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TWOPENCE.

MERSEYSIDE DOCKERS STRIKE

By Jimmy Deane

18th August, 1943.

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ISOLATED GROUPINGS ALMOST ALL OF THE DOCKERS WERE OUT ON STRIKE. THE STRIKE ORIGINALLY DEVELOPED OVER THE SUSPENSION OF 34 MEN. ALMOST IMMEDIATELY A HUNDRED MEN STOPPED WORK, LATER THEY WERE JOINED BY THOUSANDS. TROOPS WERE CALLED IN TO WORK THE SHIPS.

ANGLO-U.S. STRATEGY: WEAKEN RUSSIA!

FOUR YEARS OF WAR

and millions of men have destroyed uncalculable wealth and blasted each other to death. Rotterdam, Coventry, London, Hamburg, Berlin, Stalingrad, Turin and Milan, and dozens more of the great cities of Europe which were built by centuries of labour, blasted, ravished and ruined by the nightly pounding of the bombs and guns.

Four years of war, and famine and disease destroys and weakens the peoples of Europe and Asia, conquered and governed by brutal military power.

Four years! First the fortunes of war smiled on Germany and her Axis satellites, now it is the turn of the Anglo-American bloc. Russia, almost entirely unaided, climbs out of the depths of history's bloodiest defeats and slaughters and can no longer be destroyed by military means.

Four years of black reaction and now the first days of the dawn. Revolution in Italy; unrest in Europe: a new day in history, revolutionary history begins!

No country has escaped the effects of the war. Few are not immediately involved in the bloodshed and massacre.

In Nazi Germany, the anti-capitalist demagoguery of Hitler is bared. Monopoly capitalism, whom Nazism serves, has piled up the most gigantic fortunes and stores of loot that has been known in German history. But in four years, the living conditions of the masses has steadily declined.

To create these fortunes, millions of German workers have toiled, sweated, fought and died; and become objects of hatred to the oppressed peoples of Europe. The "living space" for which the German masses are asked to die, becomes a grave for the workers and peasants of Europe. German capitalism thrives like a ghoul amongst the graves.

In Democratic Britain and America, "everyone must sacrifice"! But behind this fraud, the same situation as in Germany: Monopoly capitalism dictates government policy, monopoly capitalism piles up super profits, monopoly capitalism dictates the life of the nation.

Democratic slogans! Yes; but more reactionary and totalitarian legislation for the masses. Sacrifice for the workers, but increased loot for the ruling class. "Freedom for Europe" tomorrow, but military dictatorship in India, the colonies and the "reconquered" countries today. The politics of monopoly capitalism, democratic and fascist, are based on the protection of property the protection of the right to exploit and make profit. The political slogans are formulated and adapted from one day to another only to suit that end.

Fascism, as a mass political creed in Europe, has been destroyed by four years of war. Nazis, Fascists, Quislings, all are intensely hated as a breed, a tendency and an ideological

political bloc. Yesterday and today the fascists ruled, tomorrow the workers and small farmers will present a heavy bill for fascist rule to its inspirers and organisers.

Of voluntary collaboration from the masses, of fraternity between Europe's nations, the New Order has non-the whip; the firing squad; these are its organs of rule. Even the relative freedom of the satellite countries is now being destroyed by the demands of total war.

"Democracy" which suppresses the national aspirations of colonist millions; which links arms with fascists and neo-fascists, with Darlans and Girauds; which seeks to lean on Badoglio to retain the House of Savoy; "democracy" which could not prevent the war, nor unemployment, nor crisis, which allows monopoly capitalism to remain in control of the nation's wealth and loot the treasury in the midst of a bloody war; that type of democracy is being questioned by millions throughout the world. In Australia, Canada, Ireland, Britain, parliamentary figures tell their tale. In America, North and South, labour is on the march. Labour's turn to the left is a world turn and will have world shaking results.

For the past two years, Churchill and Roosevelt have lavished fulsome praise upon the Soviet Union... and some arms. The policy of Anglo-American imperialism has revealed itself as dictated by class aims, economic and political.

These pseudo democrats hoped that Russia would be destroyed by Germany after a bloody and exhausting war. Two birds would be killed with the one stone and they would emerge on top. With the workers state destroyed and their German capitalist rival bled to death, peace would result in victory and a strengthening of their domination and control.

This programme, though denied, was blurted out by the impetuous and indiscreet Moore-Brabazon two years ago or more. In the *Sunday Observer* for Aug. 29th, the Editorial columnist once again lifts the screen, praising the brilliant strategical leadership of Churchill which has resulted in the exhaustion and decline of Germany at small cost... to Britain!

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AIRCRAFT STRIKE VICTORY

The strike at a North West aircraft factory reported in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal", won a magnificent victory for the workers. The militant action taken defeated the employers. At the Central Conference held on Friday, August 13th, it was proven that the attacks on piece-work rates were unjustified: the original rates now remain.

A defeat for the management also meant a defeat for the Stalinist shop-stewards as this fraternity stood shoulder to shoulder in opposing the strike. The C.P.ers are now faced with a hostile factory. Already the workers have begun to kick out this miserable gang from the shop stewards committee and to date five Stalinists, have been removed and replaced with militant

and loyal shop stewards. The final reckoning will come at the annual elections in December.

The Stalinists are on the retreat and quite apologetic too. It is reported that McLaughlin, a well known C.P.er, stated at a shop stewards committee meeting on Friday morning, August 20, that his party had pursued the wrong policy in the recent strike. This steward had the recent experience of being moved out of the chair by a vote of no confidence at the mass meeting of the Tool-room block when they supported strike action.

The beating back of this assault on piece-work earnings has great significance for the working class movement. Let us understand it not as an isolated event by a particular employer, but, as the present situation shows clearly, the spearhead of an attack by the bosses Federation to lower the standard of living of the British Working Class.

NORTHUMBERLAND COAL OWNERS Sabotage Production

By H. PARKER

416 miners at the Nelson Pit, Northumberland, have handed in 14 days' notices of their intention to terminate their employment with the Hartley Main Collieries Ltd. This action followed a lightning strike on Friday night, August 20th.

Until recently the cutters at this colliery were cutting in a band 12ins. thick. The fitters who followed up behind them were paid 11d. per Judd (bord) for "scuffing" the cut but since their agreements did not cover an increased tonnage rate in bands of fms. or less, the management refused to pay them for throwing back the rock.

Negotiations were proceeding for the application of a rate for this work. At the same time the cutters were protesting at having to cut in "the band, claiming that the dust thrown up by the cutters was extremely injurious to their health. Samples of the dust were submitted to the King's College, Newcastle, and the findings of the analyst was that it was definitely injurious to the miners' health.

This matter was finally referred to arbitration and on the basis of the analyst's report the arbitrators were compelled to give a decision in the workers' favour. In the course of the discussion at the same meeting the miners' representative raised the question of the fillers' grievances. The coal owners' agent, Major Thornton, denied

having any knowledge of the existence of the dispute and the tribunal instructed the men's representatives and Major Thornton to take the matter up between themselves.

As a result of the arbitration decision, the cutters now began cutting at the coal immediately above the band. The fillers now had to scuffle the cut in the coal and to throw back a 12in. layer of stone for which they expected to be paid at 11d. per "Judd" for scuffing and 1d. per ton extra for the 12in. band.

For two weeks they carried on doing this work expecting to receive the appropriate rates, but in their pay checks which they received on the Wednesday, they had been paid the 1d. per ton extra, but they had not been paid for scuffing.

The matter was immediately taken up with the management who was adamant in his refusal to pay the fillers both rates. Under pressure he agreed to have the scuffing done by dotal workers, in spite of the tremendous difference in cost. (One dotal worker scuffles only 2 or 3 judds per shift, i.e., at a cost of 5- to 7/5d. per judd against the 11d. paid to the fillers for the same job.)

The result of this decision was that some 500 tons of coal a week were lost as there were insufficient dotal workers to keep the fillers going. It

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MILITANTS SUPPORT ITALIAN REVOLUTION

How militant class conscious workers are reacting to the revolutionary events in Italy can be seen by the following resolutions sent to the "Socialist Appeal". Militant workers throughout the country should raise the question of the Italian revolution in their trade unions, labour parties, and co-operatives.

From a group of Students at a National Council of Labour College's day school held in Southall, Middlesex, a resolution in Italy was sent us:

"This meeting of students hails with enthusiasm the overthrow of the Fascist Mussolini regime by the Italian workers and peasants.

We pledge our full support to them in their struggles. We condemn the friendly overtures of the British and American Imperialists to the reactionary House of Savoy. The Badoglio Government is a capitalist military dictatorship and can only be overthrown by the efforts of the Italian workers.

We have no desire to see the Italian Revolution suppressed by British and American bayonets. No intervention by Allied imperialism! Only the seizure of the factories by the workers and the land by the peasants will solve the situation.

For the Success of the Italian Revolution!

From the National Committee for the Co-ordination of Militant Industrial Activity, we received the following resolution, which was unanimously passed at the meeting of its national

executive, held in Nottingham on Sunday, August 1st, 1943:

"The National Committee for the Co-ordination of Militant Industrial Activity hails the commencement of the struggle of the Italian workers and peasants for social and economic freedom, which has already forced the collapse of the Mussolini regime and is being continued against the present reactionary government and the House of Savoy.

The Committee sees in this struggle the forerunner of the European revolution, and the British working class must rally to the support of the Italian workers and peasants, and prevent the use of arms by the "Allied" capitalist governments to quell their struggle for freedom."

Organised trade unionists and workers in the Labour movement must rally to the defence of the Italian revolution against the imperialists of the "democracies" who will unite with the Italian capitalists to crush it. The British workers must demonstrate to the Italian workers their determination to aid the revolution and must denounce the treacherous labour leaders who pretend to align themselves with the Italian workers and peasants while stabbing them in the back by demanding "unconditional surrender" to the allied imperialists.

HANDS OFF THE ITALIAN REVOLUTION!

FULL SUPPORT FOR THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' COMMITTEES AND THE WORKERS' MILITIA!

FOR A SOVIET ITALY!

Although the strike developed over what seemed a minor issue it concerned the entire questions of Wages, Conditions, and the Dock Labour Scheme. The suspension of 34 men was only the match to the fire. J. Donovan, national secretary of the T.&G.W.U. Docks Section, admitted this when speaking at the White City Stadium yesterday. He said that he was not surprised to find the dockers not working. He pointed out that attempts to reduce the disciplinary power of the Port Authorities had met with absolute refusal; he also pointed out that the dockers had had no wages increase since June 1940, and agreed that the dockers had quite legitimate grievances.

The 34 men were suspended for refusing to work overtime between 7 and 9 p.m., because instead of receiving the full pay for these two hours they only receive 3s. 9d. This is how a docker explained it to a local press reporter: "Our grievance is that if we work two hours overtime, from seven to nine p.m., for which the rate of pay is 3s. 9d. we actually lose 3s. 9d. on the full day. This is how it comes about: For the morning shift from 8 o'clock to 12, the rate is 7s. 6d. Attendance Pay, whether there is work to be done or not. For the afternoon shift, from 1 o'clock to 5, the pay is also 7s. 6d. Overtime pay from 5 to 7 is 7s. 6d. But if we work the additional two hours from 7 to 9 the Attendance Pay of 7s. 6d. for the morning shift is deducted from our wages for the day. For refusing to work from 7 to 9 p.m. we have been suspended."

For the past year discontent has been growing amongst the dockers. Dockers have been suspended for the least thing, and swindled out of their "Guaranteed Week" by the sharp practices of the bosses and Ministry of Labour Officials. Union militants have been continuously hounded and victimised and in some cases prevented from working on the Docks. Far from Bevin's Scheme (Bevin called it the Docker's Charter) giving the dockers better conditions and guaranteed wages it placed them, bound hand and foot, at the mercy of the bosses and Port Labour Authorities. This means that the question of wages depends upon whether such authorities like the worker's face or not. The slightest sign of militant union activity is sufficient for these "would be dictators" to have one suspended and deprived of wages. The Dock Labour Scheme is nothing but a vicious Docks Essential Works Order. Because of the lack of leadership both from the Union and job organisation it is only now, when things have reached a critical stage, that the dockers can conduct a determined struggle.

At a meeting held in the White City Stadium a committee composed of re-

presentatives from each Control put forward a seven point programme, as follows:-

1. That all suspensions should be lifted and the men taken back with retrospective pay;
2. That a committee should be formed with men's lay representatives to deal with all complaints, in conjunction with the union officials;
3. A full and complete investigation into the operation of the dock labour scheme N.W. area.
4. That the basic wage rate be increased by 5s. making £1 a day;
5. That Sunday work shall be continued, but not on the basis of the guarantee;
6. Income-tax should be on a "pay as you go" basis
7. That men should work until 5 p.m. on Thursday and 12 noon Saturday, except in essential circumstances.

Apparently this committee, after consultation with Union officials agreed to get the men back at work in exchange for the promise of investigation and negotiation.

Mass sympathy exists amongst all ship workers for the dockers' case. Even the Union officials have to concede that the strike is the responsibility of the bosses and Port Authorities who have made the dockers' conditions intolerable.

The demand for job organisation has revealed itself as an urgent problem. The Stalinist strike breakers have put forward the call for Control Committees. They hope in this way to capture the job leadership and thus convert such would-be militant committees into something approaching the infamous Production Committees, that is, organise the boss-class collaboration. But they are mistaken! The dockers are seeing the Stalinists in their true colours. Such Control Committees would be composed of militant rank-and-filers. It is imperative that the dockers organise these committees.

It is too early to say what the strike will gain. Certainly it will gain certain concessions. However, the least it will do, is to break the tremendous apathy on Merseyside. It will also teach the dockers many valuable lessons for the future, the most important of which is the need for militant organisation.

All Merseyside workers must support the dockers' struggle. Too long have they suffered thanks to an incompetent and reactionary union leadership.

Full support for the dockers' demands! Abolition of the Slave Scheme! Increase in wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Organise your struggle effectively!
Organise militant Control Committees!
Solidarity against the bosses attacks!

Pte. SAM GOLD SENTENCED

BY F. EVERTON

For taking "an active part in the affairs of a political organisation", Private Sam Gold, a member of the Independent Labour Party, at present serving in the R.A.S.C., has been tried by Court Martial and was sentenced to 28 days.

The 'Democracy' of which our rulers babble is not to be allowed the soldiers who do the dying for it.

The 'crime' for which Private Gold was charged was, that while on leave he had addressed an open-air meeting held by the I.L.P. at "the mound", Edinburgh, on May 16th. Before he had been called up he had been a regular speaker at these meetings. As soon as he became a serving soldier however, it became a 'crime' for him to speak out. According to the evidence presented at the Court Martial, he put the socialist case on the war, that it was a struggle for profits and the world's markets in the interests of Big Business. It is for this that he has been found guilty.

That the soldier-worker, fighting for what is claimed to be a democracy, should be denied the right to participate in the political life of the country is a vicious injustice. The extent of the restrictions on political activity of any kind, blasts to high heaven the myth of 'democracy'. King's Regulations, Para 541 under which Pte. Gold was charged, reads as follows:

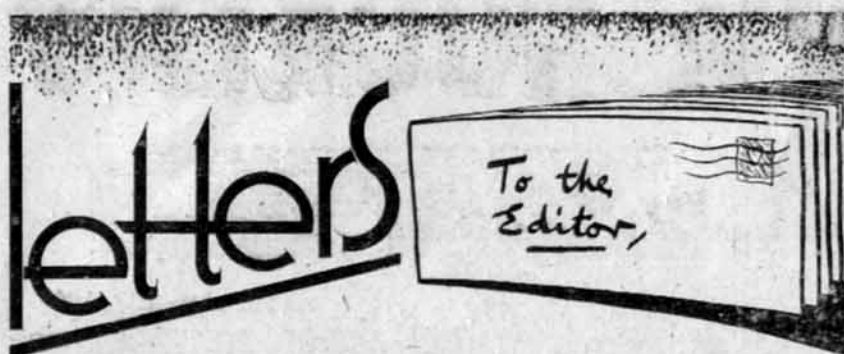
"No officer or soldier... is permitted to take any active part in the affairs of any political organisation or party, either by acting as a member of a candidate's election committee,

or by speaking in public or publishing or distributing literature in furtherance of the political purposes of any such organisation or party or in any other manner..."

The 'any other' manner' has been ruled as including mere presence on a political platform, and even prohibits the asking of questions at almost any political meetings. In the face of this, prattle about 'freedom', is just so much hypocrisy.

The case of Pte. Gold, however, is not just a routine enforcement of this regulation. It is the first time in this war that it has been used. No prosecution has ever been made of the numerous so-called 'patriots' who have appeared in uniform on pro-Government platforms. Had Pte. Gold, instead of putting the socialist case, been speaking in support of the Government, needless to say he would never have been prosecuted. Whenever Churchill has spoken there have been high-ranking officers present on the platform, and who can pretend Churchill doesn't make any platform a reactionary political one. In the Portsmouth by-election, the Conservative candidate, was an Admiral who incidentally went unpunished despite breaking regulations by wearing his uniform during his campaign, had (a Petty Officer/Naval personnel) speak on his platform in uniform to support the Conservative case. The so-called Communist Party at 'Second Front' meetings and at its 'Wings for Victory' demonstrations in London has had officers and ranks on its platform in uniform, some putting its case such

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"WAR LIES" AND THE "NEW LEADER"

Dear Comrade,
I sent the following letter to Fenner Brockway, editor of the "New Leader" in reply to the attack on the "Socialist Appeal" under the heading "War Lies" in the August 14th issue of the "New Leader." He did not publish it and I am now sending a copy to you. Instead, an evasive reply to a letter from Rose Carson, (also not published) appeared in the "New Leader" attempting to justify what can only be construed as a mean and rather dishonest method of attack.

John Williams.

To Fenner Brockway,
Editor, "New Leader,"
318, Regents Park Rd., N.3.

Dear Comrade,
I read in the issue of the "New Leader," Saturday, August 14th, a violent criticism of an article in the "Socialist Appeal," which touched up on the state of affairs after the November blitz, 1940. The "Socialist Appeal" writer states "The Militia was called out, martial law was declared and the factories guarded by soldiers with fixed bayonets while the Riot Act was read. No civilians were allowed in or out of the city for several days." I am in the Army now, but at the time I lived and worked in Coventry and I must say that, except for the factual error, about the Riot Act being read and Martial Law being declared, the account in the "Socialist Appeal" is a correct picture of affairs in Coventry at that time, even down to the "fixed bayonets." The Home Guard to all intents and purposes took over the factories and in doing so aroused anger amongst the workers at the way they conducted themselves.

I remember at the Daimler "Parent" Factory, the way they pushed us about when we went to see if there was work for us. They aroused comments like "They're the same as the bloody Gestapo" when they forced us to line up outside the factory gates and wait for hours to get paid.

The Home Guard, Regular Army and the Observer Corps took over the streets. I remember distinctly them refusing people admission at places like Hereford Street, Corporation Street, Queens Road and Smithford Street. At night they angered hundreds of workers by holding them up in the streets with fixed bayonets and demanding their identification.

It is also true that they tried to stop people going in or coming out of the city by holding them up at the bus stations, sending them back if they were not satisfied with their reasons for travelling. I myself had to cycle out of Coventry to Birmingham in order to avoid being stopped. I heard a lot of workers complain about being held up by the Home Guard when they wanted to leave the town.

To conclude:—There was really every element of Martial Law and the atmosphere that goes with it. As a matter of fact a lot of workers were under the impression that Martial Law had been proclaimed and there were rumours that the Riot Act had been read, going round the town. The writer very likely got the information from some one who was in Coventry at that time and who repeated these rumours to her. Therefore to head your criticism "War Lies" and to talk of an "irresponsible and futile lie" is grossly unfair and an irresponsible attempt to make a mountain of a lie out of a mole-hill of an error.

Yours fraternally,

John Williams

ON THE A.E.U. CONFERENCE

Amalgamated Engineering Union,
Glasgow District Office,
W. Fyfe, 71, Carlton Place,
Glasgow, C.5.
15th July, 1943.

The Editor,
"Socialist Appeal",
Dear Sir,

A copy of the "Socialist Appeal" for July 1943 has been under consideration by Glasgow District Committee of the A.E.U., and I have been directed to respectfully draw your attention to the distorted and prejudicial report of our National Committee meeting recently held at Southport.

Particularly you might note:—

- (1) That our Bro Clokey is not a member of the Communist Party.
- (2) According to our records of last year's National Committee, Bro Clokey never moved nor seconded the Wages Resolution.

(3) Bro. Clokey moved resolution at forenoon session (approx. 11 o'clock) on Tuesday, 22nd June, this year. There were six amendments. You state Bro. Clokey, choking with rage, and other C.P. members, roused upon the Militant who had moved the first amendment for the 11/- increase. The first amendment was accepted by Bro. Clokey and was incorporated in the resolution. None of the six amendments mentioned the 11/- increase. It was (approx.) 5 hours later when

Bro. Clokey closed the discussion on wages calmly and without rage not otherwise as you suggest.

- (4) Bro. Clokey had a mandate from this District Committee to fight for consolidation and unity with the Joint Trades Movement and our Executive Council on wages.
- (5) You failed to mention that one of the Militants and alleged Anti-Communist Party delegates, seconded the resolution on Communist Party Affiliation.

Yours faithfully,
William Fyfe,
District Secretary.

OUR CORRESPONDENT'S REPLY

1. The denial of the Glasgow D.C. that Bro. Clokey is a member of the Communist Party should prove interesting information for Glasgow militants who are familiar with his political record. We believe they are the best judges as to the validity of this denial.

2. The records of the District Committee are correct in their information regarding Bro. Clokey and the 1942 National Committee, and in acknowledging our error in this matter we hope it has in no way inconvenienced Bro. Clokey.

My main argument was that a climb down had taken place in relation to the wage demand, not so much that Bro. Clokey was guilty of this as an individual. As Point No. 4 in Bro. Fyfe's letter remarks: "Bro. Clokey had a mandate" from the D.C. on this resolution concerning the 6/- just as he and Bro. Sillars obviously had a mandate last year or the resolution for the 11/- since they supported it. What engineering workers are primarily interested in is that the Glasgow D.C., a body which is well-known for its sympathy with Communist Party policy, should have made such a miserable climb-down from supporting 11/- to 6/- in its wage demand in the face of opposition from the Employers' Federation.

It would be as well to note here that the demand for the 6/- was originally voiced in the April issue of the "New Propeller" and it was followed by a campaign in A.E.U. branches by that very unpopular strike-breaking body known as the National Council of Shop Stewards (controlled exclusively by the Communist Party). In putting forward the demand for the 6/- Glasgow D.C. were at one with the "New Propeller".

As far as a climb-down in the wage demand is concerned, "Socialist Appeal" lays the onus for such an act completely upon the Glasgow D.C., and makes no apologies for suggesting that this step agreed completely with C.P. policy.

3. Bro. Fyfe is correct when he remarks that no amendment for 11/- reached the floor of the Conference. What actually happened is that a resolution for the 11/- was tabled but was dropped in favour of the composite motion moved by Bro. Clokey. If the Glasgow D.C. were serious in their demand for 11/- in 1942, one would have imagined they would be only too eager to accept in 1943 what was after all their own demand. The fact that the 11/- was dropped in favour of the composite motion of the 6/- is just another illustration of the climb-down that took place. We note under this point the assurance that Bro. Clokey closed the discussion calmly, and the fact that this may be so in no way destroys the argument that a sell-out was made on the wages demand.

Finally, in relation to Point No. 5 we in turn respectfully draw Bro. Fyfe's attention to past issues of the "Socialist Appeal" which has continuously supported Communist Party affiliation to the Labour Party, along lines which would in our opinion greatly assist in the unity of the working class and the exposure of the bogus unity policy of the C.P. leaders.

G.H.

The "Socialist Appeal" relies almost entirely upon its worker correspondents for details of local and industrial disputes. It is not possible to check up on all the statements of fact made by our correspondents, we have to rely upon their appreciation of the need for objective reporting in a serious workers' paper.

We emphasise, therefore, that our correspondents should check up on all statements issued to the "Socialist Appeal" rather than statements if not sure of their accuracy or at least indicate that the report has not been checked.

Editorial Board

PAMPHLETS BY TROTSKY

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CLYDE C.P. Disrupt Union

The attempt to smash the militant opposition which is daily gathering strength on the Clydeside against the false and treacherous leadership of the Stalinist and T.U. bureaucrats inside the trade union movement, has once again shown itself in the victimisation of 3 leading shop stewards of the A.E.U., Brothers Doherty, Menzies and Gray.

For issuing a circular condemning the strikebreaking policy of the "Communist Party" in connection with the Dubbs strike, these staunch trade unionists have been recommended by the Glasgow District Committee of the A.E.U. to the National Executive, A.E.U. that they be suspended from holding any union positions for 12 months. The voting for this motion was 13-11.

It must be strongly emphasised that the whole plot was mooted by the reactionary gang of Stalinists on the District Committee. An attempt to get disciplinary action begun early in the year, McLaren (C.P.er) failed at a District Committee meeting—the chairman refused to discuss the circular being outside union business. The C.P. tried other ways and Sillars put through a resolution at his branch which was sent to the National Executive. In this manner the executive referred it back to the Glasgow District Committee for attention.

The 3 victimised unionists hold important positions in their factories. Bro. Gray is General Convenor of the — Menzies A.E.U. Convenor —, and Doherty member of the A.F.U. for 30 years, has been General Convenor of — Forge for 7 years, now a block convenor in the same factory. All are members of the Glasgow District Committee A.E.U.

The foul tactics of the C.P. are not accepted by all the rank and file. The deputation of 5 Shop Stewards who went from the — to the Glasgow District Committee meeting to protest at the decision to deprive them of their convenor brought sharp rebukes from one of the 2 C.P.ers, who were a part of the deputation, at Sillars' whole attitude.

The increasing Stalinist bureaucratic control of the A.E.U. must be fought against by the union membership. Many Glasgow branches have sent resolutions of protest to the National Executive. Let every union branch, Shop Stewards' Committee, trades councils etc. send similar protests and demand an end to this vicious policy which victimises militant rank and file expression.

Successful Glasgow Meeting

A most successful meeting was held by the Glasgow Branch of W.I.L. at the Masonic Halls, on Sunday, September 22nd. The speaker was Jock Haston, National Organiser of W.I.L., who gave an inspiring speech on the revolutionary events in Italy and their significance for the British Working Class.

Leading up to present day revolutionary events, he gave an outline of the causes for the rise of Fascism and the terrible defeats suffered by the Italian Working Class. Today, he said, not only the Italian Revolution but the European Revolution has begun. Everywhere the workers are responding to the Italian events, in Spain, Portugal and in Germany itself. A move to the left is taking place all over the World as shown by the Canadian and Australian elections.

He stressed the fact that the American and British Capitalists would attempt to put down the Revolution by military means and that any appeal made to the Allies by the Working Class parties of Italy would mean a terrible and bloody defeat for the workers and peasants. Only by going forward clearly and decisively for the Socialist Revolution and relying on the support of the World Working Class could they attain their emancipation.

Comrade Alec Riach, sub-Convenor of a large Clydeside factory, who has recently broken with the C.P. to join the Fourth International, was in the chair. He opened the meeting by giving his reasons for his break with the C.P., caused by his practical experience of the reactionary role their policy is playing in industry today and dealt with the totally un-Marxian attitude of the C.P. towards the Italian Revolution.

Ample time was given for questions and discussion. There were many well known Clydeside shop stewards and militants present.

This was the most successful meeting that has ever been held by our tendency in Glasgow and everyone was inspired. The meeting was held on the Anniversary of the murder of Leon Trotsky and its success was one more indication that the ideas he fought and died for live on, and are daily growing stronger.

R. R.



LABOUR MUST SUPPORT CIVIL SERVANTS

BY BOB ALLEN

The differences which have arisen between the Civil Service Association and the Government on the question of affiliation to the T.U.C. in defiance of Section 5 of the Trade Disputes Act are not accidental. These differences spring from a completely new orientation produced in the Civil Service Associations as the result of a long and deep seated process which has been happening during the war. The Civil Service in 1943 bears an entirely different character as regards membership from the Civil Service of 1938. The Government now employs over 800,000 Civil Servants. In 1938 there were 200,000 civil servants. The social make-up of the influx of over 600,000 temporary civil servants is in many respects entirely different from the social make-up of the original 200,000. None of the 600,000 who have entered since the war began can hope for establishment, but most of the original 200,000 are established, that is, permanent civil servants. Further, owing to the tremendous increase in the technical departments of the Civil Service, a large number of the new civil servants have come directly from industry and have the outlook and ideas of proletarians. The relative standard of life of the civil servants as compared, for example with the engineering industry, has consistently dropped, for example, a technician in the aircraft industry employed by the State in 1938 received a rate of pay approximately 50 per cent above that obtained in his equivalent in industry. But a technician in 1943 receives approximately 50 per cent less than his equivalent in industry. Again, where before the war a civil servant was accustomed to one month's leave with pay, unlimited sick leave with pay, good conditions with regard to allowances on moving, security of tenure, good pay, now none of these advantages exist. These facts are apparent to all civil servants, both temporary and permanent, and during the last two years a tremendous amount of discussion has taken place, the results of which we are now seeing.

It must be remembered that the Government has pursued a policy of splitting the Civil Service Associations into small units, buying off the leaders, with promotion, and introducing repressive legislation, such as the Trade Disputes Act. It also rivetted upon the Civil Service the Whitley procedure, which was a device similar to the Joint Production Committees in industry and which had similar effects. All independent activity of the civil service, where it existed, has been effectively ham-strung. The overwhelming majority of the civil service have realised that the old way, the way of the Whitley Council, is completely useless for them if they wish to better their wages and conditions. They are turning to the methods of trade unionism which exists in the rest of industry. In place of the collaborationist procedure they realise that they must more closely approximate to methods of collective bargaining, organise associations on trade union lines, adopt definite wage policies and press for the recognition of local representatives of the associations. This entails affiliation to the T.U.C. both in order to get the backing of the rest of the organised workers and also to regularise the new positions that will arise in the civil service.

The civil servants, in the main middle class elements, are becoming

desperate. The first big step that they have undertaken has been to orientate themselves towards the organised workers' movement. The illusions of the erstwhile most reactionary sections, are being dispelled with lightning speed. Their cherished beliefs of a fair deal from the government, the impartiality of the State, are being completely shattered. The government's crude and shameless attempts to split the Civil servants, is glaring. The Statement from 10 Downing Street that the government would dis-establish the established civil servants if they affiliated to the T.U.C. applies only to a quarter of the civil servants. Three quarters of them are not established, particularly in the Post Office, the great majority of the engineers are unestablished. This statement therefore was an attempt to frighten the established workers and to play them off against the great mass of the unestablished.

The militant workers, both inside and outside the civil service, welcomed the position taken up by the civil service. The Union of Post Office Workers, the Civil Service Clerical Association, the Inland Revenue Staff Association were carrying on the actual negotiations but most of the other civil service associations are behind them.

The organised working class has a tremendous responsibility on this question. At present the middle class is moving towards the Labour movement as a means of halting the terrific fall in its standard of living caused by the impositions of Big Business using the war as a basis on which to enrich itself at the expense of the masses. But unless they receive a fighting lead, in the spirit of solidarity and support, in order to achieve their aims they will turn in a different direction; in the direction of reaction as did the German and Italian middle class. It was the failure of the working class movement to give a solution to the problems of society, the misery and insecurity caused by capitalism, that led the middle class to fall for the fascist demagogues in those countries as a means of salvation. Now, instead of giving a fighting lead the Labour and Trade Union leaders have capitulated to the blackmail of the Tories. The Labour members of the government instead of resigning on this issue, have supported Churchill and the capitalist class. Thus they demoralise and weaken the faith of the Labour movement in its own strength. And thus they can drive the despairing middle class away from the Labour movement altogether.

Every class conscious worker and trade unionist must demand the unconditional right of civil servants to freely affiliate industrially and politically to the Labour movement.

The horse-deal that the Trade Union and Labour leadership is preparing by secret discussions with the government is only intended to save its face, under the pretence that the government is acting without the mass pressure of the Labour movement. "Concessions" which the government will probably announce after a long delay will then be claimed as liberal and generous relaxations of restrictions. In reality of course they will amount to very little indeed.

Workers must demand the immediate repeal of ALL the provisions of the Trades Disputes Act without exception. Workers must demand the right of the civil servants to engage in political and industrial activity together with the workers organised in the T.U.C. without restraint or restriction of any kind.

Demand a strong and militant stand by the Labour and Trade Union leaders.

TRANSFER OF GIRLS CAUSES STRIKE

JOCK MILLIGAN

On the 29th May, 1943, a number of girls working at a factory in London, were instructed to attend the Labour Exchange.

At the Labour Exchange they were interviewed by the National Service Officer—one, J. Clarke—who under regulation 58a of the Defence (General) Regulations 1939, directed them to Messrs. —, at —, on the following schedule:—

Employment as a factory worker with — at —, beginning on Monday, 31st May, 1943, particulars of which are as follows:—

"The rate of remuneration and conditions of service will be:—
20 years, 45/- plus 25% of 23/- plus bonus;
19 years, 43/- plus 25% of 21/- plus bonus.

Further particulars, after 8 weeks 53/7d. After 32 weeks 85/-, Hours 8 to 6 Mondays and Tuesdays, 8 to 8 Wednesdays and Saturdays. Alternative Saturdays one o'clock.

Incidentally, all the girls are about the same age, 19 or 20 years, and were regarded as semi-skilled at Messrs. Samuel Jones, receiving top rates as such.

Some of the girls voiced minor protestations to the National Service Officer against this instruction, who replied, that they should consider themselves fortunate in being sent not too far from home, as he had the power to direct them further North—even Scotland if he so desired.

On receiving this reply from the N.S.O., (which clearly contains a tendency of intimidation) and being ignorant of the procedure of appeal, the girls reported at —, as per instruction.

They were presented with the following conditions:—
Girls under 21 years of age, 43/- per week.
Girls over 21 years of age, 45/- per week.

For a training period. The reason being given, that Messrs. — would not accept them as semi-skilled, and they had to start from scratch.

The girls pointed out that this was a violation of the instructions laid by the N.S.O., and referred to the schedule E.D.421 (Revised).

The Supervisor or Managers, thereupon asked all the girls for their schedules, and they complied. After perusal of same, she informed them that this instruction was all wrong, and that they did not know what they were doing at the Labour Exchange, and retained the schedules.

At a loss what to do, the girls accepted the conditions, under protest, and immediately informed their respective Union branches in London, who in turn acquainted the branches

at —, who informed the Shop Stewards.

Conditions appertaining to board and lodging at — were a difficult problem confronting the girls, anything from 25/- to 35/- per week. This in some cases included one meal in the morning and one in the evening, and this at times, not always acceptable. Whereupon the girls had to go hungry or if their means allowed it, supplement their rations at the canteen.

Here is a case in point. After hunting around, the best that could be obtained was three girls to share one bed. With a couple of sandwiches in the morning and a meal in the evening for the sum of one pound per week each. This they accepted. After a few weeks of this, and when about Wednesday or Thursday they were reduced to having a penny plate of rice for their mid-day meal at the canteen, also the union did not appear to be making any headway, matters came to a climax.

One day the girls ceased work, surrounded their Shop Steward in the shop and demanded an interview with the manager. The Steward took the matter up with the convenor and both spent the whole of the day working on the case. On the following day, the Manager, Mr. Hallpike, asked the girls to send four delegates to see him. The girls complied, but unfortunately did not notify the Shop Steward due to a misunderstanding of procedure on the part of the girls. On hearing of the interview, the Shop Steward and Convenor went to the Manager's office and demanded admittance. On being refused, they immediately telephoned the A.E.U. District Secretary, and were finally admitted. After further negotiations, the Shop Stewards obtained specific guarantees. One, that girls be paid £3, 2, 6d., for a forty-seven hour week for the first eight weeks. Two wages arising in steps thereafter. Whilst the Shop Stewards accepted the first part, they opposed the second and they are still demanding concessions on this point with the assistance of the A.E.U. District Organiser.

From the legal standpoint, undoubtedly, the girls were sent to Messrs. — under false pretences, but such is the power of the N.S.O. The girls realised this and when it was suggested that they simultaneously fill in release forms they replied "What?—and be sent to Scotland!!" To sum up, the girls have had a raw deal. First the violation of the schedule issued by the N.S.O., and being reduced to coolie level as a consequence thereof; secondly, the lack of initiative on the part of the unions to force the issue on behalf of the girls for immediate recognition of the schedule demonstrated, quite clearly that, had it not been for the militant action of the girls themselves by resorting to strike action, nothing would have been done.

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Svyazhsk

BY LARISSA REISSNER

Editor's Note: Symbol of the international character of the October revolution is Larissa Reissner, daughter of a Polish mother and a German—East Elbian—landowner; she was born May 1, 1895, in Vilna (Poland), educated in Germany and France; before her 22nd birthday she was an outstanding figure in the Russian revolution.

Trotsky, in "My Life", writes of her in his chapter on Svyazhsk:

"Larissa Reissner, who called Ivan Nikitich (Smirnov) 'the conscience of Svyazhsk', was her self prominent in the Fifth Army, as well as in the revolution as a whole. This fine young woman flashed across the revolutionary sky like a burning meteor, blinding many. With her appearance of an Olympian goddess, she combined a subtle and ironical mind and the courage of a warrior. After the capture of Kazan by the Whites, she went into the enemy camp to reconnoitre, disguised as a peasant woman. But her appearance was too extraordinary, and she was arrested. While she was being cross-examined by a Japanese intelligence officer, she took advantage of an interval to slip through the carefully guarded door and disappear. After that, she engaged in intelligence work. Later, she sailed on war-boats and took part in battles. Her sketches about the civil war are literature. With equal gusto, she would write about the Ural industries and the rising of the workers in the Ruhr. She was anxious to know and to see all, and to

take part in everything. In a few brief years, she became a writer of the first rank. But after coming unscathed through fire and water, this Pallas of the revolution suddenly burned up with typhus in the peaceful surroundings of Moscow, before she was even thirty."

Elsewhere Trotsky ranks her with Isaac Babel as the greatest writers of the civil war period—a remarkable tribute to a girl to whom Russian was a foreign language, acquired in maturity.

"The Front", a collection of her civil war sketches, from which "Svyazhsk" is taken, was enormously popular with the Soviet masses. The various districts of the Communist Party—Moscow, Leningrad, the Urals, etc.—vied with each other in bringing it out in scores of editions. A larger collection of her work, "Oktober: Ausgewählte Schriften", was brought out in Germany by the official Comintern publishing house as late as 1930, with an introduction by Radek written in 1926, the year she died. It was not until Stalin's 50th birthday (December 21, 1929) and the publication on that date of Voroshilov's "Stalin and the Red Army" that the falsification of the history of the civil war began with full force. Now, of course, Larissa Reissner's sketches are forbidden literature in the Soviet Union, for their unforgettable portraits of the civil war leaders murdered by Stalin are a complete refutation of the Stalinist falsifications.

With this sketch of "Svyazhsk", we begin the publication of her work for the first time in England. The translation is by John G. Wright and Amy Jensen.

Whenever two comrades who worked together in the year 1918, fought beneath Kazan against the Czechoslovaks and then in the Urals or at Samara and Tsaritsin, chance to meet again many years later one of them is bound to ask after the first few questions:

"Remember Svyazhsk?" And they will clasp each other's hand again.

What is Svyazhsk? Today it is a legend, one of the revolutionary legends which still remain unchronicled but which are being retold over and over again from one end to another of this Russian vastness. Not one of the demobilised Red Army men from among the old-timers, the founders of the Workers' and Peasants' Army, upon returning home and reminiscing about the three years of Civil War will skip over the fabulous epic of Svyazhsk, the cross-roads whence the tide of the revolutionary offensive started rolling on all four sides. On the east—towards the Urals. On the south—towards the Caspian shores, the Caucasus and the borders of Persia. On the north toward Archangel and Poland. Not all together, of course; nor simultaneously. But it was only after Svyazhsk and Kazan that the Red Army became crystallised into those fighting and political forms which, after undergoing change and being perfected, have become classic for the R.S.F.S.R.

On August 6 (1918) numerous hastily organised regiments fled from Kazan; and the best among them, the class-conscious section, clung to Svyazhsk, halted there and decided to make a stand and fight. By the time the mob of deserters fleeing from Kazan had almost reach Nizhny Novgorod, the dam erected at Svyazhsk had already halted the Czechoslovaks; and their general who tried to take the railroad bridge across the Volga by storm was killed during the night attack. Thus in the very first clash between the Whites who had just taken Kazan and consequently were stronger in morale and equipment, and the core of the Red Army seeking to defend the bridge-head across the Volga, the head of the Czechoslovak offensive was lopped off. They lost their most popular and gifted leader in General Blagotich. Neither the Whites, flushed by their recent victory, nor the Reds rallying

round Svyazhsk had any inkling of the historical importance that their initial skirmishes would have.

It is extremely difficult to convey the military importance of Svyazhsk without having the necessary materials at hand, without a map, and without the testimony of those comrades who were in the ranks of the Fifth Army at that time. Much has already been forgotten by me; faces and names flit by as in a fog. But there is something that no one will ever forget and that is: the feeling of supreme responsibility for holding Svyazhsk. This was the bond between all its defenders from a member of the Revolutionary Military Council to the last Red rank and file in desperate search for his somewhere extant, retreating regiment, who suddenly turned back and faced Kazan in order to fight to the last, with worn-out rifle in hand and fanatic determination in his heart. The situation was understood by everyone as follows: Another step backward would open the Volga to the enemy down to Nizhny (Novgorod) and thus the road to Moscow.

Further retreat meant the beginning of the end; the death sentence on the Republic of the Soviets.

How correct this is from a strategic point of view, I know not. Perhaps the Army if rolled back even further might have gathered into a similar fist on one of the innumerable black dots which speckle the map and thenceforth carried its banners to victory. But indubitably it was correct from the standpoint of morale. And insofar as a retreat from the Volga meant a complete collapse at that time, to that extent the possibility of holding out, with one's back against the bridge, imbued us with a real hope.

The ethics of the revolution formulated the complex situation succinctly as follows: To retreat is to have the Czechs in Nizhny and in Moscow. No surrender of Svyazhsk and the bridge means the reconquest of Kazan by the Red Army.

THE ARRIVAL OF TROTSKY'S TRAIN.

It was, I believe, either on the third or fourth day after the fall of Kazan that Trotsky arrived at Svyazhsk. His train came to a determined stop at the little station; his locomotive panted a little, was uncoupled, and departed to drink water, but did not return. The cars remained standing in a row as immobile as the dirty straw-thatched peasant huts and the barracks occupied by the Fifth Army's staff. This immobility silently underscored that there was no place to go from here, and that it was impermissible to leave. Little by little the fanatical faith that this little station would become the starting point for a counter-offensive against Kazan began to take on the shape of reality.

Every new day that this God-forsaken, poor railway siding held out against the far stronger enemy, added to its strength and raised its mood of confidence. From somewhere in the rear, from far-off villages in the hinterland, came at first soldiers one by one, then tiny detachments, and finally military formations in a far better state of preservation.

I see it now before me, this Svyazhsk where not a single soldier fought "under compulsion." Everything that was alive there and fighting in self-defence—all of it was bound together by the strongest ties of voluntary discipline, voluntary participation in a struggle

(Continued on page 4.)

ALLIED POLICY—RIFT WIDENS

By DAVID JAMES

The drastic reverses suffered by the Axis have had strong repercussions in the camp of the "United" Nations. The conflict between the war policies of Russia and the Western Powers has been raised to a higher degree, and with the approach of the period of a European settlement, the conflict over post-war aims has become increasingly sharp and open.

Workers' International League has consistently pointed out the irreconcilable class difference between the Soviet Union and her "Allies", which is the basis of the contradiction in war and peace aims. Fresh confirmation of this analysis is provided every day.

Friction between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers, officially eliminated by the Anglo-Soviet Pact, has in fact continued—sometimes openly, more often behind the scenes. Moore-Brabazon's expressed wish to see Germany and the Soviet Union exhaust one another remains unaltered as a clear statement of Anglo-U.S. aims. That Stalin recognises this is shown in the campaign for opening a Second Front in the West which has increased in volume from 1941 to the present day.

On the other side, the alarm of the Western Powers at the prospect of a Soviet advance into Europe was voiced loudly this spring when the Red Army began to smash the German army back. Wallace's speech foreshadowing the Third World War unless agreement with Russia was obtained, was the most famous example of this panic. Neither side trusts the other, and with good reason.

CONTRADICTORY WAR POLICIES

The differences over war policy have come to a head. No Soviet representative was present at Casablanca. At that time, however, Stalin hoped that a decision would be taken in favour of a Second Front, so he did not complain. The materialisation of the Casablanca decisions in the form of the Sicilian invasion, but no real Second Front, disillusioned him. The Quebec Conference on the contrary, has caused a storm. Tass abruptly denied that the Soviet Government had been invited to send representatives, and the Soviet demand for a Second Front "drawing away 50 to 60 German divisions from the Eastern Front" was renewed vigorously. But the main emphasis of the discussions at Quebec was laid on the war in the Pacific, the aerial war and of postponement of the Second Front until next spring. This, in spite of the accepted fact that the Soviet Union cannot suffer another winter without irreparable loss of millions of Russians in the occupied territories, the disastrous effects on the wealth of the Russian people, and a breakdown of Russia's already overstrained transport system.

Of course! Is this not what Moore-Brabazon advocated? Is this not what the "Socialist Appeal" has been saying: that the allied imperialists will

time the invasion of Europe to suit their own imperialist interests."

CONTRADICTORY PEACE AIMS

The struggle over peace aims is becoming sharper too. Stalin remembers the "cordon sanitaire" policy pursued by the allies after the last war—that of creating reactionary military dictatorships, subsidised by "democratic" capital as a buffer against the Soviet State. He is attempting to get in first, by creating spheres of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe.

As after the last war, Poland is a key factor in the reactionary set-up. The squabble with the Polish Government in London over the murdered Polish officers cloaked a far more important issue. Stalin wished to discredit this Government, which is thoroughly anti-Soviet and well fitted to assume the role of spearhead of Anglo-U.S. aggression against the Soviet Union at some future date. By means of the Union of Polish Patriots, Stalin is attempting to build up a movement in Poland which will serve his aims. The latest blow in the "war of nerves" over Poland was struck by Wanda Wasselewka, Chairman of this Union, who was reported in the "Daily Worker" 19/8/43 as saying:

"... Polish patriots active in the resistance struggle against the enemy have been murdered in Poland by order of emigre Polish circles..."

These actions, states Wasselewka, have been taken in response to incitements broadcast over the secret radio station "Swit" which is claimed to be operated by the underground Polish movement organised in connection with Polish emigre circles in Britain.

Wasselewka contrasts the appeals for patience and restraint in respect to the German occupation emitted by this station and in many official statements of the Polish Government in London, with the reckless and repeated calls for violence against leaders of the Polish guerrilla movement emitted by the same station.

A precisely similar situation exists in Yugoslavia, where Stalin has built a strong influence by means of the Peoples' Liberation Army, and continually exposes the reactionary activities of Mihailovich and the Yugoslav Government in London. The Allied military headquarters in Cairo supports Mihailovich's policy by issuing radio appeals to the guerrillas instructing them to "wait" for an allied invasion.

Here the class alignment becomes obvious. The British and American imperialists fear-like the plague—any extension of guerrilla activity in Europe for they know that in spite of their Stalinist controlled leadership, wherever the guerrilla armies are victorious, they expropriate the majority of landlords and capitalists. Though he hates and fears the workers' revolution, Stalin finds that his objective position as head of a Workers' State forces him in conflict with his "allies" to give support to the revolutionary elements since

these are the only genuine allies of the Soviet Union against the Axis and Anglo-American imperialism and its stooges. Remembering all the time, of course, the bureaucratic methods of Stalin, the refusal to direct the guerrillas along the road of socialist revolution, the beheading of the genuinely revolutionary elements and the inevitable switch of Stalin's policy and horse deal with the "allies" and Mihailovich if it so suits his ends.

Stalin is attempting to gain Czechoslovakia as a sphere of influence by signing a pact with Benes. London showed its realisation of the meaning of this move by at first refusing Benes permission to go to Moscow! Only the publication of this fact, the strong discontent in Czech circles, and the danger of a too-open disclosure of British hostility towards the Soviet Union, forced a reversal of this decision.

In the formation of the Free German Committee, Stalin is hunting bigger game. There is no consultation of Britain and America before setting it up. In this move, Stalin hopes to create a bastion against Anglo-U.S. imperialism in the form of a Germany ruled by a Popular Front Government, working in close collaboration with Moscow. The alarm of the British ruling class was voiced in an article in the "Observer", 25/7/43:

But even at this moment Stalin, cool, farsighted, and realising that even after the most conclusive defeat Germany will continue to be an important factor in European politics, sows the seeds of future Russian-German peace and co-operation on realistic terms.

We have neither so far devised an approach to Russia which would make it superfluous for her thus to extend her influence in Western Europe... nor have we built up a similar body of support in Europe for ourselves. The dangers of these omissions are obvious. Stalin's Policy is Futile.

Though we support the Soviet Union against her imperialist enemies; and although Stalin's recent manoeuvres represent a tendency to establish a certain independence on the part of the Soviet Union from her imperialist allies, it would be entirely wrong to believe that these manoeuvres will genuinely defend the Soviet Union and assist the European revolution. Time and again we have emphasised that only the Socialist Revolution can aid the Soviet Union. This is confirmed though indirectly, by the Yugoslavian experience. Stalin's policy, on the other hand, is bureaucratic through and through. Alliances with the cap-

italists; setting up stooge committees of a popular front character; influencing the liberation movements away from the workers' revolution into channels of Popular Frontism.

It is necessary to state unambiguously: if this Stalinist policy is victorious in the coming European revolution it will lead to disastrous defeats precisely as it did before the war—and the repercussions on the Soviet Union will be as grave. Only by complete and unconditional independence of the European revolutionary movement from the capitalist class can the Soviet Union be defended.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

In this crisis the Communist Party reveals itself as usual to be a hollow reed. Tied by the Anglo-Soviet Pact to support of British imperialism, it limits itself to pleading with the Government for a Second Front. Need we recall the two years of "pressure" which have resulted in exactly nothing? The Stalinists are even to the right of the liberals, whom they rebuke for complaining about Stalin's absence from Quebec:

"But it is unnecessary for the Press to concern itself so much with Stalin's absence."

It is true that the closeness of Anglo-American Soviet relations is the key not only to victory, but to the winning of the peace. And it is true that at the present time these relations still leave very much to be desired.

But the character of the present Conference is quite clear. As President Roosevelt has said, it is an Anglo-American Conference.

"Daily Worker", 14/8/43.

THE LIBERALS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The liberals, led by the "News Chronicle", and the Social Democrats, blurt pathetically that it is no good; Stalin should have been at Quebec. They call for a "real understanding" between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union. But what has prevented this up to now—in spite of the mutual back-slapping and champagne orgies? The simple fact that between a workers' state, though degenerated and in the grip of a reactionary bureaucracy, and the imperialist states there is an irreconcilable class contradiction.

The Soviet Union is bleeding itself to exhaustion with a terrible toll in lives and material while the "Allies" have emerged with their resources strengthened and with a negligible loss of life. Now the chief concern of British and American imperialism, with the defeat of Germany practically certain, is how to destroy the European revolution and at the same time further weaken the Soviet Union for the inevitable clash they perceive in the future. The capitalist strategy has only partly succeeded because, though Russia has been terribly weakened, Germany has not destroyed the Soviet Union.

Whether a Second Front in Europe will be launched or not will depend on the analysis of the situation by the Allies. As always their cold-blooded calculations will be dictated by the interests of the Anglo-American capitalists and nothing else.

But even a completely successful Second Front launched at the present time would not mean the destruction of fascism, or could save the Soviet Union, from destruction. Only the workers of Europe, together with the workers of Britain by overthrowing capitalism and taking power into their own hands can defend the Soviet Union and help destroy fascism. To the class actions of the capitalists must be opposed the class solidarity of the workers.

Trotskyists Active In Indian Struggle

U.S. "MILITANT" organ of American Trotskyists.

The Bolshevik-Leninist Party, Indian section of the Fourth International, fights on despite the bestial repressions and totalitarian censorship of British imperialism, writes the July issue of the magazine, Fourth International, which is in possession of ten leaflets and a pamphlet published by the Indian Trotskyists during the past year.

Though the leaflets one can follow the response of the party to the revolutionary developments in India. The latest of them is a leaflet issued for the Indian Independence Day celebration on January 26, 1943. Another is a rounded political statement issued on August 9, 1942, when the All-India Congress Committee ratified the resolution of its Working Committee to launch a mass civil-disobedience struggle.

This leaflet solidarizes with the struggle for independence, warns the masses to be on guard against the weak and vacillating Gandhi leadership and the policy of compromise, pledges support to "any mass action that the Congress may take against British imperialism," and confidently predicts:

"The movement started under the leadership of the Congress is bound to develop into channels other than those laid down for it."

The Independence Day leaflet sums up the results of six months of struggle and records that the bestial repressions of the British rulers, "far from leading to demoralization, increases the volume of desperate discontent. The masses are reaching out for new methods of struggle.

The Soviet Union and Stalinism are dealt with by almost all the leaflets. One of them, headed "Defend the Soviet Union," explains why the only way to defend the workers' state is by revolutionary struggle against all the capitalists.

I stake my life! BY LEON TROTSKY DEWEY REPORT on the Moscow Trials 6¢

War Writers' Board Hits "Mission to Moscow"

New York—

The Davies whitewash film, "Mission To Moscow," is booming on its inspirers, sponsors and producers. The GPU lies and frame-ups are too much to ram down the throats of the American public, despite the Hollywood sauce and the "unofficial" blessing of the State Department.

Among the latest to denounce the film is the Writers War Board, representing more than 2,000 feature writers for newspapers and periodicals. This board, which issues reports on war movies, last week awarded "three duds" to the Warner Brothers screen justification of the Moscow frame-ups. The board further found that Hollywood has tried to "falsify facts" for the sake of appeasing Stalin and goes on to add:

"Every movement for appeasement is based on the idea that an untruth or a distortion is excusable if it serves a greater good. We cannot subscribe to such a doctrine, however desirable the immediate effect." (N. Y. Times, June 26.)

The report bears the names of Rex Stout, chairman; Franklin P. Adams, Pearl S. Buck, Carl Carner, Robert T. Colwell, Russell Crouse, Clifton Fadiman, Paul Gallico, Jack Goodman, Oscar Hammerstein, Rita Halle Kleeman, Robert J. Landry, Margaret Leech, John P. Marquand, Katharine Seymour, William L. Shirer, and Frederica Barach, executive secretary.

There is one glaring omission in the report of the Writers War Board. They pretend that Warner Brothers ("Hollywood") was alone responsible for the falsification of facts. There is not a single reference to the State Department and its "unofficial" endorsement of the film.

SPLIT IN CHINESE C.P.

An AP dispatch from Chungking on July 7 quoted a government spokesman as saying that the dissolution of the Comintern had caused a split in the Chinese Communist Party. One group which favored the C. I. dissolution is moving closer to the Chiang Kai-shek government, while the other group still holds to the need for internationalism, according to the report.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

The shameful and almost incredible conditions under which the Old Age Pensioners are existing today, forced to live on pittance which compel them to beg and borrow from their friends and relatives; examined, searched and questioned by the Means Test inspectors; and subject to an almost unbearable mode of living, all this constitutes what is probably one of the greatest exposures of the class attitude which is adopted by the ruling class towards these workers.

The Government separates these workers into various grades. The widows are separated into those who have lost their husbands through war service or in civil life, into those who are capable or incapable of self-support; the children are placed into age groups, (under 5, 5-8 years, 8-11 years, 11-14 years). Old Age pensioners are subjected to a Means Test before they can receive any additional allowances, and the soldiers too, are subjected to a test which determines his pension, all this affecting the amounts allowed. It is in this cold and calculating fashion that the Government divides, separates, grades, and cheats—these workers who are no longer able in peace time to successfully compete with the queues of workless at the Labour Exchange.

The basic pension for those who have reached the age of 65 remains at 10s. per week, and assuming that the Means Test has been successfully survived, an old couple would receive the following:—

Pension	20s.
Addition	5s.
Cost-of-living addition	8s.
Supplementary	4s.

This equals 37s. from which must be deducted a rent of 6s. and which leaves 31s. per week to live on. This means that an old couple placed under these favourable circumstances would have 4s. 5d. per day between them; or 2s. 2½d. each, out of which they have to pay for food, clothes, coal and light, soaps, etc. and all the other necessities of life!

This sum however, which doesn't even equal the tips which are handed out by the rich during the course of their daily travels, is beaten in sheer meanness by the allowances granted to the widow of 60 who receives 21s. per week, from which is deducted 6s. rent. This leaves a little over 2s. 1½d. per day from which she is expected to

4 YEARS OF WAR!

Continued on page 4

After Quebec, Churchill spoke and gave a clear picture of the policy and future military strategy of the Allies and their essential economic and political aims for the future. No military aid to Russia until the policy of Britain and America with their precise definitions of a carved up Europe has been accepted by Stalin and military intervention suits their imperialist aims.

Behind Churchill's statement: that a military front such as Stalin demands will not be dictated by political considerations but by military strategy, lies a great and definite lie. For the refusal to open such a front is dictated precisely by the class, political antagonism between Soviet Russia, a degenerated workers' state, and her allies, countries controlled by the capitalist class.

They lie who say that there is no conflict. They do a dis-service to the toiling masses and to the Soviet Union who cover up this conflict. For behind the half concealed discussions and debates and open propaganda, secret diplomatic discussions to decide the carve up and dictate the economic and political future of Europe and the world are taking place.

Out with it! The masses must demand an end to the secret diplomatic talks. Expose it, for it is reaction's tool. Labour must demand a clear and open statement of the basis of this conflict and take a hand in deciding what has to be done.

The turning of the energy of the Allies against Japan, is a sign that they are waiting for a further weakening of Soviet Russia. The campaign against Japan underlines the fact that the only genuine allies of the workers state are the working class.

For four years, the destiny of millions has been in the hands of capitalist governments, apart from the Soviet Union. Stalin's bureaucratic policy, in spite of the fact that Soviet Russia is a workers' state, has helped the capitalists to control and mislead the people. But the fifth year will usher in a new period of social alignments and political struggles. For reaction is giving place to revolution. The masses will have the last word!

In this period the working class need clear ideas and a revolutionary programme. Above all they need an international socialist party to carry that programme into effect.

To defend the Soviet Union not only from her enemies and "allies" but from the false bureaucratic policies of Stalinism is a first duty of the working class. To do so the workers must find their independence as a class.

Only the Fourth International—the World Party of Socialist Revolution—has the policy which faces up to all the demands of our epoch.

BY JIM HINCHCLIFFE

feed and clothe herself. It is of little use following the advice of those gentlemen who urge the eating of more vegetables when, if the widow bought a pound of tomatoes (1s. 6d.) and a cabbage (3d.) it would only leave her with 4½d.

It is impossible to adequately describe the conditions under which these workers are compelled to exist as a result of these allowances. Incredible though it may seem, in London, where a club for elderly people has opened, providing a two-course lunch for 8d., tea at 1d. per cup, and a High tea for 6d., many of the members have been unable to have any of the meals because they just did not have the money to pay for it. The question as to whether or not it is possible to buy a 2½d. stamp in order to write a letter, becomes one of the greatest importance to these workers, who have only 2s. 2d. a day to exist upon.

In 1942, the Government calculating that the average pensioner smoked 4 ozs. of tobacco a week, and drank 6 pints of beer, in an apparent fit of generosity, granted an additional 5s. per week. Let us see what actually happened to this amount, assuming that the 5s. was actually spent in this way. The amount granted was 5s. In the same year, a tax was imposed which on these amounts of tobacco and beer amounted to 3s. 6d., thus leaving the pensioner exactly 1s. 6d. better off. The last budget placed a further 2s. tax on these items, which consequently left the pensioner 6d. WORSE off than he was before 1940, when the Act providing for supplementary allowances was first passed. Such is the "generosity" of a capitalist Government, which gives you 5s. with one hand and takes 5s. 6d. with the other!

Another "concession" has been the free provision of blankets and bed linen in case of need, for these pensioners. And once again, it is the Means Test inspectors which determines the need. Mr. Walkden, M.P., who visited many old age pensioners in Doncaster, said in the House of Commons recently that:

"Many of the old people were ragged, tattered and torn, or their clothes were patched. I went into some of their bedrooms to see the conditions in which they are living now owing to deterioration and general usage of their goods and chattels. These people indicated that the supplementary pension was insufficient to provide all the things they would like to buy. I said to some of them, 'But you can obtain bed linen,' and I was asked, 'Have you met some of the inspectors who conduct the enquiries?'"

Other M.P.s also told of these investigators who pay monthly or fort-

nightly visits to see that the old folk are not "living too well" on the extra sums they receive, who ask all kinds of questions as to exactly how the money is spent, and one M.P. even told of—

"... investigators going to some of these elderly women and lifting up their skirts to see what they were wearing underneath."

It is no wonder that many people are afraid to make application for a supplementary pension! The whole cost of the recent concessions in fact, is estimated at only £850,000, or the cost of 1½ hours of war. The extra costs of administration is estimated at nearly as much, at least £500,000!

What a vivid contrast this represents to the pensions granted to the members of the ruling class. The Lord Chancellor who, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, defended the Means Test so ably, will receive a pension of £5,000 a year, without a Means Test, which will equal over £13 10s. per day compared with the pensioners 2s. 2½d. And if further evidence is needed of the class approach towards this question, let us examine the recent concessions granted to the Foreign and Consular Service, where a man who is receiving a salary of £1,200 a year, will, instead of receiving £900 a year pension (just under £6 per week) and a £900 lump sum, now receives £400 a year pension (just under £8 per week) and a £1,200 lump sum.

There is no talk here of odd pennies, of Means Test inspectors, of haggling over "rent adjustments". Here is the class outlook revealed in its most naked, despicable and inhuman form. In the barbarous and primitive Neolithic period of man's history and even later, the young men lined up their aged parents and stoned them to death, thus thinking that they were sending them to a better world. Capitalism is, admittedly, more advanced, its tortures are more refined—it merely starves the old people to death!

Whilst these conditions are the direct result of the capitalist system which breeds and aggravates them, and can only be solved by the overthrow of capitalism, the workers, through their Labour and Trade Union organisations, must demand a real "Square Deal" for these pensioners. They must demand an adequate maintenance allowance arranged to meet the ever rising cost-of-living and the abolishing of the notorious and disgusting Means Test with all its accompanying degrading features. The workers have the right to the same reward which the capitalists make so certain of claiming, a decent and adequate pension sufficient to ensure a comfortable existence for the remainder of their life.

SAM GOLD

Continued from Page 1.

as it is, in favour of the Government. These and a great many other cases still to be listed went unpunished. Not that we want to see the regulations rigidly enforced, quite the contrary, we want to see them promptly and completely abolished.

Being very conscious that this is political victimisation against the Left, the War Office made indecent haste to deny this accusation before it was made. In criminal practice such denials are accepted as indicative of guilt. So is it in this case. The Deputy Judge Advocate-General (Northern-Command) when he declared that the case did not mean that there was discrimination against any political organisation, in effect, declared only further the utter hypocrisy of his own class.

The ruling class, feeling its position becoming more precarious almost day by day, is afraid above all of socialist ideas sweeping the rank and file of the Armed Forces. The military caste by

restrictions and savage penalties vainly hope to keep the worker in uniform more politically backward than his brother in the factories. Then, by setting one against the other, maintain their rule. However, political life in the forces is steadily growing despite the restrictions. They are not too clear yet but ask any soldiers, and you will be told they are rarer than the Dodo bird. Not for long will they tamely accept the restrictions.

Here then is the chance for the Labour leaders if they are really concerned with the well being of the soldiers, as they on occasions noisily proclaim. It was the Tory majority in the House of Commons, with the aid of not a few renegade Labour M.P.s who by 195 votes to 33 steamrollered the opposition who offered just a mild amendment to the Army Act to allow a degree of political activity.

Full and Legally Established Political Rights for the Forces. Demand the Release of Private Sam Gold.

COAL OWNERS SABOTAGE PRODUCTION

Continued from Page 1.

became more obvious that the bosses were determined at any cost to maintain their prestige and slash at the workers' conditions.

The fillers remained firm in their decision and refused to do the scuffling; as a result the management stopped a portion of the Green Ayard and the Attendance Bonus to which the men were entitled as they had been available for work for the entire shift.

On Friday, 20th August, representatives of the N.M.A., Bros. Bowman and Besford took the matter up with Major Thornton. Thornton's attitude was directly provocative. He laughed derisively at the workers' representatives attempts to discuss the issues.

When Bros. Bowman and Besford reported back to the miners at Nelson a lightning strike followed and the pit was closed on the Friday night and Saturday morning.

At a meeting held on Sunday, the agents of the N.M.A. pledged moral support but said they were powerless to give financial support unless the miners returned to work and proceeded along the constitutional

channels by giving 14 days' notice to terminate their employment. This advice was taken by the miners who returned to work. A ballot vote was taken to determine the action to be taken and a 96% majority voted in favour of giving 14 days' notice to the bosses. On Saturday morning notices were handed in.

On Tuesday, 31st August, the E.C. of the N.M.A. meet the coal owners. If they fail to reach an agreement a stoppage of work is inevitable. Meanwhile, delegates from the Hartley Main's group of the N.M.A. have pledged support to the Nelson miners.

The Northumberland coal owners have shown by their actions how little they care about production. Hundreds of tons have been lost and hundreds more will be lost in the coming weeks. They are prosecuting 12 of the fillers for refusing to work.

Forms have been filled in by the management for the prosecution of the fillers, but the boot is on the other foot. It is the workers who should be filling in the forms for the prosecution of the bosses, but, as the workers' representatives say, "there are no forms for prosecuting the boss."

On Sunday morning the workers' representatives on the Production Committee moved a resolution accusing the management of refusal to cooperate, thus making any effort of the Production Committee to increase production mere farces. At the Lodge meeting in the afternoon the miners supported the action of their representatives and the resolution is being forwarded to the Regional Fuel Controller and to the coal owners.

JOE MILLER VICTIMISED

The victimisation of Joe Miller, a trade union militant has been reported to the "Socialist Appeal" by the Shop Stewards at the factory.

Bro. Miller, the ex-convenor of a large Clyde-side factory, from which he was also victimised, had been in the Ealing plant only a few weeks. He had been largely responsible for organising the plant in which the trade union had previously not been recognised, and linking up several widely separated factories belonging to the same employer. They went forward to the election of a shop stewards executive committee covering several plants.

Following the setting up of the E.C. to cover all the factories by the meetings of the 14th and 21st August, Bro. Miller who was appointed Chairman of the new Committee and was shop-steward at Dane Road, was on Monday 23rd August, officially informed by the Superintendent that the firm were applying for Miller's release on the grounds that—

"As there is now insufficient benchwork to keep this employee fully occupied we request that we may be allowed to dispose with his services in order that same can be used to better advantage in some other plant where his services can be fully utilized."

Bro. Miller declined to make any observations on the form immediately as he required time to think over the questions and discuss it with the Works Committee.

A general meeting of both shifts was held on Tuesday, which declared that it considered that Miller had been victimised, and elected a deputation to interview the National Service Officer, in order to place before him the views of the shop.

This was done. The National Service Officer would not commit himself in any way stating that he had to look at both sides, and that as soon as he received Miller's counter statement he would give all points mentioned his serious consideration. He would also send a Labour Supply Inspector to the firm to investigate the position of redundancy.

The Committee had previously interviewed Mr. Milton, who naturally denied any attempt at victimisation, outlining the position that work on the bench had dried up and that it was uneconomical to keep Miller on because of this. The Committee, however, definitely gathered the impression that Milton realised Miller had been victimised and merely would not lay himself open by admitting it.

Their case is simply that—

1. Miller was shop-steward and had been very active in the factory from the T.U. angle.
2. He had taken a leading part in the setting up of the Executive committee covering all the factories.
3. Another skilled man was started only three days before Miller's release was applied for. This man was started as a grinder but Miller or some other man from the bench could have been utilised for grinding if there was redundancy on the bench.

4. If the bench hands were redundant a wonderful opportunity was offered the firm a few days before to dismiss three men (one of them a bench-fitter) who were suspended for misconduct—off the premises during working hours.
5. Miller is not the most recent addition to the bench.
6. No fault has been found with Miller's work—this cannot be said of everyone on the bench.

7. Miller was debarred from entering the factory pending the N.S.O.'s decision, but another man—an inspector—whose release was applied for at the same time as Miller's was not barred from working on. After this anomalous position had been pointed out during the discussion with the management the unfortunate inspector was also told not to report for work.

The Committee is of the opinion that this is the reply of the management to the commencement of real organisation on an all factory basis; that the management by their action in applying for Miller's release have thrown down the gauntlet to the workers, hoping that they will in this way nip the organisation "in the bud" before it can get a real hold. At a period when the workers' organisations have accepted so many restrictions feeling that by doing so they were assisting the fight for liberty and against tyrannies both big and small, we cannot allow an action of this sort to pass unanswered.

The action of the management must be fought. But to do so requires funds. The Dane Road Committee are collecting a levy of 2s. 6d. per man in the tool-room. We appeal to the other factories to follow our example, lending funds to the Secretary.

Svyazhsk HOW TROTSKY DEFEATED THE WHITES

Continued from page 3

which seemed so hopeless at the outset.

Human beings sleeping on the floors of the station house, in dirty huts filled with straw and broken glass—they hardly hoped for success and consequently feared nothing. The speculation on when and how all this "would end" interested none. "Tomorrow"—simply did not exist; there was only a brief, hot, smoky piece of time: Today. And one lived on that, as one lives in harvest time.

Morning, noon, evening, night—each single hour was prolonged to the utmost count; every single hour had to be lived through and used up to the last second. It was necessary to reap each hour carefully, finely like ripe wheat in the field is cut to the very root. Each hour seemed so rich, so utterly unlike all of previous life. No sooner did it vanish than in recollection it seemed a miracle. And it was a miracle.

Planes came and went, dropping their bombs on the station and the railway cars; machine guns with their repulsive barking and the calm syllables of artillery, drew night and then withdrew again, whilst a human being in a torn military coat, civilian hat, and boots with toes protruding—in short, one of the defenders of Svyazhsk—would smilingly produce a watch from his pocket and bethink himself:

"So that's what it is now—1.30 or 4.30 o'clock. Or, it is 6.20. Therefore I am still alive. Svyazhsk holds. Trotsky's train stands on the rails. A lamp now flickers through the window of the Political Department. Good. The day is ended."

Medical supplies were almost completely absent at Svyazhsk. God knows what the doctors used for bandages. This poverty shamed no one; nor did anyone stand in fear of it. The soldiers on their way with soup kettles to the field kitchen passed by stretchers with the wounded and the dying. Death held no terrors. It was expected daily, always. To lie prone in a wet army coat, with a red splotch on a shirt, with an expressionless face, a nuttiness that was no longer human—this was something taken for granted.

Brotherhood! Few words have been so abused and rendered pitiful. But brotherhood does come sometimes, in moments of direst need and peril, selfless, so sacred, so unrepresentable in a single lifetime. And they have not lived and know nothing of life who have never laid at night on a floor in tattered and lice-ridden clothes, thinking all the while how wonderful is the world, infinitely wonderful! That here the old has been overthrown and that life is fighting with bare hands for her irrefutable truth, for the white swans of her resurrection, for something far bigger and better than this patch of star-lit sky showing through the velvet blackness of a window with shattered panes—for the future of all mankind.

Once in a century contact is made and new blood is transfused. These beautiful words, these words, almost inhuman in their beauty, and the smell of living sweat, the living breath of others sleeping beside you on the floor. No nightmares, no sentimentalities but tomorrow the dawn will come and Comrade G., a Czech Bolshevik, will prepare an omelet for the whole "gang"; and the Chief of Staff will pull on a shaggy stiffly frozen shirt washed out last night. A day will dawn in which someone will die, knowing in his last second that death is only something among many other things, and not the main thing at all; that once again Svyazhsk has not been taken and that the dirty wall is still inscribed with a piece of chalk: "Workers of the World Unite!"

AGAINST THE STREAM

The rainy August days thus passed one by one. The thin, poorly equipped lines did not fall back; the bridge remained in our hands and from the rear, from somewhere far away, reinforcements began to arrive.

Real telephone and telegraph wires began to attach themselves to autumn spider-webs flying in the winds and some kind of enormous, cumbersome, lame apparatus began to operate on the God-forsaken railway station—Svyazhsk, this tiny, hardly discernible black dot on the map of Russia, at which in a moment of flight and despair, the revolution had clutched. Here all of Trotsky's organisational genius was revealed. He managed to restore the supply lines, got new artillery and a few regiments through to Svyazhsk on railways that were being openly sabotaged; everything needed for the coming offensive was obtained. In addition, it ought to be borne in mind that this work had to be done in the year 1918, when demobilisation was still raging, when the appearance on the Moscow streets of a single well dressed detachment of the Red Army would create a real sensation. After all, it meant to swim against the stream, against the exhaustion of four years of war, against the spring floods of the revolution which swept through the whole country the debris of Czarist discipline and wild hatred of anything resembling the bark of old officers' commands, the barracks, or old army life.

Despite, all this, supplies appeared before our very eyes. Newspapers arrived, boots and overcoats came. And wherever they actually hand out boots, and for keeps, there you will find a really solid army staff; there things are stable; there the army stands firmly entrenched and has no thought of fleeing. That's no joking matter, boots!

The Order of the Red Flag was not yet in existence in the era of Svyazhsk.

else it would have been issued to hundreds. Everybody, including the cowardly and the nervous and the simply mediocre workers and Red Army men—everybody, without a single exception, performed unbelievable, heroic deeds; they outdid themselves, like spring streams overflowing their banks they joyfully flooded their own normal levels.

Such was the atmosphere. I remember receiving at that time by extraordinary chance a few letters from Moscow. In them was some talk about the exultation of the petty bourgeoisie preparing to repeat the memorable days of the Paris Commune.

And in the meantime the foremost and most dangerous front of the Republic hung by a thin railway thread and flamed, setting up an unprecedented heroic conflagration which sufficed for three more years of hungry, typhus-ridden, homeless war.

* THE MEN WHO DID IT

In Svyazhsk Trotsky, who was able to give the newborn Army a backbone of steel, who himself sank roots into the soil refusing to yield an inch of ground no matter what happened, who was able to show this handful of defenders a calmness icier than theirs—in Svyazhsk, Trotsky was not alone. Gathered there were old party workers, future members of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, and of the Military Councils of the several Armies to whom the future historian of the Civil War will refer as the Marshals of the Great Revolution. Rosengoltz and Gussev, Ivan Nikitich Smirnov, Kobozov, Mezhlauk, the other Smirnov, and many other comrades whose names I no longer recall. From among the sailors, I remember Raskolnikov and the late Markin.

Rosengoltz in his railway car almost from the very first day sprouted the office of the Revolutionary Military Council; extruded maps and rattled typewriters—obtained God knows where—in short, he began building up a strong, geometrically perfect organisational apparatus, with precise connections, indefatigable working capacity and simple in scheme.

In the days to come, whatever the Army or the front, wherever the work began to sputter, Rosengoltz was immediately brought in like a queen-bee in a sack, placed into the disturbed bee hive and would immediately proceed to build, organise, forming cells, buzzing over the telegraph wires. Despite the military overcoat and enormous pistol in his belt, nothing martial could be discerned in his figure, nor in his pale, slightly soft face. His tremendous force did not lie in this field at all, but rather in his natural ability to renew, establish connections, raise the tempo of a halting, infected bloodstream to an explosive speed. At the side of Trotsky he was like a dynamo, regular, well-oiled, noiseless, with powerful levers moving day after day, spinning the untearable web of organisation.

I do not recall just what kind of work I. N. Smirnov officially performed in the staff of the Fifth Army. Whether he was a member of the Revolutionary Military Council or at the same time also head of the Political Department; but apart from all titles and frameworks he embodied the ethics of the revolution. He was the highest moral criterion; the communist conscience of Svyazhsk.

Even among the non-party soldier masses and those communists who had not known him previously, his amazing purity and integrity were immediately recognised. It is hardly likely that he himself was aware how much he was feared; how everyone feared nothing so much as to reveal cowardice and weakness before the eyes of this man, who never yelled at anyone, who simply remained himself, calm, courageous. No one commanded as much respect as Ivan Nikitich. Everyone felt that in the worst moment he would be the strongest and most fearless.

With Trotsky—it was to die in battle after the last bullet had been fired; to die enthusiastically, oblivious of wounds. With Trotsky—it was the sacred pathos of struggle; words and gestures recalling the best pages of the Great French Revolution.

But, with Comrade Smirnov (so it seemed to us at the time and so we spoke in whispers to each other as we huddled close together on the floor during those already cold autumnal nights)—Comrade Smirnov; this was pure calm when "up against the wall"; or when being grilled by the Whites; or in a filthy prison hole. Yes, that is how one talked about him at Svyazhsk.

Boris Danilovich Mikhailov came a little later, directly from Moscow, I believe, or generally from the centre. He arrived in a civilian coat, with that bright, rapidly changing expression on his face that people have on being freed from prison or big cities.

Within a few hours he was completely overcome by the wild intoxication of Svyazhsk. Changing clothes, he went out on reconnaissance patrol in the vicinity of White Kazan, and returned three days later, tired, his face wind-tanned, his body crawling with the ubiquitous lice. By way of compensation, he was all in one piece.

It is a fascinating spectacle to observe the profound inner process taking place in people who arrive at a revolutionary front; they catch fire like a straw roof lit on all four sides, and then on cooling off become transformed into a fire-proof, perfectly clear and uniform piece of cast iron.