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TWOPENCE.

BARROW ENGINEERS OUT 100% SOLIDARITY AMONG OTHER TRADES

By **JOCK HASTON**

5,000 BARROW ENGINEERS ARE ON THE STREETS: ON STRIKE: IN SOLIDARITY: MORE THAN TWO THOUSAND ELECTRICIANS, FOUNDRY WORKERS AND OTHER TRADESMEN ARE ALSO OUT.

RIFT WIDENS IN ALLIED CAMP

BY TED GRANT

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ALLIED IMPERIALISTS SHARPENS. THE CAPITALISTS RECOGNISE THAT IF THE RED ARMY REACHES THE BORDERS OF THE BALKAN STATES THE PEOPLES WILL RISE IN REVOLT, WHETHER STALIN DESIRES THIS OR NOT. THEREFORE THE ALLIES ARE ATTEMPTING TO GET THEIR TROOPS THERE BEFORE THE RED ARMY. ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE SUFFICIENT PREPONDERANCE OF WAR MATERIALS TO ESTABLISH A SECOND FRONT, THEIR ATTENTION IS CONCENTRATED WHERE THEIR CLASS INTERESTS ARE ENDANGERED.

The unparalleled victories of the Red Army constitutes a factor of world shaking importance. It can be compared to the victories of Napoleon in the wars which France waged against Feudal Europe. The achievements of the Red Army can only be understood when it is considered that Russia has lost more territory than any of the other participants in the war.

"Reynolds News" of August 30th, 1943 writes:

"Her (Russia's) losses are colossal; a third of her population gone, a third of her food supply, more than a third of her railway network and far more than a third of her coal, iron and steel."

Yet in spite of the terrible defeats and suffering, the Red Army has rallied as no other army in the world could have

pletely miscalculated. Hitler and the whole world had thought that Germany, especially with the resources of all Europe at her disposal, would defeat the Soviet Union though it would require hard battles to do it.

The ruling class of Britain and America had constantly been manoeuvring in pre-war diplomacy to ensure that Hitler should attack the Soviet Union and were over-joyed when Hitler plunged into this adventure. They hoped to achieve the defeat of the Soviet Union and simultaneously to weaken their German rivals so that they would be enabled to destroy their power without too much effort. That was the programme cautiously bludgeoned out by Moore-Brabazon and his American counter-parts.

That the Allied imperialists were at-

calculations of the imperialists have not worked out. The Soviet armies are advancing in a series of brilliant victories and posing new problems before the imperialists. To attack the Soviet Union now would be risky because of fear of the repercussions it would have among the masses in Britain and America, and because of the complicated position of the imperialists in Europe and Asia. For the present the imper-

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PROVOKED by the management over a period of months; fanned by the apparent policy of evasion and dilly dally on the part of the leadership of the A.E.U.: the fires of discontent which have long been consuming the workers employed by Vickers-Armstrong in the Barrow area have now burst into open flame.

Male and female, the Barrow workers are standing by the engineers in their demands for a just wage increase.

So begins what may prove to be the most important strikes since the outbreak of the war. A strike which has all the possibilities of ending in an explosion throughout the engineering industry. For the issue in dispute is a national and not a local issue. It concerns the interpretation of the now infamous engineers wage award known as "326".

For more than six months, the local workers' representatives have been patiently negotiating and attempting to get what they consider a just interpretation of this infamous award which would result in a wage increase. Until now the award has only been operated insofar as it affects an insignificant number of time-workers, i.e. the 6/- advance.

WOMEN SOLID WITH MEN

At a mass meeting on September 16th, when a unanimous decision was taken to implement the 21 days strike-

notice due to expire that day, Mrs. Chapman, a delegate on behalf of the women members of the A.E.U., expressed the complete solidarity with the actions of the men and assured them of the 100 per cent. support of the women engineers in the plant. Thus the wedge which the management, strike-breakers and reactionaries have tried to drive between the men and women was blunted and smashed and the women established their remarkably high level of class solidarity with the male workers.

OTHER WORKERS TOO

Altogether eight other local unions have given their support to the A.E.U., and decided to come out with them. These are the Electrical Trades Union; National Union of Foundry Workers; National Brass & Metal Mechanics; United Pattern Makers Association; Iron, Steel & Metal Dressers Society; National Society of Coppersmiths; Braziers & Metalworkers; and the North England Brass Moulders.

BASIC RATE SAME FOR 29 YEARS

The District rates in Barrow are about the lowest in the country. Premium Bonus rates are based on the old basic rate of 46/- for a fitter with corresponding decreases for semi-skilled

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Same Programme—New Name



23,000 Notts.

sal; a third of her population gone, a third of her food supply, more than a third of her railway network and far more than a third of her coal, iron and steel."

Yet in spite of the terrible defeats and suffering, the Red Army has rallied as no other army in the world could have done in the face of such defeats.

One of the factors of course, which has led to the changed position has been that Stalin has been compelled to remove the nonentities, and lackeys, without military merit, whom he had placed in control of the army solely because of their subservience to him. Timoshenko, Voroshilov and Budenny have been placed in unimportant positions in the rear, while new Generals have been pushed to the forefront—Rokossovsky, Zhukov, Malinovsky and others, and it is they who have gained the victories. But these victories, in the last analysis, can only be traced to the immense material and psychological advantages given by the October Revolution. Not only in peace-time economy, but in the field of battle, despite the bureaucratic leadership, nationalised industry has demonstrated its superiority over capitalism. It is here that world imperialism has com-

weakened their German rivals so that they would be enabled to destroy their power without too much effort. That was the programme cautiously hinted out by Moore-Brabazon and his American counter-parts.

That the Allied imperialists were attempting to carry this programme into effect is demonstrated by an article in the Russian paper "War and the Working Class" which is now openly revealing the differences that have been developing between Russia and her Allies.

The victories of the Soviet Union have impelled Stalin to become somewhat bolder and to blurt out the truth. The "Times" of September 3, remarks in commenting on an article in "War and the Working Class":

"One American commentator, the review says, was in favour of a prolonged war of exhaustion. This it declares was too reminiscent of the 'philosophy' of those who saw nothing bad in this gigantic conflict in which not only Germany is becoming exhausted but the Soviet Union as well."

But here once again despite the exhaustion of the Soviet Union the cal-

Same Programme—New Name



Occupation



Liberation (?)

STALIN'S GERMAN COMMITTEE

BY BOB WILLIAMS

The recent foundation of the National Committee of "Free Germany" in Moscow and the admission by Mr. Eden that the British Government had not been informed in advance of this step, made some people think: "At least the Soviet Union is putting forward an independent policy as far as the rebuilding of Germany is concerned: it can only be a change for the better."

A report on the foundation of this Committee, published by the German Monthly "Freie Tribune" (Free Tribune), August, throws some light on the character of this "independent policy" Stalin and his clique intend to carry out. It reads:

"... The National Committee elected as Chairman the Author Erich Weinert, as Vice-Chairmen: Major Karl Hentz, ... and Lieut. Count Heinrich von Einsiedel, ... Great-grandson of Bismark.

The first meeting was opened by Erich Weinert.

Lieut.-Col. Karisius described his career from an active member of the Hitler Party to a definite Hitler opponent. Captain Dr. Hadermann, teacher at a Secondary School, spoke against the falsification of Science through the Nazi Clique. Major Karl Hetz analysed the annihilating defeat before Stalingrad through the eyes of a Staff Officer, and Major Homann talked on the catastrophic situation of the German Army today.

Corporal Hans Zippel, clerk, illustrated the psychological change of the German soldier as a consequence of the Stalingrad catastrophe and the total mobilisation in Germany. Captain Fleischer, economist, talked on Germany's economic situation.

Corporal Helmschrott, who comes from the German Peasantry illustrated the conditions of this group which is most familiar to him.

Corporal Sinz, builder, spoke about

Continued on back page.

23,000 Notts. Miners Strike

BY LESLIE KING

The most dramatic and important strikes since the outbreak of the war has just concluded in the Notts coalfield where 23,000 miners who were employed in 21 pits went back to work after several days strike.

This strike was a political strike. It was directed against the State compulsion of young lads to go down the pit from the surface to elsewhere. The immediate issue which set the spark to the fire was the imprisonment of Sidney Page, an 18-year old surface worker at the Newstead Pit who had refused to obey a Ministry of Labour instruction to work underground in the pit.

Immediately, the miners at the pit came out on strike with the demand for his release. Within a few days half the miners employed in the Notts pits came out, one pit after another. It was quite obvious that if Page had not been released the whole of the Notts coalfield would have been out. They would have undoubtedly been followed by the miners in the adjacent districts of Yorkshire and Derbyshire, because the temper of the miners was rising to boiling point from one pit to another.

Significant also is the fact that in the largest arms factory in the Notts district, the Works committee passed a resolution of support for the striking miners and their cause. This resolution also expressed the identity of interests between the engineering and mining workers. The feeling was so strong in this factory that had the strike lasted a few more days there would have been a general demand of a strike demonstration in sympathy.

The lad was, however, released after two T.U. officials had pumped him to go down the pit. But they did not tell the boy that these thousands of miners were striking on his behalf and for his unconditional release.

This is only the first strike on this issue. It would be folly to believe that there will not be others, because the miners and other workers are objecting strongly to lads being compelled to work down the pit.

It is not only in the mining industries that the workers are objecting to this compulsion but in other industries as well. At a recent industrial conference of trade union militants held at Nottingham, a delegate from a large Sheffield factory reported that several boys between the ages of 16 and 18 employed at that factory had

been given 24 hours notice to report at a nearby pit for underground work. The Shop Stewards had intervened and refused to allow these lads to be so directed until they had full opportunity to work the new situation out and raise the question of an appeal.

Whilst older workers can appeal to the N.S.O. under the Essential Works provisions, a Ministry of Labour official stated that there was no appeal for lads who were being directed down the pit.

Bevin is taking these steps to compel young workers to go down the pit with the full support of the miners "leaders," labour fakers and Stalinists alike. All that Lawther and Horner are pleading for is a slightly better wage for lads who are compelled to work down the pits.

But the action of the Notts miners is no uncertain answer to these people who are in control of the miners' organisations but who crawl on their bellies in the most miserable manner before the ruling class and plead for concessions. The workers are browned off with increased compulsion for the youth of the country and will not stand any more of it.

If Bevin wants lads to go down the pits, let him take steps to arouse the enthusiasm of the youth. The only way to do that is to use compulsion against the pit owners. No worker will voluntarily go down the pits whilst they are privately owned. No worker will voluntarily go down the pit with any enthusiasm whilst the pits are run for the private profit of a group of parasites.

The Government claims that coal is the most essential commodity of the moment. They appeal to the patriotism of the miners to bring the coal up. They tie the miner to his job, limit his wage and use all manner of compulsion to keep him at it. But the only way it will be possible to arouse enthusiasm among the miners is to take the pits out of the hands of the coalowners and nationalise them without compensation.

This must be the answer of the workers to the compulsion of working class youth to work down the pits.

NO LEAD FROM T.U.C.

This year's Conference of the T.U.C. was held at a time when the masses are becoming critical of the ruling class and when the movement of the working class to the left is gathering speed. The growing volume of discontent, exasperation and frustration of the masses is indicated by the series of strikes which have taken place since the Conference was held. There is not an important section of industry where the workers are not becoming aware of the cynical profiterring of the bosses. The miners, engineers, railwaymen, dockers, shipyard workers; Everywhere, this discontent has been made manifest by strikes during the last year. Symptomatic of this feeling is the mood of the miners, always the most exploited and also the most class-conscious section of the workers.

In this situation, the conditions of the country and the mood of the masses called for a fighting lead from the T.U.C., against the offensive of the bosses on the conditions of the workers. All the possibilities of obtaining concessions from the bosses are present, but no real lead was given by the T.U.C. From the period of Dunkirk when British imperialism was in a weak position and compelled to indulge in demagoguery as the end of the war approached, the bosses have become emboldened and given a taste of the programme they intend carrying into effect once they have defeated their rivals. As one delegate expressed it, "Some employers were determined that post-war reconstruction was really going to be post-war exploitation." But that is as far as the T.U.C. went on this problem. In fact the demand passed at the last Congress for nationalisation of key

industries merely remained a pious and demagogic gesture. No steps were taken to begin a campaign among the masses to implement last year's resolution. This question should have occupied a prominent position on the agenda. Instead the *Times* of August 24th could report reassuringly for Big Business:

"The General Council has decided in respect of a resolution carried by the last year's Conference in favour of the nationalisation of all industries vital to the war effort that the time is inopportune to pursue the matter."

It is thus that the bureaucrats and inflexible constitutionalists carry through the decisions of their own Conference. In fact the time was never more opportune to pursue the matter than at present when over-

Continued on Back page.

EX-SERVICEMEN'S PENSIONS

BY JIM HINCHCLIFFE

"Never has so much been owed to so many and so little paid to so few". This admission, made by a Tory M.P. in the House of Commons, sums up in a nutshell, the incredibly mean class attitude which is being adopted towards those servicemen who have been discharged from the Forces during the present war. Almost every conceivable method which can be employed to deprive these workers of a pension is embodied in the Regulations concerning the Pensions Appeal Tribunals, which were designed to give the right of appeal to all those who have been refused pensions since the outbreak of war.

As the war drags on and continues to exact its toll of human life and materials, an ever growing number of soldiers, sailors and airmen, are being discharged by the capitalists as being of no further use in their war plans. Not fit enough to be cannon-fodder for the Imperialists, these workers represent, from the capitalist point of view, the human refuse of society, and are discharged from the Armed Forces without even a decent pension upon which to live as a reward for their sacrifices.

The tribunals will be chosen in England by the Lord Chancellor, in Scotland by the Lord President of the Court of Sessions, and in Northern Ireland by the Lord Chief Justice, and will be composed of three people, a lawyer, a doctor, and a layman. It can be seen quite clearly therefore, how, as one M.P. expressed it, "the dice are loaded against the working class", with the control of choice remaining securely in the hands of these representatives of the ruling class. But just in case however, that these gentlemen should by accident choose a progressive member, in the case of the doctor, he can be selected only from a list submitted by either the Royal College of Surgeons or the Royal College of Physicians, which are only examining bodies, reactionary and unrepresentative.

This reactionary method of selecting the members of these tribunals is however, the least of the obstacles which are placed in the path of the ex-serviceman who decides to appeal against a refusal to grant a pension. Even assuming that by some miracle, (and it would have to be a miracle!) all three members were favourably inclined towards the appellant, the terms of the Royal Warrant are such that it would only be under exceptional circumstances that the tribunal would be able to adequately assist these workers. Even the Tories admit that, "out of these masses of appeals it is not likely that many will be successful". (Major Manningham-Buller).

Apart from the "usual" provisions such as the one which allows for the complete termination of a pension as

which is the right of every discharged serviceman, the appellant has to prove to the tribunal that he is entitled to one. Instead of the tribunal having to prove that his disability was not caused or aggravated by service, the appellant has to prove that it was!

It is the lawyer's task to make certain that the terms of the Royal Warrant are not violated. It is his task to see that no "sentimentalism" creeps into the proceedings!

The role of the Labour leaders towards this question is probably the most despicable feature of the whole affair. Only one M.P. had the effrontery to openly praise this scandalous example of mean class legislation, and that was Mr. Dobbie who said:

"Speaking for the Labour Party, I desire to give this Bill an enthusiastic welcome and to say how satisfied we are with its very wide application . . . it will be welcomed by the people of this country generally and by members of the Forces especially . . ."

And after this shameful exhibition of grovelling before the feet of his capitalist masters, he then endeavoured to maintain his appearance as a workers' representative in Parliament, by uttering a few words of criticism prefaced with the reassurance—"I would like to add a few words of criticism. As the right hon. gentleman knows, my criticism of him has always been very mild . . ." and after making the mild criticisms as he faithfully promised, he made the further reassuring remark with—"Nevertheless the Bill is before us at last, and, as I have said, we are glad to welcome it". In this way the Labour leaders constantly reassure their masters that any criticisms which are made is only for rank and file consumption and are not to be taken seriously.

The contribution of William Gallacher, the Stalinist M.P., was notable if only by virtue of its insignificance. It would have been difficult for him to have more clearly exposed the role of the so-called "Communist" Party on this issue. By raising mainly technical queries, by the complete absence of any opposition or alternative, he identified himself completely with the disgusting crawling exhibited by the Labour leaders. In fact, many reactionary Tories made a more, "left" speech than this renegade!

If a worker is unable to earn a living either due to slump conditions, an industrial accident, or a war injury, they all have the right to be placed on the same basis, with work or full maintenance, in the same liberal and generous fashion as the capitalists treat the members of their own class. Whilst however, the only real and genuine solution to this problem can only be found in the abolition of the capitalist

INDIAN C.P. QUISLINGS FOR BRITISH IMPERIALISM

BY HAKIM MIRZA

"Communists and Moslem League members, acting as 'People's Volunteers' have won permission from the Dacca magistrate to help in stopping riots incited by factional opposers of the local League Ministry. As members of the People's Defence Committee, representing all citizens of Dacca, they have been granted permission to hold public meetings and to send volunteers to riot-affected areas. Here the volunteers maintain 24-hour vigils, hold meetings and persuade hundreds of angry citizens to go home peacefully. That is a practical measure of unity (sic) achieved by the Communist Party with semi-official blessing."

The above is a news item from the "Daily Worker" of London, dated July 3, 1943. The headline is as follows: "Communists can now aid people in Riot areas"—from P. C. Joshi, Secretary, Communist Party of India.

And here is the sequel—to quote from the "Daily Worker", August 4, 1943:

"Two Leading Indian Communists murdered.—From P. C. Joshi, Secretary, Indian Communist Party.

Two leading Communists, Ramesh Gupta, founder of the Progressive Writers' Association of Dacca and Phani Chakravarty, a student, have been murdered by fifth columnists in Dacca. The crimes, which took place on July 24 and 25, are associated with a renewed outbreak of agitation by the Fifth column, the Congress Socialist Party and the Trotskyists, who are hoping to initiate a new wave of sabotage and disorders on August 9, anniversary of the arrest by the Government of Congress leaders last year. Warnings against yielding to any such provocation (!) are being issued by prominent (sic) Congressmen and others."

Who are the Fifth Columnists? To quote from "India To-day" (R. P. Dutt) page 407-8; "In 1910, J. Ramsay MacDonald wrote with reference to the foundation of the Moslem League: 'The All-India Moslem League was formed on December 30, 1906. The political successes which have rewarded the efforts of the League . . . have been so signal as to give support to a suspicion that sinister influences have been at work, that the

alism, but political and social reaction hiding behind the communal mask". On page 93 of the "Guide to the Problem of India", Dutt says: "This repudiation of the Moslem League by the majority of Moslem opinion is especially important at the present time."

In spite of repudiating the Moslem League as a reactionary and pro-Imperialist institution, the programme of the Communist Party of India, as quoted in the "Daily Worker" of July 3, contains the following:

"All Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers and non-party patriots should join hands to form Coalition Ministries with Congress support in the provinces for breaking the political deadlock . . . fourth, to support the demand for a National Government based on Congress-League unity"

The Dacca murders are the direct result of such a policy, namely, when the so-called revolutionaries form blackleg organisations with the most reactionary Government agents (as admitted by R. P. Dutt) as the Moslem leaguers, in order to sabotage the struggle for independence and act as the "S.S." of the local Muslim League ministry, they are asking for trouble, and they should not wait if some "citizens", under dire provocation and,

in desperation, commit violence. joint front":

The fourth point of the above programme is rather important. R. P. Dutt described Gandhi as "that evil genius of Indian politics" "Labour Monthly", August 1943. Harry Pollitt in his letter to his present leader and master, Churchill (Communist policy, 16th Congress Report—pp. 11-13) writes: "It is true that this declaration of policy was accompanied with a threat of civil disobedience in the event of refusal of the national demand. We deplore this threat of civil disobedience, and believe that any such policy, inevitably leading to division and internal struggle in the face of fascist aggression and thus playing into the hands of Fascism, would be suicidal from the standpoint of the interests of Indian freedom no less than of the world cause of freedom against Fascism."

The Communist Party of India, though under the tutelage of Dutt and Pollitt, demands the "Congress-League joint front" and further demands:

Support a National Government in India now. What is this so-called National Government? Is it to be a coalition Government of Princes, Congress, Moslem League, Liberals, Hindu Maha sabha, Communists and others? If such a Government is formed, it will never struggle for complete independence for India—for the Social, political and economic emancipation of the workers and peasants. Such a Government, due to conflicting class interests within it, is bound to remain dependent on the foreign Imperialist power, and the British Imperialists, under the cover of this disunity, will continue to exploit the down-trodden masses of India. Why is it that the Communist Party of India has adopted such an opportunist line? Is it due to their lack of political understanding? We can hardly believe it, especially when they are under the supervision (thanks to the line laid down by the late C.L.) of R. P. Dutt and Co. The above is a glaring picture of adopting the so-called "People's War" programme by the C.P.I. This programme is based on the so-called "Dutt Thesis"—which is well known to all left-wing Indians in England, and was opposed by many of them. Thus the Communists are acting as fifth columnists in India by deliberately sabotaging the struggles of the Indian masses.

The British Government does not care whether India should take an active part in the struggle for freedom of humanity. Dutt and Co. are fully aware of this, and when it suited their purpose, often shouted about it. They know full well that the whole material resources of India will only be released

fight alongside Britain against Japan." The Churchill Government deliberately prevented the people of the above territories from taking any active part in their own defence. They hope to re-occupy these territories at some future date. Their attitude towards India and the Indian people is the same. If they lose India, they will try to re-conquer it at some future date, and use India as a battlefield. They do not care for the lives and property of Indians in the process of such a reconquest. But the C.P. moans about the lack of reciprocation on the part of the Churchill Government.

It is a well-known fact that thousands of Socialists, Communists and working class leaders are still in prison. Only those Socialists, Communists and Congress leaders are out of prison who have followed the line of co-operation with British Imperialism.

There is also another side to this picture. Can the masses of India form a common cause with their exploiters, both native and foreign? Will the workers and peasants forget 150 years of demoralising oppression inflicted on them by the British Imperialists? Will they forget the floggings, collective fines, bombing, burning of houses, concentration camps, hunger, famine, diseases, and make common cause with their oppressors? Can they forget racial prejudices instituted in their own country by foreign despots? What is the result of such a slogan? It only leads to more confusion and bitterness in India and the name of Communism is discredited before the workers and peasants, thus hampering the growth of the revolutionary struggle and socialism.

The adoption of such a policy is nothing but fifth columnism in India. It is all very well for Ben Bradley and others to write: "All sections are agreed on the postponement of major issues until after the war". Can such a policy really help the Soviet Union? Has the "People's War" programme been taken up by the masses of India? If so, why do the Communists join hands with the Moslem Leaguers to form so-called "People's volunteers" to help in stopping so-called "riots". Why do they moan about renewed outbreaks of agitation and a new wave of sabotage and disorder? No. Such a policy has only led the Communists to form blackleg organisations to break up strikes and counter any struggles of the people. This policy has not helped the Soviet Union in the least. It has not alleviated the discontent of the masses—hence Britain and the U.S.A. have been forced to keep a large army of occupation in India (though Joshi calls it an "Army of Liberation") which they might have employed else-

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL NEWS

THE SEPTEMBER ISSUE contains:

A NEW STAGE IN HISTORY and the Tasks of the Working Class
Draft Resolution of Central Committee for Discussion

able to adequately assist these workers. Even the Tories admit that, "out of these masses of appeals it is not likely that many will be successful". (Major Manningham-Buller).

Apart from the "usual" provisions such as the one which allows for the complete termination, suspension or reduction of a pension, due to "misconduct or things of that kind" to use the ominously vague phraseology of the Ministry of Pensions, the first and main obstacle which has to be overcome is what is termed the "onus of proof". This means that instead of the tribunals having to prove that the serviceman is not entitled to a pension,

all have the right to be placed on the same basis, with work or full maintenance, in the same liberal and generous fashion as the capitalists treat the members of their own class. Whilst however, the only real and genuine solution to this problem can only be found in the destruction of the rotten and decaying system which breeds and aggravates such shameful conditions, the workers must demand, through their Labour and Trade Union organisations, the abolishing of these reactionary tribunals, and instead to be granted a full and ample maintenance allowance, sufficient to enable a decent and comfortable life.

"MISSION TO MOSCOW" Davies Gives Lie To His Film

The film "Mission to Moscow" has now completed its showing in London. Our London comrades have sold some 20,000 leaflets outside the cinemas showing the film, exposing the filthy slanders against Trotsky and the revolutionaries. The eagerness with which the film-goers bought the leaflet, and the comments passed about the film, demonstrated that it was a "flop". Apart from this, it was generally admitted by the managers in the majority of cinemas that the film had been poorly attended.

Ambassador Davies has become one of the chief whitewashers of Stalin's crimes in staging the infamous Moscow Trials. During the trial proceedings when Davies was in Moscow, he described the charges as preposterous and the procedure as a travesty of justice.

What were the main charges in the trials? That Trotsky was plotting to re-introduce capitalism into the Soviet Union. But Ambassador Davies is not taken in by the slanders he is putting across the public. This is what Davies wrote in the "New York Times" on August 1st, 1943:

"There can be no doubt that its (the Comintern's) object, in part was to build up a military agency to attack their enemies from within, by organising internal strife through class war. It also confirmed the Trotsky programme of world revolution, and Soviet aid to class war outside of Russia, as necessary to successfully maintain a communist state in a single country (the Soviet Union).

"By this action (dissolving the Comintern) Stalin put the last finishing touch, so far as the Soviet Union was concerned, to Trotsky's programme of international world revolution through violence and class war . . .

"It was the last chapter in Trotsky's battle to commit Russia to a policy of permanent revolution, and to militant and active promotion of subversive class warfare against neighbouring governments in a war against capitalism."

Thus, we see that in trying to convince his class of the necessity to cooperate with Stalin, who is opposed to the extension of the Socialist revolution to any other country, Davies gives the lie to his film "Mission to Moscow." How could Trotsky have fought for the restoration of capitalism in Russia, when as Davies says, his policy was to "wage a war against capitalism"? This demonstrates the cynicism and hypocrisy of the ruling class which is using Stalin as a means of destroying the revolution. It reveals the treachery of the Stalinists in using capitalist propaganda for their own purposes.

As the film has revived interest in the Moscow Trials and in order to counteract the capitalist propaganda Workers' International League has republished Leon Trotsky's "I Stake My Life" together with the "Dewey Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials". These two are published as a pamphlet at the price of 6d. They completely expose the Trials as a frame-up against Trotsky and against the Old Bolsheviks. Every intelligent worker who is at all interested must get this pamphlet and circulate it among his friends. It is an annihilating answer to the capitalist and Stalinist slanders.

reference to the foundation of the Moslem League: "The All-India Moslem League was formed on December 29, 1906. The political successes which have rewarded the efforts of the League . . . have been so signal as to give support to a suspicion that sinister influences have been at work, that the Mohammedan leaders were inspired by certain Anglo-Indian officials, and that these officials pulled wires at Simla and in London and of malice aforethought sowed discord between the Hindu and the Mohammedan communities by showing the Mohammedans special favour" (J. R. MacDonald, "The Awakening of India", 1910, pp. 284-4) "Subsequent evidence has become available which has more than confirmed the 'suspicion'"—says R. P. Dutt. Again to quote from p.408 "India To-day" "the 'Moslem Herald' condemned it as something sure to 'poison the social life of districts and villages and make a hell of India.'"

On page 412-13 "India To-day", R. P. Dutt supports Nehru's remark: "Hindu and Moslem communalism is in neither case even bona fide commun-

Working Class

Draft Resolution of Central Committee for Discussion at Forthcoming Conference of Workers' International League

INSIDE GERMANY

By ROSE CARSON

NOW ON SALE.

The British Government does not care whether India should take an active part in the struggle for freedom of humanity. Dutt and Co. are fully aware of this, and when it suited their purpose, often shouted about it. They know full well that the whole material resources of India will only be released when the people of India, (the workers and peasants) are free and achieve complete independence from exploitation by both native and foreign exploiters. On the other hand, they know full well that, to the masses of India, their enemy is British Imperialism and their underdogs, the Indian Capitalists. They are suffering from a double burden. British Imperialism would rather see India temporarily conquered by Japan, than relax their iron grip over the masses of India. Dutt and Co. know the Far Eastern policy of Great Britain. In the Party declaration issued after the failure of the Cripps mission they state: "The British Government has not yet learnt the lessons of its defeats in Hong-Kong, Malaya, Singapore and Burma, where we failed to win the peoples for the

of the people. This policy has not helped the Soviet Union in the least. It has not alleviated the discontent of the masses—hence Britain and the U.S.A. have been forced to keep a large army of occupation in India (though Joshi calls it an "Army of Liberation") which they might have employed elsewhere.

Before the Soviet Union was attacked, the pundits of King St. did not bother to propound the policy of a People's War in India, nor did they say that all major issues should be postponed until the war is over". The workers and peasants of India realise that only one major issue lies before them, that is, the common struggle with all working people of the world. Their struggle against British Imperialism and Fascism is the same as the struggle of the Soviet workers and peasants, of the British, French, German, Italian, Negro and other workers, who are now fighting against Imperialism, Fascism and all types of reaction. The struggle of the working masses is one and indivisible, to them there is no major or minor issue.

ARCHIVES OF THE REVOLUTION: LITVINOFF ON BREST-LITOVSK


We reprint here one of the early documents of the Communist International from a pamphlet entitled "The Bolshevik Revolution" by Maxim Litvinoff and published in Britain by the British Socialist Party, which fused with other organisations to form the British Communist Party. This document in itself constitutes an annihilating reply to the systematic slanders and vile misrepresentation of the Stalinists as to the role which Trotsky played in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. Written by Litvinoff, today a supporter of Stalinism, it gives another blow to the fairy tales which Stalinism attempts to palm off as the history of the Bolshevik Party

It remains to sketch out the Bolshevik programme of peace, which after all, was the chief plank in their platform, which had gained for them the adherence of the overwhelming majority of the people. This very fact shows that the real usurpation, the real violence, the real disregard of the principles of democracy were all acts of which those parties had been guilty who for eight months previously had been, organising for war, had led the unfortunate masses to slaughter in the July offensive, and had restored the death penalty for acts of insubordination in the army. True to their word, the Bolsheviks, immediately on gaining power, offered peace to all the belligerents, and a specially summoned Congress of the Soviets endorsed the action. The Allies refused the offer, the Germans accepted it. What were the Bolsheviks to do? Were they to repeat the old methods of persuasion and diplomatic talk with the Allies, which had shown themselves so futile during the previous eight months? They went to Brest-Litovsk to negotiate first for an armistice, and next

for peace—a general, if the Allies agreed to join them, or separate, if need be. What were their plans? They knew that the military position was against them. The Russian army had been melting away ever since the last months of the Tsarist régime. It had been melting away through wholesale desertion and disease caused by hunger, by lack of munitions and general equipment, and by a complete lack of faith in the Russian and Allied war aims. During the first eight months of the revolution the process had continued at an ever accelerating speed. The disorganisation of the transport, of the supply of raw material and fuel to the industries, and of the food and clothing supply had proceeded apace, and though the Allies had brought in a considerable quantity of war material, large sectors of the immense front were still lacking in munitions, machine guns, heavy guns, trench props, boots, tents, carts etc. Above all, the morale of the army deteriorated immensely owing to obvious contradiction between the watch-words of the revolution and the

avowed objects of conquests which dominated the war policy of the Allies and which the Kerensky administration was willingly, or unwillingly, helping to attain by further sacrificing the blood and treasure of the Russian people. The desertions and acts of insubordination now became so numerous and so extensive that on one occasion the Minister of War openly admitted that by November there would no longer be any army left in the trenches. The highest naval authority under Kerensky, when offered a post by the Bolsheviks, replied that the only service he could render Russia would be to tell the Allies she could no longer fight. The Bolsheviks could do nothing to remedy the state of affairs, and they went to Brest-Litovsk relying solely upon the revolutionary succour of the working classes of the other belligerent countries—above all, of Germany and Austria-Hungary. It was in order to provoke that succour, that is, to kindle the fire of revolution in the Central Empires, that Trotsky, the head of the Russian peace delegation, tried to prolong negotiations even after their hopelessness had become apparent, and made those speeches which did more to set the German people in opposition to their bourgeois classes and Junker rulers than all the declarations of the Allied statesmen put together had done in the preceding three and a half years of war. As a matter of fact, a great strike, involving over a million workers, broke out in Germany and previously in Austria, as a demonstration against the now

revealed aggressive war aims of the Austro-German generals and diplomats. Had not at that very moment the Allied generals and diplomats assembled at Versailles issued a counterblast, who knows but that those strikes might have turned into a serious revolutionary movement? The same result would have been achieved if the Allies had from the first joined the Bolsheviks at Brest and isolated the Austro-Germans by the acceptance of the Russian formula of peace. As it was, the strike movement came for the present to nothing, and Trotsky was confronted with the dilemma of either capitulating to the Germans completely or of renewing the war. As he would not do the former and as he could not do the latter, he broke off the negotiations, declared that Russia was out of the war, but refused to sign the humiliating terms of peace. He had, however, in reserve in his mind, in accordance with the injunction of Lenin, who from the first had not been hopeful of an immediate revolution in the Central Empires, that he would nevertheless sign the peace if the Germans, were either to present him with an ultimatum or denounce the armistice by giving the agreed seven days' notice. The Germans, however, did neither, and with a perfidy not easily matched in military history, immediately broke the armistice and marched against the defenceless and partly demobilised Russians. The rest is known. The Bolshevik gave in and signed the aggravated German conditions of peace.



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

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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EDITORIAL

WORLD SWING TO THE LEFT

Inertia and apathy and hopelessness marked the prevailing mood among the masses of the whole world at the beginning of the world war and in its first years. With apprehension and distrust perhaps, but not seeing any alternative, the masses allowed themselves to be dragged into the slaughter.

As the war proceeded and engulfed more and more countries still the masses seemed to be in a state of complete paralysis. But underneath the surface a process of change was taking place. The decay of the capitalist system marked by the outbreak of a second world war within the lifetime of a single generation is intensified. The fall of not only small nations but the utter collapse of big imperialist states and the cynical and rapid changing of sides by the French and Italian ruling class is a striking symptom of the complete instability of the capitalist system on a world scale.

But these changes, as always were manifested at first among the ruling classes, who thus reacted to the silent and subterranean pressure of the masses which they regarded with terror and dismay. Apart from the sporadic outbreaks of protest against the national and social totalitarian oppression of the Nazis in the occupied countries; only in India was there any mass movement of revolt against the oppressors. This mass movement for colonial liberation landed in a blind alley and was brutally oppressed by British imperialism. For the moment the imperialists managed to retain their hold.

But the fourth year of the war marked the beginning of a new stage. It heralded the appearance of a new decisive factor on the scene of events: the direct and active intervention of the masses. The masses are being roused from their torpor and are striking blows against their oppressors. They are beginning to feel themselves again as a CLASS, with class solidarity, and are taking class actions. These actions are the first rumbles of the coming storm. The revolution in Italy, now temporarily smothered between the anvil of Anglo-American imperialism and the hammer of the Axis; the mass movement of revolt against the Nazis throughout occupied Europe; general strike in Denmark, general strike in Lisbon and virtual state of insurrection in Portugal; fear and terror of the ruling class in Spain and the Balkans of uprisings among the workers and peasants. As an important factor in the radicalisation of the masses in Europe there are the advances of the Red Army. In the countries where the masses can still express their sentiments at the polls we have the turning of hitherto untouched layers of the oppressed in the direction of Socialism. In Canada, Australia, backward Ireland, there has been a turning away from the bourgeois parties towards

STALIN TURNS TO RELIGION

By ROSE CARSON

The meeting between Stalin and the Metropolitan Sergius, is another decisive step along the counter-revolutionary road in the sphere of ideology by Stalinism. By receiving the leaders of the Russian Church and approving their plans to call a Congress of Bishops to elect a Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and to form a Holy Synod, Stalin has struck another blow at the 'First Workers' State.

It is more than 25 years since the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church was outlawed by the Bolsheviks. Its resurrection is another aspect and confirmation of Stalin's retreat from October. The subsequent crowning of the Metropolitan Sergius in the Moscow Cathedral on Sunday, September 12, is in striking contrast to the uncompromising attitude taken by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

As the "Times" correctly states:

"The church was always a potent factor in the practical and emotional life of the Russian people. Throughout all the vicissitudes of the Revolution though many outward signs of religion disappeared, it maintained, often clandestinely much influence on the masses.

" . . . When he (Stalin) moves deliberately in a particular direction he seldom adopts half-measures. For that reason, future events in the present case will be watched hopefully, if also with some anxiety, as this is the first time since the Russian revolution that any such complementary organised power has been allowed within the Soviet State. If wisely and liberally encouraged a re-born church may easily become an important additional support for an enlightened Soviet regime which has no rival or potential rival in the Soviet Union, especially since the German invasion cemented Russians into a patriotic unity which the present generation has not known before."

This return to the "opium of the people" by the bureaucracy is dictated by two important political considerations. Stalin needs an antidote to the Vatican's aspirations as the Clerical arm of the Allied Military Dictatorship of Europe. Especially is this necessary

for the Balkans, where it is estimated that there are 37,000,000 Greek Orthodox Believers. Stalin seeks wide support and props quite apart from the Military achievements of the Red Army. Also, this reversion to the "Religious" follows closely the pattern of Stalin's recent "Reforms". This has swiftly followed the new decrees ending co-education and the placing of barriers in the path of poor children aspiring to higher education.

In calling upon the church to play a more important role in education in the rural areas, Stalin has demonstrated once again his need for a spiritual arm to bolster up his Bonapartist Regime: the G.P.U. apparently has not been able to fulfil its tasks adequately. His reaching out for symbols and myths from the past exposes the bankruptcy of his plans for the future. Incapable of offering the masses a revolutionary programme and thereby a progressive future, Stalin must resort to Russian Mysticism and the Church.

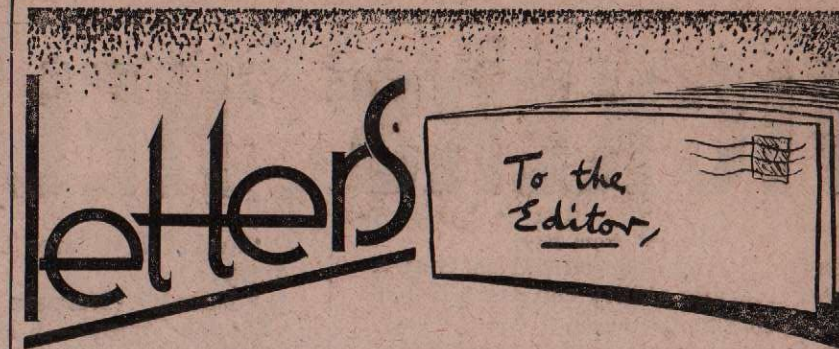
THE WAR

From the very beginning Stalin has identified Russia's war against Germany, not with the defence of the October Revolution, but with Czarism's reactionary war against Napoleon and Thirteenth Century Alexander Nevsky's war against the Teutonic knights.

The orders of Suvorov and Kutusov, which have superseded the Order of Lenin and other Bolshevik honours, is an example of Stalin's turn back to the reactionary traditions of the past rather than the October Revolution. It is significant that General Prince Alexander Vassilivitch Suvorov, now adopted as the hero of the Soviet Union is none other than the leader of the armies of reaction of the notorious reactionary Empress Catharine. Suvorov led the reactionary armies against the whole of Europe and fought Napoleon as far South as Italy. It was Suvorov who defeated the Poles in 1792 and paved the way for the partition of Poland between Catherine and Frederick William of Prussia. When the Poles under Kosciusko, revolted and proclaimed the national independence of Poland by defeating the Prussian armies of Frederick, Suvorov was sent to quell the revolt. Leading a

Continued foot of next Column.

I.L.P. "UNITY"



FROM ANDY SCOTT

Dear Comrades,

Yes, I am still alive and kicking. I am sorry about the long silence. In order to get my ideas worked out clearly and have something to say, I have to have more time to sit around and think than they allow you here.

How maddening it is to be cooped up and wasting precious hours at a time when the thunder of the first revolutions is already in the air. Our period is beginning; the period of the Fourth International. And in spite of all the weakness of the movement, nationally and internationally, it is impossible to feel anything other than elated and confident as events begin to unfold. History is on our side with a vengeance.

The Italian events are just the beginning—and what a beginning! Soviets within a few days, after 20 years of bloody oppression, and in spite of every brand of treacherous leadership. No wonder the "Economist" murmured with a sigh of relief:

"Only in Russia, where the liberal and socialist parties were illegal under the Tsar, did the councils (or Soviets) become the apparatus of the revolution. The important difference between now and 1917-1918, however, is that no political group in the European movement—not even the Communist—has advanced a programme of Soviets. No new Lenin seems to be emerging from underground Europe this time."

August 7th, 1943.

But just let them wait a bit before they sigh with relief!

The article on Italy in the mid-August issue was excellent. What a contrast between that and the shocking way the I.L.P. is dealing with the Italian revolution! McNair's clap hands with Bartlett and Hulton is a logical step in the I.L.P.'s development. We must expose them on their Italian policy.

The lack of a Second front and the gigantic crisis that is developing between Russia and her "Allies" underlines the correctness of our position. All our predictions are working out, and our warnings have proved only too well founded. I hope these international relations will be dealt with in the next "Appeal". It is a matter that should be dealt with in every issue as it develops.

As soon as the news was not only surprised the imperialists, but has made them very wary of taking a step that would draw many German divisions away from the Eastern front. The bourgeoisie knows just as well as we

ever of opening a premature second front.

The results of their refusal to invade Europe this year are going to be interesting. Maisky—Litvinov—what next? I don't think Stalin can make peace with Hitler, but he may hope to do so with the generals of some other set-up. And I think that's what is in the wind. A civilian, "democratic" Government is more likely to be aimed at than a military one, I think, with the Free German Committee as the diplomatic weapon.

Have you noticed the references in "World News and Views", etc. to the efforts of Britain and America to make a "separate peace" with Italy? It sounds like preparation for justifying a Soviet separate peace with Germany.

Within the next few months anything can happen—anything. Hitler and the Nazis are on their last legs. Revolts and strikes are spreading, especially since the fall of Mussolini. Himmler will not stop the rot. But his appointment is an indication of the sort of violence that will accompany the fall of Nazism. What a complication of events! Denmark and Norway in revolt, the United Nations tearing at each other's throats. Stalin manoeuvring desperately; monarchs tottering and falling. What a need for the Old Man! Still, we have our minds, our dialectic, the beginnings of our party, and a conscious appreciation of most of the lessons of the events of the last 25 years.

Have you seen the announcement of the latest backward step in Russia? The abolition of co-education. Apparently there is open talk in the Soviet press about boys being trained as soldiers and girls as mothers. We could do with an article on the subject. The "Daily Mirror" dealt with it three or four weeks ago, and this week's "Economist" has also an article about it. The writer in the "Economist" thinks that the haste with which the legislation is being put into operation indicates a fearful deterioration in the behaviour of Russian youth. Undoubtedly that plays a part, but the principle motive is, I think, one of going to the limits in putting into operation Stalin's reactionary methods of "defending" the Soviet Union. What else can he do but copy Hitler's method of regimenting the boys as material for a vast army and forcing the girls to produce more soldiers.

I am afraid I haven't done my bit in helping with the articles, but as I have explained, it is very difficult to do any serious writing under these conditions. One thing I'd like to see is a

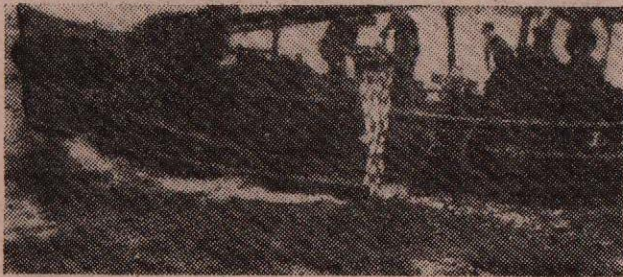
important factor in the Red Army. In the countries where the masses can still express their sentiments at the polls we have the turning of hitherto untouched layers of the oppressed in the direction of Socialism. In Canada, Australia, backward Ireland, there has been a turning away from the bourgeois parties towards Labour. In Germany the régime turns the screw of repression tighter and tighter, but despite the terror and executions, the opposition of the masses is growing with gathering speed. Mighty America has been faced with a general strike of the miners. Even the tiny islands of Malta and Cyprus has just undergone the experience of general strikes.

In Britain the masses are moving Left in a more definite fashion than they have done perhaps for a generation. The outbreak of strikes among dockers, miners, engineers, electricians, shipyard workers, transport, etc., indicates the widespread discontent and opposition which is now engulfing all sections of the workers. That these strikes should be taking place at a period when British imperialism is gaining victories, is an indication of the complete lack of chauvinism among the masses. This was shown in a striking way in the T.U.C, when the trade union bureaucrats, under the pressure of the masses, were compelled to reverse the decision of the Labour Party Conference on Vansittartism where it was only carried by their block vote.

These are but the shadows of coming events, they are but the portend of the coming movement of the working class on a world scale. They are the first lightning flashes of the world revolution! At the beginning of this war Trotsky predicted that the governments could make the war, but not one government would be left to make the peace. The imperialists have made the war; the workers and soldiers of all lands will make the peace.

The Fourth International alone based itself on this perspective. They alone will ride the storm and lead the masses to a world of peace and plenty in a Socialist Europe and a Socialist world.

HERRINGS DUMPED IN SEA—1943 WORKERS GO WITHOUT



Fishermen dumping overboard part of the catch of herring which failed to find a sale when a big haul was landed recently. Picture taken from "Glasgow Herald"

The greater part of a catch of herring was dumped in the Clyde by Ayreshire fishermen during the month of August. As everyone knows it has been practically impossible for a housewife to supplement her family's meagre food ration by fish, in most parts of the country. Yet the mad game of destroying this valuable food is projected in war as in "peace".

Mr. Boothby, Conservative M.P., for East Aberdeenshire, in the *Glasgow Herald*, is convinced that there was no excuse for the failure to handle last week's heavy landings. "It is a scandal" he said, "The fact is the system of distribution has completely broken down and no organisation

existed which was capable of taking up surplus supplies during the period of summer fishing, when they ought to have been anticipated." Even to-day fishermen are restricted to working only 2 days out of 10.

While the poor working class family is deprived of herring, the rich remain unaffected, as they tuck into salmon and beefsteaks which can be obtained in any swell hotel for spot cash.

The chaotic and one-sided rule of the Capitalist Class is apparent in all its misdeeds. The food policy of the Government must be condemned. Only if distribution is vested in the hands of Committees of workers and housewives could there be real equality and ample supplies to go round.

I.L.P. "UNITY"

In the *New Leader* of 11th September, 1943, a small item under the title "In Brief" appeared reporting a London "I.L.P. Call Italy Meeting" which was addressed by Giovanni Giglio, Walter Padley and Fenner Brockway. This meeting serves as a means of demonstrating the utter lack of a principled position on the part of the I.L.P. With the magic watchword of "unity" they are prepared to unite with any politician, no matter what his past or his policy, so long as he pretends to support "Socialism" or even alleged "progressive causes." In this they congratulate themselves on being entirely different from the "sectarian" Trotskyists who isolate themselves "completely from the living forces of history." The meeting on the Italian revolution demonstrates how this attitude revealed itself in practice, when Giovanni Giglio appeared on the I.L.P. platform as a "representative of the Italian Socialist Party." A. Caltabiano, a former member of the Italian Socialist Party and an ex-volunteer Lt.-Commander in the Spanish Republican Navy, was present at the meeting and in spite of obstruction from the platform, managed to raise and put the following questions:

1. Is the I.L.P. aware that when a party since the collapse of France has lost its executive which are in jail in France and Italy, with the rank and file scattered the world over and no possibility at all to hold a congress, anyone who pretends to speak in the name of this party is merely a charlatan if not a provocateur?

2. Is the I.L.P. aware that in producing as a representative of the Italian Socialist Party a British subject in the service of British capitalism, expelled from Italy for what reasons nobody exactly knows, an employee of the 'Daily Herald' and at the disposal of the M.o.I., they have misled and deluded the readers of the 'New Leader' and the audience at this meeting?

3. Where was Mr. Giovanni Giglio, this so-called secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, in February 1942, when Comrade Brockway was looking for a message from an Italian Socialist, in support of the 'Socialist Britain Now' campaign?

4. Is Comrade Brockway aware that the only way to support the Italian Revolution is not to organise a platform for babblers with 'squeezed lemons,' but to give the right word to the British workers in order to put an end to the mass murder by bombing of the Italian workers, and this is possible only by stopping the war production, following the example of the Italian workers?"

Comrade Caltabiano emphasised that he was prompted to ask these ques-

tions, not by any interest in the personality of Mr. Giglio, but in order to expose the fraudulent behaviour of the I.L.P. We are not in political agreement with Caltabiano, who is a Syndicalist, but certainly his questions merit a better reply from the I.L.P. and the gentleman with whom they spoke on the platform, than they received.

Giglio failed to rise and defend himself.

Brockway did not deny any of the accusations about Giglio's political position. We have the spectacle of Brockway painting him as a sincere revolutionary devoted to the cause of the Italian workers. The fact, that Mr. Giglio only supports the Italian workers now that it is fashionable to do so; that he was unheard of a year ago even by Brockway apparently does not weigh at all with Brockway. Mr. Giglio's position was given in his speech, which contained not one word of socialism, and included the statement that the Sicilian Separatist Movement has no support "because the Sicilians wish to share their new found freedom with their brothers on the Italian mainland." Thus giving full support to British imperialism in its activities in Sicily. Both Brockway and Padley, made speeches denouncing Amgot and the reactionary regime in Sicily, but did not bother to explain the contradiction between this and the statements of Giglio.

This is the classical role of the I.L.P. leaders: with "revolutionary" phrases they cover up their real policy of reformism and capitulation to imperialism, although indirectly they assist imperialism by acting as a cover for and by supporting its friends and agents. It is no accident that two days previously John McNair appeared on the platform at another Italian meeting—together with such notable revolutionaries as H. G. Wells, Vernon Bartlett, Gordon Schaffer (who called for a second front!).

While the I.L.P. leaders conduct these manoeuvres and deceptions, they castigate the Fourth International as "splitters." Unity, unity, is their cry. We reply: Now more than ever is the time when differences should be clarified and brought into the open. Any slurring over of mistakes, any covering up of betrayals, will have the most disastrous effects on the working class movement. This policy of "unity" of programmes and policies in the Popular Front, led the Spanish and French revolutions to disaster.

Unity for specific actions and specific purposes but no mixing of programmes and policies remains the principle of Marxism.

Only the Fourth International bases its policy on the Leninist principle. The I.L.P. as a Centrist organisation is incapable of doing so.

the next "Appeal". It is a matter that should be dealt with in every issue as it develops.

... only surprised the imperialists, but has made them very wary of taking a step that would draw many German divisions away from the Eastern front. The bourgeoisie knows just as well as we do what happened in Eastern Poland and the Baltic States—that industry was nationalised albeit bureaucratically—and what would happen further West if Russian troops marched into Rumania, Bulgaria, Germany. They also know their Stalin! And besides this, they know that if they move into Europe before they are strong enough to quell the revolutions, they will face disaster. I am convinced that they never expected the invasion of Sicily to result in the fall of Mussolini and the beginnings of Soviets. It has made them stop and think. And it has probably made them more afraid than

Stalin Turns to Religion

Continued

vastly superior army, Suvorov defeated the insurgents and assured the partition of Poland. The subjection of the Poles lasted until the October revolution.

The "Economist" of September 11th, speculating on Stalin's latest decrees, suggests that some of the paragraphs which a future historian of Russia would undoubtedly include in the chapters dealing with Moscow 1942-43, would be:

"When in the spring of 1943 the papers announced the dissolution of the Comintern, Muscovites who read the news shrugged their shoulders; the fate of a small village in the Kuban which had just been retaken by the Russian soldiers moved them incomparably more. Only a few elderly people remembered that, exactly 20 years before, the Fourth Congress of the Comintern had kept the whole of Moscow in suspense. When Lenin made his last appearance in public and Trotsky with his fiery speeches on world revolution held the centre of the stage."

The "Economist" does well to differentiate Lenin and Trotsky from Stalin's reactionary dissolution of the Comintern. But the "Economist" fails to point out that the victory of the Kuban village was possible only on the basis of the revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky.

Further in the article, the "Economist" goes on:

"The same historian reviewing the significance of the restoration of the Holy Synod, would state:

"To see the background against which this reconciliatory step was taken one must follow the Metropolitan Sergius from the Kremlin into the streets of Moscow . . .

"In the windows of the bookshops large portraits of Kutusov and Suvorov, the great warrior of old Imperial Russia, were on show, even more than the somewhat faded pictures of Lenin; the pictures of Karl Marx had almost disappeared."

Stalin can no longer hide his reactionary policies behind the great figures of Marx and Lenin; they must be replaced by more suitable figures from

the Soviet Union. What else can he do but copy Hitler's method of regimenting the boys as material for a vast army and forcing the girls to produce more soldiers.

I am afraid I haven't done my bit in helping with the articles, but as I have explained, it is very difficult to do any serious writing under these conditions. One thing I'd like to see is a simplification of the language in the "Appeal". Some of it is very round-about. It is certainly a difficult matter, since we are building our papers without the assistance of "intellectuals" who are trained in these things. But we must try.

Please excuse the rambling and almost incoherent nature of this letter. I ought to have been more regular and then I wouldn't have had to try and deal with so much. As it is I haven't time to deal with a dozen other things meant to.

Best wishes to everybody,
Andy.

the feudal past. Marx and Lenin, the great Architects of the Revolution must now be replaced by counter-revolutionary generals. For Stalin, this is a logical step, and for the masses of Russia and the world a lesson.

Stalin has completely abandoned even the pretence of carrying on the tradition of Marx and Lenin.

The Red Army, born and reared as a military weapon of the October Revolution, has faithfully registered the growth of Thermidorian reaction in the Soviet Union. The various measures adopted by the bureaucracy such as the creation of higher ranks, the re-introduction of the saluting of officers, the fabulous differences in the pay of the private soldier and the officer caste; the replacement of the oath to defend the World Revolution with the oath to the Russian fatherland, as well as the kissing of the fringes of the Regimental Banner, constitutes a travesty of revolutionary discipline inflicted upon the heroic soldiers of the Red Army. The abolition of the political commissars and their integration into the officer caste is direct subordination of the political to the military and the raising of the status of the military Junta. The different clubs for officers and men and the social distinctions thus created are planned to strengthen the basis of the privileged bureaucracy. The purging of the Bolshevik Old Guard from the Army and the inculcation of Prussian military sentiments, can only presage a further movement away from the traditions of October. The smart new uniforms with the shiny epaulettes, is the crowning insult inflicted upon the Red Army.

The reaction, although undermining the basis and gains of October, has not yet destroyed the planned agriculture and the collectivised economy which replaced the private ownership of the means of production through the medium of the October Revolution. With each step along the nationalist road, Stalin threatens the foundations of the first workers' state, but these factors do not absolve the revolutionary socialists of the Fourth International, as well as the workers throughout the world, from defending the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it brings to this task a new urgency and significance.

VICKERS HELPED HITLER

Continued from page 1

workers. Times are fixed so that a man of average ability can earn 25 per cent., with the result that the average wage is so low as to be entirely inadequate on the present high cost of living.

The basic rate of the engineers in the district has remained the same—46/-—for 29 years! A fantastic situation.

From about 600 pay slips collected over a period of several weeks it was demonstrated by the local council of action, that after all deductions the average wage on these slips was £2 12s. 0d.!

STALINISTS HELP BOSSES

The Communist Party and their stooges in the Joint Production Committee have long conducted a campaign against the militant trade unionists as "agents of Hitler." In a circular issued to their members on 16th April, 1943, they stated that the campaign which was under way at that time was "definitely playing 'HITLER'S GAME'". This has been their consistent theme since the meetings run by Pat Devine last April.

It is peculiar how these gentlemen, renegades from communism, suddenly find themselves echoing the filthy slander of the boss class against the workers. It is peculiar how they have suddenly found a common front with the management of Vickers.

VICKERS HELPED HITLER

But let us see who have played the "game of Hitler": Possibly the local Stalinists will get a bit of a shock when they see in whose camp they stand.

In the American Ambassador Dodd's diary, which was published by Gallantz in Britain after his death, (he was U.S. Ambassador to Germany from June 1933 to December 1937) is to be found the following comment:

"I visited Sir Eric Phipps and repeated in all confidence a report that Armstrong-Vickers, the great British armament concern, had negotiated a sale of war material here (Berlin) last week, just before a British Government commission arrived to negotiate some plan with Schacht for payment of short-term debts . . . due on current deliveries of British cotton yarn from Lancashire. It is impossible. Schacht said to me

Several days later Dodd wrote in his diary:

"Ebbutt (Norman Ebbutt of the 'London Times'—J. H.) confirmed the report of mid-October 1934, that a British woman, connected with Hitler's inner group, was here just before the negotiations on the Lancashire debts, to sell war equipment for Armstrong-Vickers."

We remember a notorious aristocratic woman member of Mosley's Black-shirts who was a personal friend of Hitler and intimately connected with Hitler's "inner group" and who was in Germany in 1934. Since Vickers have never denied it, it appears that Vickers were using a woman Blackshirt to sell their war material to Hitler at a time when he needed all the assistance from other gangsters to down the German workers: "Turn your fire against the real 'friends of Hitler'" must be the demand of the Barrow workers to the local Communist Party.

KICK OUT BOSSES' AGENTS

But it is not only through the official Communist Party machine that the Stalinists seek to play the role of boss class agents. The documents issued by the Stalinists on the Joint Production Committee and signed by Whiteside and Wood are classic examples of how the local Stalinists who occupy positions as workers' representatives try desperately to canalise the feelings and actions of the workers back into the channels of endless arbitration and negotiation.

The workers can have no confidence in "representatives" who demonstrate a miserable bootlicking attitude towards the management and who in advance say to the boss class in effect "we will do all in our power to stop the workers from making a fight for their just demands."

Whatever their past, such men are dangerous to the interests of the workers and the Barrow workers would be well advised to remove them.

BARROW — THE TEST

The dispute which has commenced in Barrow may lead to a tremendous movement throughout the country. Discontent is general amongst engineers. The Barrow workers

HITLER

Already, in the midst of the war there is over production in certain classes of arms. A group of the Beardmore Combine factories on the Clyde are threatening to put the whole of the workers on a 47 hour basis. This is also the apparent position of other factories in certain parts of the country.

Already, in the midst of the war there is an increasing and rising redundancy of labour, and in the Manchester area several thousand members of the A.E.U. are reported to be on the books as redundant.

If this is true in the present period, how are the boss class going to maintain the workers in production at all, never mind retain the wage standards of the workers, once the war takes a decisive turn (as it no doubt soon will) and practically no arms will be used or produced.

It is clear that a terrible crisis of unemployment is inevitable. If the workers are incapable of forcing better wage conditions now, then they will certainly not be in a good position to do so later in the course of the war.

ALL AID TO BARROW

The Barrow workers are up against a stiff proposition. They are not fighting the boss class over a local issue where pressure can easily be applied to gain a concession. It is a national issue upon which the boss class will not easily retreat, since to do so would destroy their attempt to put a low ceiling on the wages of the workers. The whole machinery of the state with the press, Stalinists and T.U. leaders, or misleaders behind them will conduct a blast to isolate the Barrow workers wherever they possibly can. But they already have the backing of the overwhelming majority of the engineers throughout the country who are disgusted with the lawyers award "326".

To the "Socialist Appeal" the Barrow Council of Action made the following statement which we heartily endorse:

"The workers in other parts of the country have a duty to give moral and financial support to Barrow. For the first time in years the Barrow workers have built a real unity in action against the boss class. Build that

STALIN'S GERMAN COMMITTEE

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the living conditions of the German worker. As a former Social-democrat and trade-union official he stressed the necessity for linking up with the tradition of the once so proud German Working-class Movement.

A report was given by two delegates from prisoner-for-war camps who had been sent specially to participate in the meeting. They talked on the mood prevailing inside the camps.

Corporal Eschborn, a Catholic, talked on the freedom of faith.

The report continued with a talk by Lieut.-Col. Frankenfeld who had only come over the previous week, on July 8th, in the battle of Orel-Kursk.

The young soldier Kessler appealed to the German Youth to fight against Hitler.

Then, Wilhelm Pieck, M.P., spoke on "There shall be no new 1918!"

The report mentioned a speech by Count von Einsiedel, Lieut. of the Luftwaffe on the relations of the Soviet Union, and also a speech made by the Protestant parson Matthäus Klein. . . .

Putting the above-mentioned names into some sort of order, everybody can see clearly that out of 14 persons named: 2 are well-known Communists, 4 are members of the working class and petty bourgeoisie, 7 are commissioned officers, 1 is a parson.

To-day, it is no longer a secret that a man who wants to become an officer in the imperialist army must be a sworn enemy of the working class, to say nothing of revolution and socialism. It must be borne in mind that seven out of fourteen delegates speaking at that meeting in Moscow, belong to the officer class.

" . . . Lieut.-Col. Karisius described his career from an active member of the Hitler Party to a definite Hitler opponent. . . ." This Karisius must have been personally responsible for the murder of hundreds of socialists, communists, Jews, Czechs, etc. But to-day he is one of Stalin's chosen people to "free and build up a new Germany."

" . . . Lieut.-Col. Frankenfeld . . . had

only come over the previous week, on July 8th, in the battle of Orel-Kursk. . . ." For two years, this rat had been tyrannizing and beating down the German worker in uniform. But after a fortnight in Russian hands, he could already be "elected" as representative of the "free German people."

There must be hundreds of thousands of prisoners-of-war German soldiers who have spent at least a year in Russian camps. We have not had any report, so far, saying that German soldiers have joined the Red Army. Why not? Are one or even two years too short a period of time to win workers over for the socialist cause, workers who have suffered ten years under fascism?

What was the case, in 1917 when the Russian workers seized power under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky? James Bunyan in his book "Intervention, Civil War, and Communism in Russia," quotes a few lines relating to that period, as follows:

" . . . According to the estimates of the Central Committee of War Prisoners, the war prisoners in the ranks of the Red Army before the German Revolution totalled fifty thousand. All of these were recommended by revolutionary organisations of war prisoners and fought on all the internal fronts in Russia. . . .

" . . . The proletarian element of the war prisoners, chiefly Germans and Hungarians, organized so-called International Battalions which rendered great service to the Bolsheviks in establishing Soviet rule in Siberia and in fighting counter-revolutionists. These battalions helped to suppress the counter-revolutionary uprising at Omsk, Tomsk, and Irkutsk, fought successfully against Semenov's bands, and . . . defended Soviet territory against the Czechoslovaks . . ."

Every day the working class of the world can see more clearly the difference between the revolutionary methods of Lenin and Trotsky who succeeded in beating the capitalist intervention of the whole world, on the one hand, and Stalin's reactionary policy on the other hand.

NO LEAD FROM T.U.C

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sale of war material here (Berlin) last week, just before a British Government commission arrived to negotiate some plan with Schacht for payment of short-term debts . . . due on current deliveries of British cotton yarn from Lancashire. It is impossible, Schacht said to me yesterday, to pay British debts. Yet, last Friday, I reported to Sir Eric, the British arms people were selling for cash enormous quantities of war supplies."

BARROW — THE TEST

The dispute which has commenced in Barrow may lead to a tremendous movement throughout the country. Discontent is general amongst engineers. The Bradford D.C. of the A.E.U. are reported to have tendered 21 days' notice of strike on a similar basis to that of Barrow. Meanwhile, the situation in the industry continues to deteriorate.

"The workers in other parts of the country have a duty to give moral and financial support to Barrow. For the first time in years the Barrow workers have built a real unity in action against the boss class. Build that unity! Strengthen it! Demonstrate that it has the support of organised workers from North and South and from coast to coast. For a victory of the Barrow workers is a victory for the workers everywhere."

Soviet-Imperialist Conflict

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ialists still regard the existence of the Soviet Union as unfinished business to be attended to in the future. Tucked away as a minor item in the "Daily Worker" of September 7th, appeared the following:

"A friend who is working in a Government research establishment, in which there is a department concerned with research on metals for use in gun manufacture, writes to me:

"From time to time high Army officials come down to discuss progress and arrange for particular lines of research work. Recently some more Army officials came down and were urging that a certain line of research be undertaken that would last 10 to 15 years.

"When it was suggested that it would not be of much use to the present war effort the Army officials said, quite seriously: 'We have the Russian to take care of after this war you know'."

As is to be expected these renegades from Socialism make no comment and draw no political conclusions from this.

But it is clear, the imperialists regard with alarm and dismay the unforeseen strength which the Soviet Union has revealed. If the Soviet Union were under a genuine revolutionary leadership, the position of world capitalism would be hopeless. The Red Army advance would prepare the way for the Socialist Revolution in Germany and Europe, and its repercussions would be felt in every country on the globe. Here it is that the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism renders invaluable aid to the imperialists. Stalin is in mortal terror of the Socialist revolution in any country of the world, for fear of the consequences it would have on the Russian masses. Under stress of such an example the victorious Russian workers and peasants would soon move to restore the workers democracy of Lenin and Trotsky.

BASIC CONFLICT REMAINS

In the "Daily Mail" of July 16th, an article by Demaree Bess says:

"It is also not only futile but downright pernicious to imagine the United Nations as one big happy family, fighting precisely the same wars for precisely the same objectives."

It is this conflict of interests and its fundamental antagonism towards the Soviet Union which dictates the policy of the ruling class of Britain and America. This antagonism determines the strategy of the Allies once again confirming the Leninist axiom that war is merely the continuation of politics by forcible means. It is obvious that the Allies have now a sufficient preponderance of arms over Germany to establish a Second Front, even if at great sacrifice, in Western Europe, if their main aim had been to assist their Soviet "Allies". But their attention is concentrated elsewhere. They are concerned over the division of interests in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. They are looking towards this area with anxiety as the Russian armies sweep on towards the Dnieper.

A DASH FOR THE BORDERS

The ruling class of all countries recognises that if the Red Army reached the borders of the Balkan States it would inevitably provoke an uprising among the Balkan peoples, whether Stalin desires this or not, and in spite of any efforts of the Russian bureaucracy to prevent it. Therefore the "Allies" are desirous of their troops reaching this area before those of the Red Army. The gangster reactionaries in control of Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria are only waiting for a suitable opportunity to do a Darlan or a Badoglio, turn themselves into "democrats" and make a deal with Anglo-American imperialism. They would regard this as a protection against their own masses and against the Soviet Union.

But though the Russian bureaucracy do not desire revolution in Europe, they also do not desire an Anglo-American domination of Eastern Europe which could not but be transformed into an iron ring round the borders of Russia in preparation for a clash in the future. The Stalinist bureaucracy is insisting that Eastern Europe should become a Soviet sphere of influence. The new prominence given to the Orthodox Church in Russia from the point of view of foreign policy is meant not only to reassure the American imperialists that Stalinism is now completely reactionary, but as a means of exerting influence on the reactionary elements among the Slav peoples in Eastern Europe, while also reassuring the ruling class in this area that

Stalin is desirous of coming to an agreement with them. While constantly reiterating that they do not desire revolution, just as insistently the Russian press reveals the fear of Western Imperialism in the future.

Stalin is insisting that the Allies should abandon their opposition to the incorporation of the Baltic States, of the former Polish Ukraine, Bessarabia and Bukovina—and the positions obtained in Finland—into the Soviet Union. Not only that. But that they should cease to plot and scheme to organise Eastern Europe as an Anglo-American sphere of influence, which would be directly aimed as a spring-board against the Soviet Union.

At a period when the Soviet troops were hard pressed and it appeared as if the German army would succeed in breaking through to Baku, the Russian Government apparently appealed to her "Allies" for military assistance. But instead of granting such assistance, the British proposed to place their troops in the oil-region of Baku and Tiflis.

Here is how the *Daily Worker* reports the situation in a quotation from "War and the Working Class."

"IN SPITE OF REPEATED PROPOSALS FROM THE SOVIET SIDE, THE ALLIES DID NOT AT ANY TIME EXPRESS A DESIRE TO KEEP THEIR TROOPS SIDE BY SIDE WITH OUR ARMY AND AIR FORCE ON THE SOVIET-GERMAN FRONTIER."

"Last autumn a proposal was made to station Allied air forces at Baku and Tiflis, where no front existed and where no battles could be fought with the Germans.

"Is it not clear that it would have been better to station them somewhere nearer the front, where they would be in a position to help our troops?"

"Also," concludes the article, "could a proposal to transfer Soviet troops from the Trans-Caucasus to the Soviet-German front so that non-Soviet troops could be brought into this area be regarded as a desire to fight side by side with the Red Army?"

"Daily Worker", September 3rd. This proposed disposal of "Allied" troops was not dictated by the needs of assisting the Soviet Union but by the desire of the British ruling class to grab the rich oil areas of Russia

in the event that the Red Army was defeated.

The clash of interests, the secret intrigues and deals once again come to the surface with the sudden announcement of the Polish Government in London that "their" territory, i.e., those areas brutally seized in 1920 from Russia must remain under the domination of the Polish landlords and capitalists. This statement must have been made by prior agreement or consultation with Anglo-American imperialism.

There is also the prolonged stay of Mr. Churchill in Washington in which ceaseless military and political discussions have taken place. The capitalist press has openly stated that relations with Russia was one of the most important, if not the most important item at the Conference. And this question must obviously loom foremost in the minds of the imperialists as the key question for the coming period. It is on this background that the "Times" has featured extracts from the Russian journal "War and the Working Class", new unofficial organ whereby Stalinist diplomacy expresses its aims and aspirations:

"... attacks (in America) on Mr. Churchill for 'not liquidating the British Empire' and on the Soviet Union for 'wanting to Bolshevise Central Europe' are cited as examples of untimely utopianism."

Behind cringing offers of co-operation and the expression of "eagerness of the Soviet Government to collaborate with their principal allies in the post war era"; is the fear of the real plans of imperialism:

"... Plans for the establishment of an Eastern European Federation hostile to the Soviet Union can be framed, but only by renouncing the necessity for friendship and collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and the Allies in the post war period, only if the renunciation of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty is considered.

"... None of the problems of post war organisation can or must be settled without the direct and active participation of the Soviet Union."

The internal reaction in Russia, the plans of world imperialism, all these demonstrate that the Soviet Union cannot be saved for Socialism by the glorious victories of the Red Army alone. It is possible that Stalin may

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NO LEAD FROM T.U.C

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whelmingly popular support could be obtained for the demand for the nationalisation of the mines without compensation, and for all war industries as well.

The General Council capitulated to the shameful blackmail of the Tories on the question of the Trades Dispute Act, which was only discussed in private session, and shelved for consideration of the General Council. On this issue too, on which a stand would have compelled the capitalists to retreat and withdraw all the provisions of this infamous Act, the T.U. bureaucrats have retreated, preferring to attempt some sort of rotten compromise behind the scenes rather than appeal to the workers to exert mass pressure.

Thus the T.U. bureaucracy reveals a blind incapacity to understand the period in which we live and to prepare for the struggles which lie ahead. Blindly they imagine the continuance of the present relationship with the T.U. and Labour bureaucrats as minor partners in collaboration with the capitalist state machine and the employers. No preparation or warning of the inevitable industrial slump which will come in the years after the war—of the mass unemployment in the transition from war to peace production. No question of the intervention of the workers in the planning and organisation of production for the benefit of the masses. So far as the peace itself was concerned, this, like the Second Front, is apparently to be left in the hands of the Government and the "experts."

The problem of the Second Front which is again being pushed by the Stalinists was side-tracked and practically no discussion took place on this issue. However, neither the Stalinists who pushed it forward nor the T.U. Bureaucrats who succeeded in shelving the discussion put forward a class or revolutionary Socialist approach to the problem. Both sides professed to regard the question as a military one, when in reality it is the political

patch up some sort of agreement with Roosevelt and Churchill, or in desperation, he may attempt an agreement with German imperialism but such agreements cannot be long-lasting. The Hitler-Stalin pact did not last even two years. The Anglo-Russian pact is already trembling in the balance.

Neither the safety of the Soviet Union or peace for the rest of the world can be assured if world imperialism continues to exist. Only the victory of the Socialist revolution in Europe can save the Soviet Union for Socialism and ensure peace and plenty for the tortured peoples of Europe and the world.

problem of why and for what reasons the ruling class is waging the war. The ruling class will deploy its forces only when and how it suits its own imperialist ends, and for no other reason.

In this connection Bevin's speech had one or two very curious points which could only have been aimed at the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Soviet Union. Referring to Russia he said the Government based their every action, approach and consideration on the treaty and the development of proper collaboration:

"While the three great Powers, Russia, the United States, and ourselves, would loom large in the shaping and the protection of peace for the future, he would never be a party as long as he was in office to any device that was going to crush the culture and the fair opportunity of small races throughout the world. . . ."

What could be meant here are the Baltic States, Finland and the territories bordering the Soviet Union. Bevin and the Labour and T.U. bureaucrats have never shown anything but pious hypocrisy for the defence of the territories and the countries "protected" by Britain. But apparently if their masters call the tune they will be willing to attack the Soviet Union on this issue; just as they did in the case of "poor little Finland."

They have kept silent on the "protection" which Britain is giving to Abyssinia in this war for example. This was underlined by another passage in his speech which said:

"... We could not submit to aggression whether it be in the form of guns or propaganda."

This seems to indicate that the imperialists would like to drive a bargain with Stalin that would provide for the dissolution of the national "Communist" parties. In their lack of foresight the T.U. bureaucracy probably imagines that this would dispose of the danger to them from the "Left"

The Conference revealed in a very distorted fashion the processes taking place within the ranks of the working class, and the utter incapacity of the trade union "leaders" to understand that process to lead the workers in a militant direction. If the movement to the Left on the part of the masses is not to end in disaster, it is necessary to build a fighting alternative leadership within the trade unions; a leadership which sets its face uncompromisingly against collaboration with the bosses and prepares to fight the offensive of the employers and defend the rights and conditions of the workers in the war and the post-war period.