to the "Socialist Appeal" for publication. We do not wish to publish their names for obvious reasons.—Ed.

DECLARATION

The Undersigned, ex-members of the Communist Party of Germany, following the dissolution of the Comintern make this statement:

1. The Comintern has led a shadow-existence since the last Congress in 1935.
2. The Comintern acted since the expulsion of Trotzki in November 1927 as an agency of Soviet Russian foreign policy. One of its main tasks appeared to be the spying out and denunciation of internationally minded communists.
3. The liquidation by trial and murder of nearly all the leading members of the Comintern was essential to clear the way for the decease of the Comintern.
4. The Comintern with its un-

principled, opportunist, nationalist and unscrupulous policy (Ruhr policy, Canton-putsch, Popular front, League of Nations policy, Mussolini-pact, Spain, Hitler-pact) now defunct, has disappeared ignominiously.

3. Nevertheless the Comintern has stood in the eyes of the oppressed as a portent of world revolution. For this reason it has been respected even in the days of its decay and feared by the enemy.

8. It is to the credit of Leo Trotzki that he first perceived the cancer growing in the body of the Comintern and therefore inspired and organised the IV International. We ask the comrades in exile to reconsider their views and tactics, to take once more their place in the class struggle. They should not allow considerations of outmoded allegiances now formally revoked, to stand in their way.

7. The Third International is dead. Long live the Fourth International.

Signatures:

A LETTER FROM ANDREW SCOTT

Dear Comrade.

Congratulations to the comrades on an excellent issue of the Appeal. It did my heart good to see it. I hope the meeting goes equally well. We certainly have the possibility of making great gains from now on.

I have been making the most of the dissolution of the Comintern down here. There was a lecture on "The Russian Revolution" last Thursday given by 21 year old Sapper Goss, brother of John Goss of the C.P. Naturally, he gave a very feeble lecture. My own contribution was about as long as Goss's and livened up the meeting in a remarkable way. There were about 21 to 30 people present, and most of them were more sympathetic to me than to the speaker. Several spoke before me, and the whole question of Stalinism and Trotskyism had been brought up before I had said a word! When the meeting ended the Chairman said it was the liveliest they had had, and invited me to give the lecture in three weeks time. He left me to choose my own subject, but suggested "The Fourth International and the War." and the arrangement stands.

I made two more speeches in the course of the week. One at an A.B.C.A. lecture, and one at a lecture in the series, 'British Way and Purpose.' The A.B.C.A. lecture was on the Second Front, and the officer tried to keep the discussion on the level of a guessing game as to where it would

take place. When I got up and said it was a political question and made a lengthy contribution putting forward our position, the whole atmosphere changed. The officer was put on the defensive and had to fall back on a claim that Britain is socialist and therefore the war is revolutionary and just! Unfortunately there was not time to find out what others thought of our policy. But ever since that time I have had fellows approach me whom I have never seen before, address me by name and discuss in a very friendly way.

At two of the meetings there were about 10 present, and at the third there were 25 or 30 men from all the units around, and this state of affairs will continue. I have never realised so clearly before what an influence could be wielded by one revolutionary socialist among hundreds of soldiers. And 95% of the audiences is proletarian. This only further confirms our opinions of the socialist conscientious objectors, who succeed only in isolating themselves from the masses. It doesn't matter if they disagree with what you say, or don't understand it thoroughly; the very fact that you are putting a class position wins their support. By the way, the officer I opposed, remarked at the end of the meeting that he thought I'd better lead the next A.B.C.A. discussion. It is a pity that officers have to take A.B.C.A. lectures, or I might have got another chance to give a second lecture.

Forgive me if I stop now. We had two further shots of dope shoved into us yesterday, and the whole platoon is on its back. It makes you feel as if you had a bad attack of flu. I'm sorry my letters are so disjointed. But wait till I get into a unit and settle down to an easier routine.

Fraternal greetings,
ANDY.

From a Soldier Member

February 28, 1943.
Nottingham.
6. 6. 43.

Dear Comrade,

Received "Socialist Appeal" today, and thanks. Words are useless sometimes to express our real feelings, but I do want to congratulate you all on the historical issue of the June Appeal. It is rich with the revolutionary optimism which belongs only to the Fourth International. The Manifesto is inspiring in its vitality and

Rail Workers Wage Demand

By SID BIDWELL

After a delay of several weeks, representatives of the three Railway Trade Unions met the Railway E.C. spokesmen in London on May 31st. At the time of writing the only information to hand is that the offer made to the Unions' claim for an all round increase of 10s. per week, was considerably less than that amount.

The three rail trade unions which are acting together in this claim, will consider the offer made by the Companies.

Thus, in this laconic phrasing the workers learn that all the praise meted out to them over the past few months for their part in maintaining, with notable efficiency the transport services of the country, is not worth the paper it is written on when it becomes a question of translating it into real recognition.

The correspondence columns of the N.U.R. Journal the "Railway Review" in recent months mirror the discontent of the workers with the present method of negotiating and the policy of the owners in increasing the already multifarious wage rates which exist in the industry. The National Grade Conferences which have taken place recently within the orbit of the N.U.R., augur well for the future. At the Signalmen's National Conference a resolution was carried making it clear that the rail workers are not much longer prepared to tolerate the long protracted nature of the present negotiation machinery.

When we consider that the composite rates of Shunters and Guards maximum are £4 1s., and these grades are considered to be among the better paid of the wages staff, it will be understood that the 10s. claim of the Unions is modest in the extreme and should receive the ready support of all workers irrespective of industry. It is a fact that without working overtime and seven days a week, in many instances, it would be impossible for railwaymen to meet the increased cost of living.

The stoic attitude of the Union leaders certainly does not reflect the growing wave of militancy in the industry which if the attitude of the railway companies and their "tribunals" is persisted in, must give rise to a demand for action.

With monotonous regularity the wage negotiations proceed as follows. An approach to the owners is made; consideration is then given by the

A Soldier Looks at the Future

The Editor, Socialist Appeal.

3.6.43.

Dear Sir,

I should like to bring to your attention a poster headed—"When you get back to Civvy Street" which has appeared recently in service camps.

Though intended as a boost for National Savings, it goes sadly astray, and in a few ill-chosen words lets the cat out of the bag as far as the capitalist idea of the conditions in which the worker-soldiers will return to "Civvy Street" is concerned.

The "little cash" which the worker-soldier saves during the war from his already inadequate pay "may come in very useful in tiding over that period between demobilisation and finding a job" and would "help you to choose a job instead of having to take the first one that comes along."

Here is a warning of the grim struggle for existence inevitable for the many if the boss class are still in power after the war.

There follows the usual blah about the "new order"—"Tremendous opportunities, new careers, emigrations, etc.

Then:—Many will want to "carry on where the war broke things off." The "many" will no doubt be interested and surprised to hear that that is what they want, but that is not all.

Even so, there will be some improvements you will want to make, a few repairs, a few changes.

There will be some extra expenses, school fees, a new coat of paint for the house, new clothes and so on.

Indeed, whatever you plan to do after this war you will be grateful for a little money to make you independent, give you a new start in the world that's going to arise."

So that the best prospects of security that are held out to the serving man, even on paper, amount only to a return to the "good old days" and only that with the aid of "savings."

After the spate of social security plans, the capitalists here admit, by degrees, their inability to solve the problem.

The remedy is in the hands of the workers. With elimination of profit system, with industry under workers control, social security will become a reality, and the foundation laid of a real, progressive "new order." The solution lies in the actions of the workers, not in the promises of the capitalists.

Yours, fraternally,
W.C.

Continued from previous Column.

M.A.P. Workers Gain Victory

About 1,000 men struck work at M.A.P., a large Iron and Steel Works in Lanarkshire, on Sunday 23rd May. A three months' old dispute on the important question of man power, involving transfers and the seeking out of militant workers to be made redundant and sent to the army, brought about this stoppage.

On February last, the manager sent out a circular to the unions showing that he intended to have less men working on a certain job. Despite the evidence produced by the workers' representatives showing how dangerous such a step would be, both as to the drop in production and the dangers of victimisation, Mr. Falconer, the

SUPPORT TRANSPORT WORKERS DEMAND

Statement by the London District Committee, W.I.L.

THE provocative and insulting decision of the Arbitration Court, in reply to the wage claims of the Transport workers, was a savage blow to all employed in the industry.

Conditions have been steadily deteriorating since the outbreak of the war. Wages have fallen far behind the rapidly rising cost of living and have been plundered by heavier taxation. Discontent has been growing in the industry.

that he intended to have less men working on a certain job. Despite the evidence produced by the workers' representatives showing how dangerous such a step would be, both as to the drop in production and the dangers of victimisation, Mr. Falconer, the manager, ignored their case and put 20 process workers off each shift, making the number 110.

This drive by the manager which is stated to be in the interest of the war effort is a nice easy way to earn higher profits for the company. For example, container fillers—a job done by men at 1/7 per hour plus usual bonus—is now undertaken by boys at the miserable rate of 1/- per hour with a maximum of 1/2. Even on this point, Falconer broke a union agreement which had a maximum rate of 1/3 for boys in this age group. The smaller wage rate was introduced without consulting the trade unions concerned.

Failure by the management to show even a conciliatory attitude towards the unions on the job forced the men on the Saturday night shift to stop work and go home. A large mass meeting was held on the Sunday outside the works and it was agreed that the 2.1 p.m. shift should go in to allow negotiations to proceed. As the company refused to stop the victimisations, the men unanimously decided not to start work as a protest. The 2.1 p.m. shift on hearing this report left the job. According to the workers two members of the "Communist" Party stayed on as scabs.

It is evident that Falconer is also conducting an anti-trade union campaign. At the mass meeting it was reported that the Secretary of Branch (No. 2) B.I.S.A.K.T.A. was refused admission into the works to interview the management on the Sunday morning. The manager phoned the gatekeeper to keep Bro. P. Quinn out.

The shop stewards were taught a bitter lesson regarding Production Committees. Believing, like others, that some good could be obtained from such bodies, they participated wholeheartedly. What did the manager do? When the Union was negotiating with him for wage increases, he capably quoted figures which the shop stewards had given at a Production meeting as to the possible speed in which a job could be done, and so to hold down the workers wage level. An illusion which had been previously held about the usefulness of production committees by these militant workers were quickly dispelled. In a bitter mood the shop stewards withdrew from it.

A further mass meeting was called for May 27th.

It is only three months ago that the workers here were provoked into a strike in defence of their works delegate who was victimised. Falconer's labour hating ideas evidently predominate over all other things, and unless checked must certainly lead to

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industry.

Conditions have been steadily deteriorating since the outbreak of the war. Wages have fallen far behind the rapidly rising cost of living and have been plundered by heavier taxation. Discontent has been growing in volume for more than 12 months. The decision not to increase the wages or to improve the conditions of transport workers, resulted in an explosive feeling among transport workers as a whole.

The immediate reaction to the provocative "award," was a series of strikes that swept many areas. Not only workers employed by private companies, but corporation employees in a number of cities stopped the wheels. In Barnsley over 1,000 workers employed by the Yorkshire Traction Co., were solid in their strike which lasted for a month. The responsibility for these strikes rests entirely on the shoulders of the employers and of the Government. For the Government is responsible for the National Arbitration Tribunal. In reply to the criticisms of certain individuals about "patriotism" and to the attacks of the capitalist controlled press directed against transport workers, the Barnsley workers have stated that:

"they have efficiently and loyally done their bit. They have brothers, sons and sweethearts in the front line who will have to return to the conditions the workers have fought for. . . . The refusal to grant just demands thereby provoking a disruption of industry is the employers' own method of assisting their Nazi class brothers."

As the Transport Award follows closely on the Engineering award, it is clear that an attempt is being made to put a ceiling on wages.

Profits are going up. But real wages go down. A stop must be put to this farce. There will be no more increases so long as the N.A.T. operates. Further negotiations, which are now being opened up can only suffer the same fate. The new wage demands must be on the basis of independent bargaining and direct negotiations.

The industrial truce operates only in the interests of the employers.

So also, the political truce has strengthened the Tories at the expense of Labour.

The "Socialist Appeal" has consistently exposed the dangers and fallacy of the industrial and political truce. It has demanded that the Labour leaders break the coalition with the Tories and go to the country for power on a socialist programme. For in our opinion this is the only way that the workers can take a real step to defend their conditions and smash fascism.

- Forward for the original demands !
- Direct negotiation !
- Break with the National Arbitration Tribunal !
- End the political truce ! Labour to power on a Socialist Programme !
- Solidarity with your Barnsley Brothers !

and thanks. Words are useless unless they express our real feelings, but I do want to congratulate you all on the historical issue of the June 'Appeal'. It is rich with the revolutionary optimism which belongs only to the Fourth International. The Manifesto is inspiring in its vitality and tremendous in its effect. The whole issue gave me a deeper and richer understanding of the ultimate success of the revolution and the tasks it places upon our Party and our International. International solidarity breathes throughout and finds an answering echo in all of us. We are bound together by such ties and common tasks, and it makes you realise that life would be devoid of content and interest without this axis to revolve on.

Please excuse the rhetoric, but it's how I feel and can only express it this way. Again, congratulations to the Centre and—Long live the Fourth International!

Fraternally,
George Smith.

Continued next Column.

ON THE CASE OF BRO. JOCK MILLIGAN

To Socialist Appeal.
Dear Comrade,

Re. Bro. Jock Milligan and my letter you published in your March 1943 issue.

I have been requested by the Executive Council of the National Society of Painters to make a public withdrawal of an incorrect statement in my letter to you published in your March 1943 issue viz.:

"The E.C. recently notified the Trade's Council that Bro. Milligan is not eligible to be a delegate".

The real fact is the following letter was received by the Camberwell Trade's Council from the London District Committee.

National Society of Painters,
London District Committee.

VB/HM
Mr. Taylor,
Secretary Camberwell Trades' Council,
74 Camberwell Church Street,
S.E.5.

Dear Sir and Brother,

Re: Bro. Milligan's position as delegate to Camberwell Trade's Council, I understand that for some time Bro. Milligan, a member of this Society, has been attending your Trade's Council as the official representative of our Camberwell Branch. I have been authorised by our National Executive Committee at Manchester, however to advise you of the position of our member. He is prohibited from holding any office in our Society under a ban imposed upon him by our National Executive Committee and they have further resolved:—

"That a member representing the Society in any capacity is deemed holding an office within the Society. Therefore Bro. Milligan is not eligible to be a delegate to the Trade's Council".

In view of this decision I have been directed to take up the question with

your Trade's Council so that in future Bro. Milligan shall not act as a representative of our Camberwell Branch, as he has no right under the rule of our National Executive Committee to hold such a position. I leave the matter in your hands to comply with this decision.

In addition my attention has been drawn to the fact that a statement has been made by Bro. Milligan at one of your Executive Committee meetings or another meeting to the effect that he was the authorised Ticket Steward for this Society and had the full confidence and backing of a large number of men who appointed him to such a position. I may say under the ban imposed upon him I am prohibited from authorising Bro. Milligan to act in any capacity whatever and he is debarred from acting as an official Steward of this Society on any job.

In view of this information it would be as well for your council to note the exact position of this member so far as representation of his society is concerned.

Yours fraternally,
Signed—V. Beacham,
Organising Secretary.

This letter was prompted no doubt, because Bro. S. Taylor, Secretary of the Camberwell Trades Council had complained of Bro. Milligan to the London District Committee on Politically Biased Ground and without the consent of the Trades' Council.

The London Trade's Council was approached by the Camberwell Trade's Council on this matter for advice, and the London Trades Council ruled it was not a matter for them to deal with, but one to be settled by Bro. Milligan's Branch and his union.

Yours fraternally,
Wally Allen.

capitalists.

Yours, fraternally,
W.C.

Continued from previous Column.

acceptance of the previous position it might just as well never have been concluded.

The railwaymen's wage plight and the resignation of their leaders to the position, cannot be considered on the industrial field alone. The class-collaboration tactics practiced by the Labour leaders as a whole in the political sphere has a direct result in the tacit acceptance of declining real wages and soaring profits. That is why rail workers must add their voices to the ever growing demand that Labour must break the truce with the Tories and wage a campaign for power which alone can guarantee a living wage for the rail workers of lasting value.

Continued from Column 1.

the clearing out of all trade unionists. With no other alternative left, the M.A.P. workers took the correct militant action by using the strike weapon. As long as the managements are allowed the control over transfers and the power to make labour redundant, so long will victimisations take place. It should be placed in the forefront of every branch agenda at shop stewards' meetings and factory meetings, the demand that the Shop Stewards control transfers and redundancy. Only then can the workers be assured that no victimisations will take place.

Men at a mass meeting on Thursday were notified that a representative from the Ministry of Aircraft Production, London, wanted negotiations to start afresh. Meeting agreed to negotiations—but on condition they start right away. Negotiations were begun within an hour and resulted in a victory for the men. No more workers are to be made redundant. A representative from the Manpower Board is to inspect the position of Labour.

Strike action was justified and has proven the workers to be in the right, as about 50 new workers had to be taken on.

READ:

THE RISE
AND FALL OF
THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL

in

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL
NEWS

Theoretical journal of Workers
Internaitonal League.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

EDITOR: E. Grant.

BUSINESS MANAGER: M. Lee

61, Northdown Street, London, N.1.

12 issues 3/- . . . Post free.

EDITORIAL**THE TIME IS RIPE FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

WITH every day that passes the world is shrinking in size. Flying technique is reducing oceans to a hop between breakfast and lunch, and continents to the size of countries. America is twenty-four times closer in time to Britain to-day than it was before the war. And every other country the same.

This does not just enable Premiers and Presidents to meet 24 times more easily. And it does not just enable troops of one nation and another to be moved into position against each other 24 times faster than before. It does something more important. It brings into clearer relief than was ever possible before, the essential unity of world events, and particularly the essential unity of the interests of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the five continents.

The pattern of world events is turning out to be a double one. Increasing poverty, misery, starvation and political repression on the one hand. . . . But on the other hand, a growing resistance against this, an increasing will to struggle, a rising tide of consciousness, and an intermingling of nations and races on such a scale that national and racial barriers are of necessity being smashed to the ground by the very forces that are attempting to build them up.

Two tides are seen to be flowing: one against the masses, the other with them. One increasing the poverty, sharpening the hunger, making more intolerable the political repression. The other, in reaction against this, seeking a road to sufficient bread, striving for peace, looking across the frontiers (and sometimes being driven across them for forced labour or for war) to the people there, who are in a plight little different from their own.

In Europe, Hitler the nationalist has thrown down national barriers; not to be sure, in order to let progress and internationalism overstep them. Rather to let the tide that is flowing against the masses reach hitherto untouched corners: to intensify and deepen national oppression. But, by the same act, Europe is turned into a gigantic melting pot. Workers from every country on the continent are being mixed and stirred in it. Far from providing the Nazis with the tools of victory, the final result will be a new and more militant internationalism that will grind Fascism under its heel in the dust. While Hitler is moving workers from Belgium and France to other regions so that they will not take part in national uprisings on the day of the "second front," he is at the same time preparing an international uprising, of a proportion that he cannot dream of. And even among the workers

A STATEMENT ON THE SLAUGHTER OF THE JEWS

BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The following is a declaration from the Executive Committee of the Fourth International (World Party of Socialist Revolution):

Hitler's mass murders of the Jewish people of Europe arouse in every class conscious worker a feeling of fury against this arch-sadist, evil spawn of decaying capitalism.

The full brunt of Hitler's insane violence falls against the Jewish toilers: workers, artisans and small tradesmen, who make up the huge majority of the Jews of Europe and the world. The wealthy Jews have been able, in large measure, to escape or to buy privileges the trapped poor Jews cannot secure.

OPEN THE DOORS OF REFUGE!

Anger against Hitler and sympathy for the Jewish people are not enough. Every worker must do what he can to aid and protect the Jews from those who hunt them down. The Allied ruling classes, while making capital of Hitler's treatment of the Jews for their war propaganda, discuss and deliberate on this question endlessly. The workers in the Allied countries must raise

the demand: Give immediate refuge to the Jews and to all those being hounded for racial or religious reasons or for advocating social progress, who are pounding desperately at the gates. Quotas, immigration laws, visas—these must be cast aside. Open the doors of refuge to those who otherwise face extermination! The right to asylum is an elementary democratic right, which the workers and all honest democrats must support.

The workers, regardless of national, racial or religious origin, must wage war to the death against all prejudices which the capitalist class foster in order to divide the masses by creating internal antagonism among them. Against the capitalists' attempt to cleave the workers into warring groups, the workers must strive to unite around a programme which will bring class victory over capitalism.

In its period of democratic revolution against feudalism, when capitalism was a young and progressive social system, it extended the rights of man and of citizenship to Jews and other religious minorities. Capitalism, in its

imperialist period of decay, in its reactionary struggle against the proletariat, the new rising class, is taking away the democratic rights from the masses. The reactionary tendencies of international capitalism find their most developed form in fascism, which, while crushing the labour movement and abolishing all democratic rights, thrusts the Jews into ghettos more horrible than those of feudalism, ghettos that are in reality human slaughter houses.

BROTHERHOOD THROUGH SOCIALISM

The Fourth International, leader of the workers in the struggle for world socialism, welcomes the Jewish toilers into its ranks. Only by world socialism can the Jews, above all the Jewish workers, and all oppressed nations and races, be saved from the terrible fate world capitalism has inflicted on them and the even worse fate it has in store for ever-increasing numbers of them. Only in world socialism will human brotherhood become a reality and anti-Semitism a hideous memory.

STALIN HAS ABANDONED THE GERMAN MASSES

BY MARION MAXWELL

Stalin's "Nationalist" policy has led to the betrayal of the workers of the Soviet Union, the workers of Germany, and the workers of the world. The dissolution of the Comintern was only the final step in the abandonment and retreat from internationalism on the part of Stalinism. This betrayal is indicated in the 'atrocities campaign' against the Germans as such instead of distinguishing them from the Nazi and their crimes.

The cartoon printed below has appeared in almost all the major Soviet journals, accompanied by satirical verse. It is the work of "Kuhryniksy" who last year won the annual Joseph Stalin prize for the best political cartoon.

With a caption, "Parasites on Parasites" the cartoon purports to show a lice-ridden German unit, and the attempts of the German soldiers to rid themselves of the vermin. In

"How was this victory explained?" asked Lenin, and answers, "Clearly this was not achieved only by victories at the front, but rather by this, that we were able to attract to our side the soldiers of the countries warring against us. . . . by means of agitation and propaganda we took away from the Entente their own soldiers. We vanquished the imperialists not only by means of our own soldiers but by basing ourselves on the sympathy of their own soldiers."

But what is Stalin offering to-day to the German workers? In the "Daily Worker," 10/6/43, D. N. Pritt asks:

"What are we to do with the Germans?" and replies in the same article, ". . . must be tackled the problem of how to deal with the

Bismark? Was it Hindenburgh? No, it is the call of immortal Karl Marx to international brotherhood; "Proletarians of all lands unite!"

This is not only a pretty decoration of the German Embassy. . . . In all seriousness the Russian workmen, soldiers, and peasants have raised this banner. To you German people they hurl back the same words that your Karl Marx gave the whole world seventy years ago.

At last a real proletarian republic has been founded. But this republic cannot be secure until the workers of all lands conquer the power of government.

The Russian workers, peasants and soldiers will soon send a socialist as ambassador to Berlin. When will Germany send an inter-

Notes from Belfast

BOB ARMSTRONG

The Glasgow 'Forward' recently commented that the only reason why conscription has not been put into operation in Northern Ireland is that more troops would be required to hold the country down than could be compensated for by the conscription of the man-power of the Six Counties. With this judgment one can only agree; especially anyone who witnessed on the spot the mass reaction to the conscription danger two years ago.

Long before he began to flirt with the Orange die-hard conscriptionists, Churchill knew of this organised mass opposition. He knew then, as now, that in terms of augmenting the British Army's man-power it would cost more than it would yield.

Why then did he carry his threat almost to the point of implementation in 1941? Because he was in reality hunting another quarry—the Eire ports. He knew that the announcement of conscription would have heralded a major flare-up into which Eire would willy-nilly have been drawn; and so speculated on De Valera's fear of war, especially Civil War. "Give us the ports and we will promise no conscription" was his threat.

In 1941 Churchill's bluff was called. The lack of allies and the generally adverse military position necessitated a retreat on the Ulster conscription front. In the interim, however, the balance of world power has changed somewhat; and to-day the Churchill Cabinet feels more contemptuous both of British working class opinion and of the goodwill of minor nations, such as Eire. Any renewed promise of conscription made by the Imperial Cabinet will almost certainly be implemented.

POLICE MOLEST "APPEAL" SELLER

On May 15th at Ann Street, round about noon, one of our comrades was advertising the "Socialist Appeal" with a poster captioned "Churchill Cheating Russia", when a middle-class female Tory began to molest him. She called a policeman, who immediately threatened to "smash his skull in, knock his head off, break his jaw," etc., etc. Most of the crowd which gathered were indignant at the brutal language and Hitler-like behaviour of the constable, who first seized the poster and then seized hold of our comrade's arm and took him down to Chichester Street Barracks. All the way down this cowardly bully, knowing well he was protected by his uniform, kept reiterating his foul threats, and likewise in the Barracks, in the presence of at least a dozen other constables. Despite a strong protest the "Socialist Appeal" seller had his poster confiscated.

This incident proves; that in police-controlled Ulster any criticism of Tory leaders is regarded as almost bordering on sedition; that a policeman in uniform can commit assault with impunity.

be a new and more militant internationalism that will grind Fascism under its heel in the dust. While Hitler is moving workers from Belgium and France to other regions so that they will not take part in national uprisings on the day of the "second front," he is at the same time preparing an international uprising, of a proportion that he cannot dream of. And even among the workers of Europe who are left in their "own" country, the militancy that is rising daily will not find its expression in a struggle for the re-enthronement of the Girauds and Peyroutons, the Haakons and the Grand Duchesses of Luxembourg, the capitalists with their ministers and lawyers, the ex-socialist Labour leaders with their hypocrisy and betrayal, the Fascists and jailers with their rubber truncheons. Nor in a struggle for the rule of a new jailer from the West. Inevitably it will become a struggle not for the old aims but new ones, not for the rule of a decayed class, but for that of a rising one. The struggle will inevitably become a revolutionary struggle for workers power.

Before the scope and intensity of the growing world revolt the rulers of the imperialist countries themselves stand in terror. But meantime they make preparations to meet it. American imperialism gets ready an army of eleven million and tens of thousands of machines, not just for dealing with rival imperialisms BUT FOR SMASHING THE MOVEMENT OF THE MASSES. British imperialism follows the same path. And Goebbels, screaming across the trenches and frontiers bids them join hands with him in the struggle against the "Bolshevisation of Europe."

But the wave of growing revolt has not stopped short at the shores of this island. The British workers themselves are seeking a way out. They have no wish for a Third World War a few years after the conclusion of the Second; they have no wish to live in a world of continual fire-watching and underground shelters; they have no wish for unemployment and all the uncertainty that has been their lot for generations back.

The favourable factors for the world revolution are beyond all measure enormous. Millions of workers and peasants are on the march. The soldiers of every nation are being infected with the virus of internationalism.

THERE WILL BE WORLD REVOLUTION! Of that there can be no doubt. But for the success of that revolution there is still one element lacking. That element is conscious revolutionary leadership. The old forces are dying, but they are not dead. They will not fall over without a push. No mere spontaneous movement will be sufficient to overcome those forces which have for centuries taught themselves the arts of counter-revolution, deception and brute force. For the success of the inevitable movement of the masses there is necessary above all a highly conscious, highly trained, highly disciplined leadership. A leadership which will give to the world movement such a directive as was given to the Russian movement by the Bolshevik Party and the Third International under Lenin's leadership.

In this gigantic task the British workers, and in particular the socialist workers, have an especial responsibility. They have a more favourable starting point than almost any other section of the world proletariat. They have the advantage of training in organising themselves. The task is not to create the revolution, for life is doing that, but to give it that conscious lead which is the only guarantee of its success.

The building of a truly revolutionary Marxist International is the greatest and most urgent task that faces the British workers to-day. The Fourth International is the only force that can give expression to the fundamental interests that bind the workers of all lands together, and make the struggle a struggle for socialist-internationalism which will smash all efforts of the capitalists to keep the workers divided, and will lay the foundation for truly Seven League Steps on the road of progress.

annual Joseph Stalin prize for the best political cartoon.

With a caption, "Parasites on Parasites" the cartoon purports to show a lice-ridden German unit, and the attempts of the German soldiers to rid themselves of the vermin. In publishing this disgusting drawing, Stalin shows how far he has moved from the view-point of Leninism, which always based itself on a class analysis of society, always distinguishing, not between different "races" but between the different classes within the nations. Not to make this distinction is to violate the very elementary basis of Marxism and of Socialism and to fall into the same vile and barbaric teaching of Hitler as to the "superiority" and "inferiority" of different races. It further exposes Stalin's ant-working class policy, a policy which, instead of rallying the workers of the world under an international banner, stirs up hatred of the workers against their class brothers in the opposing countries. By the abandonment of the revolutionary methods of Lenin which alone can win the German workers and soldiers to the side of the Soviet Union, the Stalinists are responsible for the destruction of hundreds and thousands of human lives on the battlefields, and for helping Hitler by pushing the German workers and soldiers behind him, for lack of an alternative.

Ilya Ehrenburgh, a leading Soviet journalist, heaps abuse upon the Germans in all his articles. Writing in the "Daily Worker, 15/6/43:

"During a lull, Fritz begins to think, and a thinking German is only the eighth part of a German. The whole strength of the German lay in the fact that he was rushing forward without thinking, tempted onward by his greed for booty, driven onward by his Fuehrer's roar. . . .

"They firmly believe that the world was created for Germans to march over. They rejoiced at the sight of our cities in flames. They roared with laughter as they machine-gunned refugees from low-flying planes. The sight of the children they crippled inspired them. . . .

Ehrenburgh's articles have naturally enough been welcomed by the reactionaries in Britain and some have even appeared in the pro-fascist press which has in the past warmly supported Hitler.

Thus the propaganda issued from the Kremlin is not calculated to win the German working class, nor does it seek to differentiate the German soldiers from their Nazi oppressors. All Lenin's propaganda, his appeals to the worker-soldiers of the armies of intervention pointed to the unity of interests of the working class against the capitalists of their own countries, and called for a United Socialist States of Europe.

In 1919 there were 22 armies of intervention launched against the newly formed workers' state. But the Bolshevik propaganda proved decisive in dissolving the opposing armies, and finally ending the war.

"What are we to do with the Germans?" and replies in the same article, ". . . must be tackled the problem of how to deal with the

The Russian workers, peasants and soldiers will soon send a socialist as ambassador to Berlin. When will Germany send an inter-

least a dozen other constables. Despite a strong protest the "Socialist Appeal" seller had his poster confiscated.

This incident proves: that in police-controlled Ulster any criticism of Tory leaders is regarded as almost bordering on sedition; that a policeman in uniform can commit assault with impunity; that whenever a fascist-minded Unionist provocateur, or for that matter a Stalinist, chooses to raise his or her voice in the streets against one of our sellers, for displaying a slogan which would be accepted as absolutely permissible criticism in any democratic state, he stands in immediate danger of being hauled up for incitement to riot.

In conclusion it might be added that the constable concerned had not the remotest inkling as to the political tendency of the paper. It could have been Labour or Socialist Party or Communist Party for all he knew or cared. In fact he called it "Communist".

THE STALINIST FLUNKYS

The local Belfast Stalinist rag in a front page statement on the new Cabinet writes: "Insofar as the Cabinet represents almost an entire change of personnel it offers the possibility of a more vigorous policy in the prosecution of the war. To that extent we welcome it." Insofar . . . These are the classic opening words of every Stalinist formula designed to fool the workers and bind them to the bosses' programme.

The war which the Brooke Cabinet will "prosecute" more vigorously, will be the war against the workers and all who offer opposition to the Orange Tories. More vigorous "prosecution" will be its main policy. Sir Basil Brooke is commonly known as "Boycott" Brooke because of his frankly stated policy of excluding Nationalist workers from employment wherever practicable. "Unity" the Stalinist paper, voices the pious hope that the new Cabinet will tackle the disgrace of unemployment effectively—a hope thrown to the dupes of course. Unemployment is rising not merely as a consequence of governmental or managerial incompetence, but basically because full employment would prove unprofitable to the financial interests. Only nationalisation without indemnification can alter this trend in the interests of the workers. The only solution the Brooke Cabinet can offer is the conscription of labour for British industries.

A STALINIST CARTOON



"Parasites on Parasites" is Russian cartoon for the impression of a lice-ridden German unit. Note helmet in foreground crawling with vermin. Lazy Germans check the Russian.

"PARASITES ON PARASITES" is the caption for this disgraceful cartoon of a lice ridden German unit. Note helmet in foreground crawling with vermin.

great masses of Germans who acquiesce in the Hitler regime and its crimes. For this they cannot be absolved and their late repentance will be suspect; but they will be there after the war—millions of men of whom ten years ago a large proportion were trade unionists and voted Socialist or Communist—and we must have a policy to deal with them."

How can any honest rank and file C.P. member say this separates the German workers from the Nazis?

HOW LENIN APPROCHED THE GERMAN WORKERS

John Reed, the author of "Ten Days That Shook The World," participated in the socialist propaganda campaign carried on by the Bolsheviks in order to disintegrate the armies of the Kaiser. In his record of this campaign he writes:

"Here in Russia for the first time you can see workmen-soldiers, whose sweat and labour built the palace, whose blood was shed defending it, enjoying a palace as their home.

And under a picture of the German Embassy in Petrograd was this:

'See the great banner. It is the words of a famous German. Was it

national socialist to this building of the German Embassy in Petrograd?"

If Stalin had issued an appeal of this character to the German workers and soldiers ceaselessly for the last two years it is certain that with the critical position of German imperialism, the Nazi armies would have cracked and broken. But Stalin cannot launch such an appeal because he is no longer interested in International Socialism. He prefers to rely on agreements with the imperialists of Britain and America, instead of the workers of Germany, Europe and the World. Such a policy cannot but involve the Soviet Union and the workers of the world in ruin and disaster. Only the Fourth International continues the policy of Lenin, a policy which bases itself on the class struggle; on an internationalist programme which issues a call to the German workers to overthrow Hitler and take power in their hands, which appeals to the workers of Britain and America to do the same. We alone echo the words of Marx, "Workers of the world unite." We alone stand for a Europe freed from the horrors of fascism and capitalism, united with the Soviet workers in a Socialist United States of Europe.

What to Read . . .

PAMPHLETS BY TROTSKY

WAR AND WORLD REVOLUTION.	2d
TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL	6d
TRADE UNIONS	1d
STALINISM & BOLSHEVISM	2d
ILLP. & THE 4th INTERNATIONAL	2d
ONCE AGAIN: THE ILLP.	2d
SECTARIANISM, CENTRISM & THE 4th INTERNATIONAL	2d

NO DEMOCRACY AT WOMEN'S L.P. CONFERENCE

This year's conference of Labour women held in London in May was the best attended since the war. There were 574 delegates present.

The agenda was manipulated in such a way by the S.O.C., that the most important political resolutions, the breaking of the political truce and the affiliation of the C.P. to the Labour Party, were put at the tail end of the agenda. A great number of delegates had come specially to discuss these very important questions, which have been widely discussed in the ranks of the Labour Party. Throughout the meeting there was a strained atmosphere prevailing among the delegates, a feeling of hostility towards the platform's dictatorial and undemocratic methods in the conduct of the conference. This feeling was expressed by continual interruptions on small issues against the platform.

This feeling against the platform was given an outlet when the Beveridge Report resolutions were discussed. There had been 10 resolutions on the Beveridge Report, two of these demanded immediate implementation, while most of the others criticised its inadequacy in one issue or another. Only 2 fully supported the principle of the plan. These two were lumped together and others were ruled out in favour of what the platform put forward as a model resolution. The chairman stated that only delegates who had put resolutions were allowed to speak. A delegate from Coventry, Mrs. Walsh of Greyfriars Women's Section stated that her section had instructed her to move an amendment against the Beveridge Report. She stated that her section regarded the Report as a sell-out and a betrayal of all Socialist principles; we know that the time is now ripe for social change in the conditions of the British people, but this must be a fundamental change. We are socialists and believe that socialism is the only solution to the present crisis in society which is the product of the present system. Therefore we are opposed to miserable stop gaps, whose object is to put the burden of a rotting system on the backs of the working class. There is no future for the workers under capitalism, which has produced a state of chronic decay and which cannot even give the so-called reforms in the Beveridge Report.

After showing precisely what the Report would offer the workers if im-

paper shortage (!) the agenda for amendments had not been circulated.

Then followed a tremendous waste of time on secondary issues, especially on post-war houses, on which question about 20 speakers were allowed by the chairman to repeat the same ideas again and again. Many delegates were becoming restless at this continued repetition and it was moved from the floor that since there was agreement, we pass on to the next business. This was a unanimous agreement. The Chairman stated that we must allow plenty of democracy on this very important question! A delegate stated that the Conference was becoming a farce. Next business was again moved, and seconded and there were shouts of "Put it to the vote." The chairman ignored the conference demand and called another speaker on the same question. The delegates would not let the speaker continue and the conference was uncontrollable. Session was closed for dinner and the Chairman announced that all the delegates who wished to speak on this same question could do so after dinner! Another hour was wasted at the next session when about another 8 speakers were allowed to cover the same ground.

Several times on the last afternoon of the Conference the delegates were infuriated by the waste of time and several times the Conference became uncontrollable. Many delegates were leaving in disgust. By this time the Conference had really degenerated into a farce. More often than not the votes were not even counted. In spite of the fact the delegates demanded that tellers be called, this was ignored by the chairman.

However, when the resolution on C.P. affiliation came up, democracy had suddenly vanished into thin air. About 10 delegates came forward to speak, but the chairman decided that only 2 speakers could speak for and against the resolution. There were objections from all sides of the hall, especially when Jennie Adamson put the E.C. point of view. It was objected that they wanted to hear the delegates' views not the E.C.'s. When this resolution was put, because of its overwhelming defeat, the votes were very scrupulously counted—80 for and 453 against.

Following this, a further waste of time on resolutions of secondary importance and this continued till the end of the Conference when the Chair-

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

Continued from page 1

expected that the truce would have been ended this year. But it must be remembered that only in an indirect and distorted way are the feelings of the workers reflected at a conference of this sort. The bulk of the delegates were old men who in many cases have lost touch with the working class and have ceased to reflect their moods. Not only that. The vote last year reflected the frustration and the feeling of resentment which pervades the workers. But they did not understand the need for a bold fighting programme on which to appeal to the workers. Those delegates who voted for the ending of the truce last year at the same time voted their support of Churchill. Such was the confusion. This year the leadership used as their main argument for the continuance of the truce, that to break it would mean the end of the present government. This of course is perfectly correct. But instead of accepting the challenge and putting forward the demand for a general election which could be contested on a fighting Socialist programme of struggle against reaction and fascism at home and abroad, which would gain them an overwhelming majority at the polls—the "Left" wing argued in favour of ending the truce and staying in the government simultaneously! You can't have your cake and eat it! Better frank capitulation to the capitalists than an absurd and dishonest position of that sort.

The only opposition expressed to the war came from Rhys Davies who spoke demanding the end of the truce and put a purely pacifist case. The Labour bureaucracy seem to like getting him to speak at conferences as they apparently look on him as a useful Aunt Sally. Delegates will obviously not be won over by his sterile and utopian case.

The oppositional pressure of the workers has not yet reached the stage of forcing the Labour Party, even the demagogues of the Left, to an open break with the Tories. But this year's vote is not a reflection of the feelings of the rank and file of the Labour workers. The Labour and T.U. bureaucrats can manipulate a vote. But the final decision does not rest with them. The question of whether the truce will continue or not, will be decided by the events of the class struggle in the near future. Any big movement of the workers would put a strain on the coalition which it is not likely to survive. It seemed unlikely that the coalition would survive from the last conference to this. It is even more unlikely that the coalition will last until next year's conference, despite this year's big vote. The workers have not yet said their last word.

The real position of the Labour leaders is shown by the fact that not only are they opposed to a Socialist pro-

MINER SUES JOE HALL

Continued from page 1.

At that time the "Socialist Appeal" argued that this would not solve the main problem. Even if the summons was successful, Hall would still be in power in the Union and in a position to repeat these activities. We therefore urged that the miners should rather concentrate on waging a struggle inside the union for the removal of the leadership and the replacement by a militant one who would really represent the men. However, the miners decided to go ahead to expose Hall.

One June 9th, the case was begun at the Barnsley Court. As the Sheffield "Telegraph" of June 10th reported:

"About 50 Cortonwood miners heard the proceedings, and when reference was made to their presence in court, Judge Essenhigh observed:

"They are on the nightshift I presume. If not there might be proceedings elsewhere."

Later on, when Bro. John Ellis was being questioned, Judge Essenhigh again intervened:

"John Ellis who attended the arbitration said the men's attitude was 1/7 or nothing."

The Judge: You mean 1/7 or you were going out and taking 1,500 men with you? Yes.

The Judge: That is what happened? Yes.

The Judge: And at a time when the men were battling for their lives?"

Bro. McKay admitted that since the strike his wage had improved. Bro. McKay tried to point out, the increase was due to better working conditions. When the agreement was signed this possibility could not have been foreseen and did not affect the issue.

It also emerged that although two representatives of Cortonwood branch were present at the arbitration, they were not allowed to speak, that Hall who had agreed to the bosses' terms beforehand, did all the negotiations and only talked to them out of court. Having taken the responsibility for this wage cut, he is being sued for it.

The case is adjourned till July 6th.

11,000 Africans Arrested

Clyde Workers' Committee

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each of the Delegates to the same conclusion,—that a National Confederation of Workers Committees, directly representative of the organised workers was essential for the protection and future well-being of the workers, particularly against the cynical administration of the prolific anti-working class legislation.

Unanimity on this point was reached without any opposition whatever, and the 7 point programme of the Clyde Workers Committee was accepted by the meeting as a basis on which to build the National Committee.

The second day of the conference, was taken up almost entirely with the primary tasks, of the conference—the preparation for the National Organisation, and the form it should take, followed by the setting up of a provisional Central Committee.

It was agreed that each district should elect a delegate to the provisional Central Committee, which in turn should make the necessary preparations for the convening of the first National Conference. It was agreed that the composition of the National Conference should be heterogeneous, and not confined to any particular industry. It should be a Workers Committee in the truest sense, and would accept delegates from any committee of organised workers.

The defensive character of the organisation was stressed by one delegate,

who also pointed out, that sharp attacks against the organisation could be expected from both the Labour and Trade Union leaders, who, profiting by the lessons of the last war, could be expected to follow the role of their predecessors of that period.

The meeting wound up with the unanimous acceptance of the following resolution which it was agreed should be issued as a statement from this Committee:—

Realising the necessity of a National Organisation in defence of the Workers interests, this conference of delegates representing organised Workers, from London Newcastle-on-Tyne, Barrow, the Midlands, Yorkshire and Glasgow, declare that we basically agree with the understated 7 points of the "Clyde Workers Committee"

1. Co-ordination of all militant T.U. activity.
2. Annulment of all anti-Working Class Legislation.
3. Every Shop a Closed Shop.
4. Workers Control of Transfers.
5. (a) Higher standard of life for all Workers.
(b) Better standard of wages and allowances for Workers in the Armed Forces.
6. Confederation of all Workers Committees (Nat.).
7. Workers' Control of Industry.

WE CALL ON ALL WORKERS TO RALLY TO THE FIGHT!

The Secretary. 11/6/43.

CLYDE WORKERS' COMMITTEE The Next Step

BY JOCK HASTON

Despite the lack of publicity attached to this meeting, it will be recorded in British working class history as one of those meetings of the workers that marked a turning point in the trade union and labour movement. For it demonstrated and gave vent to the urge of the industrial workers for co-ordinated militant industrial activity on a national scale, as the principle means of preserving the past gains of the British workers and putting a stop to further inroads into the conditions and wages of the workers.

That is the significance of the Glasgow meeting. It is the beginning of the third attempt by the workers to create a national movement out of the localised movements which have taken place throughout the country. It represents a progressive movement which must receive the immediate

machine itself. Hence the need, not to limit the orientation of the Committee which is proposed by the I.L.P., but immediately, from the very beginning up their aspirations with the question of socialist power.

To argue that the movement should confine itself to day to day industrial demands and that the political questions will follow of themselves is also entirely false. It was this policy of evading the general problems, which has been responsible for the defeats suffered by all the "minority" rank and file movements in the past.

The policy of evasion and limitation is doubly wrong when one takes into consideration the political experience and level of the workers who were present at the Glasgow meeting. Twenty-five years, have resulted in a tremendous development in the understanding of the workers. These men

no future for the workers under capitalism, which has produced a state of chronic decay and which cannot even give the so-called reforms in the Beveridge Report.

After showing precisely what the Report would offer the workers if implemented, she showed that for this hollow sham there are people in the Labour movement prepared to stake our whole future. If we are strong enough to fight for the implementing of the Beveridge Report we are strong enough to fight for Socialism on a socialist programme for Social Security. In conclusion, she said, to those people who really think that the Beveridge Report will solve the problems for the workers, their logical position must be to demand that Labour break the truce and take power to implement this.

This position was well received by a large bloc of delegates and was supported by Councillor E. Tait of the Edlington Women's Section, Doncaster. She fully supported the position put by the Coventry delegate. In concluding she attacked the platform, by stating that not very long ago these same leaders were telling us that the capitalist class were our enemies, now they ask us to support a plan put forward by some of our enemies.

Being a well-known militant fighter in the Labour ranks, she gained a good support. Several speakers that followed took the lead by demanding the immediate implementation of the Beveridge Report. But this was sidetracked by the platform, which against the wishes of most of the delegates put the resolution, that the Beveridge Report be implemented at the earliest possible date....The Coventry delegate protested that on a point of order under democratic procedure, amendments were normally put first. The chairman stated that there were no amendments allowed as owing to

this resolution was put, because of its overwhelming defeat, the votes were very scrupulously counted—80 for and 453 against.

Following this, a further waste of time on resolutions of secondary importance and this continued till the end of the Conference, when the Chairman moved that the rest of the resolutions be accepted as they were. Thus the bureaucrats succeeded in their objective of eliminating the resolution on the Political truce from the agenda entirely without any discussion on it whatsoever. In spite of the fact that a delegate moved and another seconded the continuance of the Conference to discuss this vital question, in spite of the fact that many delegates protested that they had instructions from their sections and branches to speak on this vital question, the Chairman declared the Conference closed, completely ignoring the protests. Insolently, she started to hold up lost articles.

A great number of the delegates were infuriated and began collecting in numerous small groups outside the hall and taking each others names, of those who disagreed with the leadership. There was an uproar when Chief Woman Officer Mary Sutherland stated that she wouldn't take any complaints from any delegates.

The support of the platform indicated that the majority of Labour women still have tremendous illusions in capitalist reforms and the Labour leadership, but a large bloc of delegates demonstrated that the frustration in the ranks is seeking organised political expression. A bloc of about 80 delegates expressed the growing consciousness of Labour women's demands for socialism. The task of Coventry and Doncaster sections should be to weld this bloc of delegates together on the basis of a common platform.

likely that the coalition will last until next year's conference, despite this year's big vote. The workers have not yet said their last word.

The real position of the Labour leaders is shown by the fact that not only are they opposed to a Socialist programme now, but in actual fact have indicated their position in advance for after the war as well. In his speech Attlee said:

"We reaffirm our view that over a great field of activity there must be public control.

In other fields private enterprise will continue to operate but in conformity with the well-being of the community".

Unanimous decisions on increases in Service Pay and Old Age Pensions were passed. None of the delegates was so rude and awkward as to enquire what had happened to the resolutions which were also passed unanimously on the same questions last year! It would have put the leadership on the spot. Immediately after last year's Conference Attlee in Parliament stated that the government could not consider a rise "at the present time". Only after a long period was a rise given and then the magnificent sum of 6d. a day. The fate of the demand for Old Age Pensions increases has been similar. The debate on the Beveridge Report revealed the position on reforms and fundamental changes better than anything else. An amendment on the Beveridge Report was moved by S. S. Silverman, Labour M.P. for Nelson and Colne expressing according to the "Daily Herald" report, "profound distrust at the government's attitude to the Beveridge Plan in parliament. It called on the parliamentary Labour Party to continue its efforts to secure immediate legislation to implement the principles of the scheme".

This amendment was rejected by 1,715,000 votes to 955,000 votes and the Executive resolution on the Report was carried. This indicated rather vaguely and ambiguously in the words of the "Herald" report that:

"While recognising the need for further examination of some of the proposals, the resolution called for speedy preparations of the necessary legislation, so that the scheme 'should be ready to be put into operation at the end of hostilities'."

Thus even the meagre proposals for social reform envisaged by the Beveridge Scheme were not to be demanded from the capitalists as a condition for co-operation. The Labour leaders could gain a majority at a general election on this issue alone if they revealed the real position of the government of capitalists and bankers.

The Communist Party Affiliation was rejected by a vote of 1,951,000 votes to 712,000. The main argument of Morrison against it was the false one that the C.P. based itself on a revolutionary philosophy. This of course is incorrect as to-day the C.P. is far to the Right of the L.P. itself. Even if true, the Labour Party as the party that claims to be the political expres-

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11,000 Africans Arrested

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If this could happen to a native under the protection of his influential employer, what must have been the treatment of thousands of natives not so fortunately placed?

The British press in recent months has been filled with horror stories of the raids on the cities of occupied Europe by Hitler's armed Gestapo men. They have aroused the legitimate indignation and disgust of the British workers at Hitler's crimes by their description of the heart-rending scenes that are taking place in Paris, Rotterdam, Brussels and other cities on the Continent. The same press of course, kept quiet or even supported Hitler in his persecution of the trade unionists, Socialists and Communists in the concentration camps of Germany before the war. Now the cynicism and hypocrisy of their alleged opposition to Hitlerism is shown by the fact that the capitalist press is completely silent, while crimes which violate all the laws of decency and humanity are being committed by one of the British Dominions. And these acts are taking place while General Smuts is Prime Minister, a man whom they continue to hail as one of the greatest democratic statesmen of the age and whose diatribes against totalitarianism and racial barbarism they continue to print reverently without commenting on its nauseating hypocrisy. Not only the capitalist press. Why are the Labour leaders and so-called "Communist" party silent?

The working class hates oppression, exploitation and race discrimination wherever it may occur and whoever perpetrates it. Only the taking of power by the working class can abolish such horrors from the surface of the globe. In place of the inhumanity of man to man, whether on the part of the German capitalists or of British imperialists, they will establish the fraternity and co-operation of all peoples.

sion of the organised workers should have room in its ranks for all tendencies to express themselves. The entry of the Stalinists would have been the means for facilitating the exposure of both Stalinists and Labour bureaucrats in the eyes of the workers.

At the time of writing this (Wednesday) article, some important questions remain to be discussed including the Post War World.

The basic need for the workers in the next period lies in the demand that Labour should break the coalition with the bosses and wage a struggle for Power on a Socialist Programme. Workers' International League will fight side by side with the Labour workers to achieve this aim. On this road lies the next step forward to convince the workers through their own experience of the correctness of our ideas and the necessity of a revolutionary socialist organisation to lead them to workers' Power and Socialism.

That is the significance of the Glasgow meeting. It is the beginning of the third attempt by the workers to create a national movement out of the localised movements which have taken place throughout the country. It represents a progressive movement which must receive the immediate support of socialist and industrial militants throughout the country.

But the militants who gathered together in Glasgow contained within their ranks various contradictory trends. Ex-Communist Party militants freshly broken with the Party, some turning back from political to the industrial movement as a solution to their class problem. Old militants with a wide streak of syndicalism and industrial unionism in their make-up, who had confined their activities to the workshop and trade union. Trotskyists, I.L.P.ers and fresh industrial workers seeking a way out of the impasse of the political truce because of its stifling effects on workshop conditions and organisation. That is why the question of perspective should have been seriously discussed as the main business at the Glasgow meeting.

The failure of the meeting to discuss and thrash out perspectives and policy can result in serious defects in the development of the new militant movement in the coming period. It can only be avoided if the question is placed on the agenda as the first important item at the proposed national meeting to be held in a few weeks time.

The statement of policy by the Industrial Committee of the I.L.P. that the movement should be confined to the engineering and allied trades, which policy was advocated by I.L.P.ers at the Committee, is patently false. To limit the perspective of co-ordinating militant industrial activity to the engineering trade in the present period of universal industrial upsurge, is to make all the worst blunders that were committed by the industrial movement at the end of the last war.

In coalmining and the transport industry the workers are crying out for a lead. A clear appeal by the advanced engineering militants who gathered at Glasgow, together with fresh supporters throughout the country, would have an immediate response, if not over the industries as a whole, at least in these sectors where the workers have conducted the most intransigent struggle against the employers. Far from limiting the appeal, all the conditions are most favourable for the broadest form of co-ordinated joint industrial unity and militancy.

But even this perspective must be seen in its real setting. For the integration of the trade union bureaucracy with the state machine, and the complete control which the state now exercises over the hiring, firing and transfer of labour, as well as its interference in every sphere of industrial life, will inevitably bring the militant industrial movement into a clash with the state

is doubly wrong when one takes into consideration the political experience and level of the workers who were present at the Glasgow meeting. Twenty-five years, have resulted in a tremendous development in the understanding of the workers. These men who met in Glasgow stood on the shoulders of the old "Clyde Workers Committee" in political ideas and conceptions of national organisation. There was practically no hard syndicalist trend such as existed in the shop stewards movement at the end of the last war. Craft unionism was entirely absent. Even the old participants in the "Clyde Workers Committee" of the last war who attended have a much higher level of consciousness and are seeking to broaden their ideas and activities into more generalised industrial and political channels.

The Glasgow meeting is the beginning of a genuine national movement of militants, which even if it does not immediately receive the organised mass support that it deserves, will play an important role in the coming struggles and undoubtedly become the organising centre for the mass movement of the workers in the tremendous industrial clashes which are on the order of the day.

Serious workers will not refrain from any attempt to clarify the question, to raise the political problem before the industrial militants and to tion of perspective, even if it is "unpopular" to evade the issue at this stage. For the thousands of workers who will turn to the Provisional Committee for the Co-ordination of Militant Industrial Activity to-morrow will demand a serious answer to these questions.

Read an A.B.C. of Trotskyism

JAMES CANNON'S TESTIMONY 6d.



JAMES CANNON

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Colvilles Steel Strike

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to the National Service Officer, Industrial Relation Dept., Minister of Production, Sir John Craig and Mr. McCannz, a company director. No satisfaction was got from any of these sources. The new Sir John Craig, (a prominent director) who seems to have well earned this title at the recent "Birthday Honours" made no bones about his class bias to the workers, when he stated to the shop stewards: "The men must be disciplined." Sir John "spilled the beans."

The magnificent independent spirit of the workers during the embargo on overtime was a bitter pill for the company to swallow, therefore Mr. Ross the General Manager in arbitrarily picking out "two victims" was only doing so to enforce boss-class discipline.

The decision of the Appeal Court

showed how this body too, found it difficult to side with Colvilles. While not taking a genuine stand in opposition to the suspensions, the Appeal Court stated that the dilutee should only have been suspended for one day and the skilled worker for two days.

At a meeting outside the works the Communist Party spokesman Peter Kerrigan opposed the strikers action and offered as an alternative: "the usual long drawn out negotiations." A leading shop steward challenged Kerrigan to a debate, and when this was held later, a good case was made against the strike breaking policy of the Stalinists

The workers in all the Colville's works do not intend to take the latest wage insult of the Arbitration Board lying down and they are putting pressure on the National Executive Council of the A.E.U. to carry out a militant struggle for the original demands put forward by the union.