

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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UNITE!

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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TWOPENCE.

# 25,000 STRIKE DEFEAT

## Women's Wages to Undercut Men C.P. Aids Bosses in Blow at A.E.U.

By TOM BURNS.

# LEBANON CLASH

## Bares Gaulle—Churchill Aims British Stake Claim to Dominate Post-war Arab Federation

By TED GRANT

FIGHTING BETWEEN FRENCH SENEGALESE AND THE ARAB MASSES IN THE LEBANON HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE. TROOPS WERE OUT AND UNARMED ARAB MASSES HAVE BEEN KILLED. A GENERAL STRIKE WAS DECLARED IN BEIRUT, TRIPOLI AND OTHER CITIES OF THE LEBANON.

The incident which precipitated this was the arrest of the Lebanese Prime Minister and his ministers and deputies of the Lebanese Parliament. Taking advantage of a promise of independence made by the "Free French," the Lebanese Parliament introduced a Bill which would render the Lebanon practically independent of France. The French "democratic" authorities replied by forcefully dissolving the Parliament, despite the fact that 52 out of 54 deputies support the Government.

THIS MOVEMENT REFLECTS THE LONGING OF THE STARVED AND OPPRESSED ARAB MASSES TO BE RID OF THEIR IMPERIALIST EXPLOITERS. EVER SINCE THE LAST WAR WHEN THE ARABS WERE PROMISED INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM BY BOTH BRITAIN AND FRANCE IN RETURN FOR AID AGAINST THEIR TURKISH OVERLORDS, THERE HAS BEEN A MOVEMENT TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE AMONG ALL THE ARAB COUNTRIES.

Despite the solemn promises British and French imperialism cynically maintained themselves on the backs of the Arab people throughout the last war.

turer De Gaulle completely dependent upon Britain, he made a declaration of independence for Syria and the Lebanon, partly under the pressure of the Arab masses in those countries and partly under the pressure of British imperialism, whose interests this suited.

But this uprising of the Lebanese has been the means of showing the whole hypocrisy of the imperialists and their real aims in the war.

General De Gaulle who has been pictured by the Stalinists and Labour leaders as a fighter for democracy and freedom for France reveals himself as a representative of the French capitalists and of French imperialism. "This 'democrat' is prepared to wade in the blood of the Arab peoples and brutally repress any attempt to free themselves from French domination. Tomorrow,

wards asserting any rights on the part of the Lebanese or any other colonial people for that matter. Suitable pretexts can always be found and declarations and promises always repudiated by perjured imperialism under the excuse of "changed conditions" and "necessity". In reality the French

Continued on page 4.

AFTER A BITTER 9 DAY STRUGGLE A MAJORITY VOTE WAS RECORDED TO GO BACK TO WORK IN THE AERO FACTORY STRIKE AT WEST SCOTLAND. THE 3 FACTORIES RESUMED WORK ON TUESDAY, 9TH NOVEMBER. AS THE SUCCESSFUL BARROW DISPUTE CONTAINED VALUABLE LESSONS FOR THE WORKING CLASS, A CRITICAL STUDY OF THIS CURRENT DEFEAT WHERE 25,000 WORKERS GO BACK EMPTY HANDED IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE FOR THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

The strike arose as a result of a poor agreement made by the trade union leadership and the employers on the basis of a Government Court of Enquiry Findings dealing with girls wages. The 3 year old fight for equal pay for equal work was compromised to the hilt, without any pretence of consulting the workers involved. Yet at this enquiry the employers were not able to directly answer the charge that men were previously performing this type of work now done by women. They were evasive and adamantly maintain now that most jobs are women's work. As the agreement shows that the federation succeeded in their manoeuvre it bodes ill for post-war engineering wages and conditions. It is quite certain that the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation will adopt the same practices throughout the country to force down the wages and conditions of the workers.

Promises of hundreds of pounds retrospective pay which had been made from time to time turned out to be a cruel illusion. As shown in the last issue of *Socialist Appeal* 80% of the workers would only receive a fragmentary increase on bonus rate around 3/- per week.

The girls entered the struggle determined to win their just demands of 37/- + 22/- + 13/6 which is the minimum rate for semi-skilled men. Upgrading to start from this basis. The agreement made the bottom rate 29/- + 22/- Engineers and all male Plumbers, Foundry, etc., gave solid backing. The morale of the strikers

was exceedingly high—yet the strikers met with a defeat.

The manner in which the workers booed and heckled any attempt by the union officials and the very unpopular factory convenor, to get them back to work, was the way they expressed a firm confidence in the issue they were fighting for.

At a mass meeting on the Wednesday approximately 14 to 20,000 voted against a shop stewards' recommendation that they return to work and negotiate. (The C.P. claimed in the Scottish Organisers' Bulletin, an internal party publication, that they have 600-700 members in this combine. Assuming this correct, the vast majority therefore voted against C.P. policy to go back to work.)

The workers were certainly on their toes. At this mass meeting dozens of written resolutions were handed to the convenor calling for the resignation of the Shop Stewards Committee and for the election of a Strike Committee. Thousands roared "resign" after the vote was taken. The work and the

gather information on the dispute. It is criminal but not one piece of information was given to the workers at large by those in control of the dispute. This is not accidental but was a deliberate attempt to isolate the struggle.

The importance of Barrow was that it showed the working class, how, by placing reliance on your own class strength and with a loyal and fighting vanguard, success can be achieved. The result of this dispute has impressed the workers, and when Ben Smith, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Aircraft Production said at the Wednesday mass meeting that workers do not gain anything from strike action the crowd roared "What about Barrow!"

From shop stewards, it is said that most of the girls had no representation on the Shop Stewards Committee due to the ridiculous position of a lack of union branches (A.E.U.). Many hundreds of application forms for union membership, filled in etc., have been handed in months ago and nothing more heard of them. The sooner the workers remedy this situation the better.

The Clyde Workers' Committee (affiliated to the Militant Workers' Federation) an organisation of militant shop stewards belonging to various unions, published two leaflets. One outlined the reason for the dispute and called upon Clydeside workers to help the strikers both morally and financially. The other leaflet warned the workers against the strike breaking policy of the C.P. and urged them to elect a Strike Committee. This organisation stood four square behind the demands of the girls for equal pay for equal work and gave the only directives issued in the interests of the strikers. The leaflets were well received and the Convenor, at a shop stewards' meeting, accused this directive of being responsible for the adverse vote which his committee motion received at Wednesday's

# CHUCK HIM . . . ?

"DAILY WORKER"  
27.9.43

YESTERDAY:  
IVOR MONTAGUE WROTE OF  
DE GAULLE IN JANUARY 1941:

...AS BEEN A MOVEMENT TO-  
WARDS INDEPENDENCE AMONG  
ALL THE ARAB COUNTRIES.

Despite the solemn promises British and French imperialism cynically maintained themselves on the backs of the Arab people throughout the last decades, by means of armies of occupation forcibly holding the people of Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Iraq in subjection. Many times the Arab masses in all these countries have risen in revolt to obtain their liberation and these movements have been brutally suppressed by the imperialists. In 1938 the Arabs in Palestine fought for their independence from British imperialism.

At a time when French imperialism was in a helpless state and the adven-

...readers as a fighter for democracy and freedom for France reveals himself as a representative of the French capitalists and of French imperialism. This "democrat" is prepared to wade in the blood of the Arab peoples and brutally repress any attempt to free themselves from French domination. Tomorrow, faced with demands by the French workers he would be prepared to act in exactly the same way against them. Meanwhile the French Government in Algiers has proclaimed its intention to ensure independence for Lebanon and Syria . . . after the war! So that the repressions are being maintained because . . . the Lebanese are too impatient!

Actually De Gaulle and the French imperialists hope to delay any action until France would be strong enough to crush completely any movement to-

# TANNER TANNED AT A.E.U. CONFERENCE

THE SPECIALLY CONVENED A.E.U. CONFERENCE WHICH MET AT THE HOLBORN HALL, LONDON, ON NOVEMBER 4TH AND 5TH, MUST HAVE GIVEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE A.E.U. A RUDE SHOCK. IT CERTAINLY GAVE THE STALINISTS ONE.

CALLED TO DISCUSS THE SUSPENSION OF THE BARROW D.C. OF THE UNION BECAUSE OF THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE SUCCESSFUL STRIKE, AND OTHER QUESTIONS OF INTERNAL DISCIPLINE, THE CONFERENCE WAS ATTENDED BY ALMOST 500 DELEGATES FROM THE DISTRICT COMMITTEES OF THE A.E.U., TOGETHER WITH THE LEADERSHIP AND ALL THE PAID ORGANISERS OF THE UNION.

The delegates represented a good cross section of the most influential workers of the Union, and appeared to be mainly between the ages of 40 and 60 years, although there was a fair sprinkling of younger delegates in their early thirties. It was all the more striking, therefore, that the platform—Tanner & Co.—should have received a rough time from the tongues of the delegates over the mishandling of the Barrow dispute and other questions of union policy and activity. The sharp tone of many of the speeches directed against the platform was a clear indication of the deep feeling of frustration which permeates wide sections of the A.E.U. membership and arises from the policy of capitulation on the part of the Executive.

An indication and reflection of just how deep the feeling for a militant and progressive policy is in the ranks, was emphasised by the speeches of the organisers from Lancs. and Midlands—Ford and Stokes. Ford gave probably the best speech in defence of the Barrow D.C. and in doing so he slashed the C.P. for its foul strike-breaking role during the Barrow dispute. Stokes' (ex C.P.er) criticised the platform so severely that the leadership complained at the harshness of tone.

A very significant factor of the Conference, was that for the first time probably, there was a strong attack directed against the C.P. from numerous delegates from the Left and the Stalinists had to defend themselves against a strong bloc of militant delegates.


The Holborn Hall was picketed by three delegates from the Barrow D.C.'s; Bros. Herdman, Goody and Dicks who handed a statement to each delegate putting the Barrow point of view. They received a good welcome from the majority of delegates and Herdman was heard, to give Wal Hannington the works in the entrance to the Hall. Two members of the Barrow Strike Committee were present at the meeting as delegates from the Barrow District Shop Stewards; Bros. Trewartha, Chairman of the Strike Committee and Hill.

Many expressed pleasure at the exhaustive report of the Barrow Strike printed in *Socialist Appeal* and which gave them the facts for the first time. The effects of our exposure of the C.P. role in Barrow were evident from the violent attack against the "Appeal" from a Stalinist delegate from the floor.

One out of every three delegates bought the *Socialist Appeal*.

**CHUCK HIM OUT**

# "DAILY WORKER" 27.9.40



GENERAL DE GAULLE  
**CHUCK HIM OUT**  
See Leading Article.

## YESTERDAY:

IVOR MONTAGUE WROTE OF DE GAULLE IN JANUARY 1941:

"The subsidised de Gaullists, comically named "Free French", like all fascists and reactionaries make "abstention from politics and factionalism" the excuse for suppression of all influence of the Popular Front. . . .

"This reactionary militarist does not speak for the "Free French"... De Gaulle is now a discredited puppet, but his paymasters still toy with the idea that he may have further use. The 'Daily Worker' says: Chuck him out!"

## TO-DAY:

WALTER HOLMES WRITES ON NOVEMBER 16TH, 1943:

"It ('News Chronicle') seizes the opportunity to reveal again its virulent enmity towards de Gaulle.

"In its leading article yesterday it says of the French authorities' action in Lebanon, 'This is the story of Austria and Czechoslovakia written in authoritarian French.'

"Of such an absurd assertion one can only observe that the 'News Chronicle's' anti-Gaullist virus robs it of the power of reasonable statement. . . ."

"And won't Goebbels chuckle when he reads this latest product of the Liberal vendetta against French democracy's fighting leaders!"

# READERS WARNED PAPER CONTROL BEING USED TO SUPPRESS OUR VOICE

In our last issue, we reported that the Paper Controller had suspended our newsprint licence and that there was an implied threat to withdraw our licence altogether. That situation still exists. Despite negotiations the licence has not been renewed as we go to press.

We must tell our comrades and readers the truth about this situation. It looks ugly. There is no doubt that it is political victimisation. While every other paper and magazine in the country is receiving added quantities of paper, the Paper Controller is trying to clamp down the "Socialist Appeal" and "Workers' International News"—the two papers which tell the workers the socialist truth.

If the situation has not altered by the time the next issue of the "Socialist Appeal" is due on the press we will be forced to cut the "Appeal" down to half its present size and produce half the present number of copies issued.

That is the stark situation which faces us. It is necessary that our friends should understand it and give us all the moral and financial assistance they can muster to keep the voice of International Revolutionary Socialism—the "Socialist Appeal"—ringing out the class message. . . .

## FRENCH TROTSKYIST RELEASED

Pierre Frank, well-known French Trotskyist, was released from internment on the Isle of Man on November 15th.

Frank was arrested 3 years ago, spent 6 months doing hard labour in prison and the rest of the time on the Isle of Man.

His friends all over the world and particularly in France will welcome the release of Comrade Frank.

...toes. At this mass meeting dozens of written resolutions were handed to the convener calling for the resignation of the Shop Stewards Committee and for the election of a Strike Committee. Thousands roared "resign" after the vote was taken. The rank and file were looking for an alternate leadership. The mistake made by the minority of 26 shop stewards who opposed the false leadership of this Stalinist controlled committee, was their failure to make their opinions known to the mass of the workers. The C.P. cleverly manoeuvred this minority into accepting unanimous decisions by substantiative motions. The strikers unfortunately viewed the whole committee as reactionary. Being incapable of flinging out the C.P. elements the strike was strangled by the false policy of the so-called Communist Party.

Not one move was made by the Shop Stewards' Committee to set up a strike committee and organise a fighting leadership. The Clydeside workers were anxiously waiting to send help to their comrades. It is clear that a complete victory would have been gained in a few days by a strong leadership. The workers of the Company's factories in the Midlands sent a deputation to

...gave the only directives issued in the interests of the strikers. The leaflets were well received and the Convener, at a shop stewards' meeting, accused this directive of being responsible for the adverse vote which his committee motion received at Wednesday's meeting.

In fact, the skilled men were the keenest supporters the girls had, both prior to the strike and during the strike. Before the show-down occurred the women desired to get information on the Court of Enquiry findings but were refused block meetings by the Stalinist shop stewards. The Tool Room Stewards allowed the girls to use their canteen and prevented the C.P. from busting up various meetings.

Every day of the dispute an article was printed in the *Daily Worker* aimed at demoralising the strikers and following up with an attack against militant shop stewards and the trotskysts.

The mood of the workers was best expressed at the last mass meeting on Monday, 8th November, when only 3,552 against 967 voted to restart work and open up negotiations. The attendance at the meeting was about 13,000

*Continued on page 4.*

# BASIS OF SOVIET VICTORIES

The Red Army offensive marches on relentlessly. Already the press foreshadows an advance of the Red Army this winter into the Balkans and Poland. The formerly invincible armies of German imperialism are reeling back from one devastating blow upon another. Seldom in history has such an astonishing transformation taken place. After terrible defeats, to which any other power in the world would have succumbed, the Soviet Union, far from being defeated, has snatched victories from the jaws of defeat.

The achievement is all the more remarkable when it is considered that Russia is not as advanced industrially as Germany, and that Germany has the resources of all Europe at her disposal. In the last war, though faced only with the smaller part of the German divisions, the rotten Czarist regime trampled up ignominiously. The Soviet Union, faced with the overwhelming bulk of the Nazi divisions, has inflicted a mortal wound on Nazi Germany.

Churchill has made the reluctant admission that no other country could have stood the losses or succeeded in surviving the destruction, let alone advance to new victories. Churchill was doing this to demonstrate the necessity Britain and America had for

the alliance with Russia not out of any love for his "ally". But workers all over the world have instinctively and enthusiastically rejoiced at the successes of the Red Army. The capitalist politicians and the press have pretended to find the secret of the Russian successes in the "Russian soul". This is absolute nonsense. The basis of the successes has been the abolition of private ownership and the collectivisation of the means of production. With collective ownership the restrictions of the combines and monopolies; the drag of "vested interests" has disappeared. The whole force of the economy has been transformed to the maximum extent for the purposes of waging war. But above all the defence of the remaining conquests of the October Revolution has led to the development of a fighting morale on the home front and in the army greater than that of any army in the world.

This wonderful resistance of what was formerly the most backward country in Europe is a testimony to the power of the socialist ideal. This, despite the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy who have systematically endeavoured to divert the revolution-

*Continued on page 4.*

# WORKERS' COMPENSATION SWINDLE

ON NOVEMBER 29th, THE NEW TEMPORARY INCREASES TO THE WORKMENS COMPENSATION BILL WILL BECOME LAW, AND IT MUST BE ADMITTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS SUCCESSFULLY ACCOMPLISHED A MOST "DIFFICULT" TASK IN BRINGING THIS ABOUT. THEY HAVE EXCELLED THEMSELVES ONCE AGAIN IN DEMONSTRATING THEIR REMARKABLE ABILITY TO SWINDLE AND CHEAT THE WORKERS IN A MOST COLD BLOODED FASHION—AND IN PARTICULAR THE MINERS WHO SUFFER INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS, AND THEN TO CAMOUFLAGE IT WITH THE LABEL "ANOTHER GREAT CONCESSION."

The reply to the workers who have demanded a better Workmens Compensation, is concessions so microscopic, that it is with difficulty that we can see exactly where they benefit the injured workmen; and even including the new concessions, the cost is not estimated to be more than £17,500,000 a year.

That Workmens Compensation is becoming an increasingly vital issue for an ever greater number of workers, is fully proved by the recent report of the Chief Inspector of Factories in which he said:—

**"The number of accidents is now so great as to make an appreciable inroad on our war effort."**

He pointed out that during the last twelve months, no fewer than 314,630 persons were injured. In the House of Commons debate Ellis Smith also emphasised that:

**"THERE ARE MORE INJURED EACH YEAR IN THE MINING INDUSTRY THAN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO SUFFERED AS A RESULT OF ENEMY AIR-RAIDS FROM 1939 TO THE END OF 1942. FROM 1928-1937, 1,602,497 MINERS WERE KILLED AND INJURED . . . OR ON EACH WORKING DAY, 3 WERE KILLED AND 500 INJURED. THAT MEANS BLOOD AND DEATH ON THE COAL OBTAINED IN THIS COUNTRY."**

The ill and disabled worker is treated in the same callous and brutal fashion as the pensioners and all workers who are permanently or temporarily valueless to the capitalists. Under no circumstances is the worker granted a sum equal to his weekly wage when ill or disabled, and everything is arranged so as to force an early return to work. At the very time when the worker is in the greatest need for extra money, so they make it impossible for him to receive more than seven-eighths of his previous weekly earnings, and in some cases only two-thirds. Even the conservative Journal of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation was moved to comment that:

**"It seems that we are so afraid that a workman shall receive as much money when he is injured as**

## BY JIM HINCHCLIFFE

### MAGNIFICENT "CONCESSIONS" TO SICK WORKERS

Just imagine the position of the workers who are married, and whose previous AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS were £3 per week. They will receive the maximum of 35s. per week, which the single men also receive, plus 5s. (and who can keep a wife on 5s. per week?) If they have one child they will receive a total of £2 5s., with two children, £2 10s. But no matter how many other children they may have, it is impossible for them to receive more than £2 12s. 6d. which equals seven-eighths of their former wages. Such cases as these could be multiplied indefinitely, so mean and despicable is this piece of class legislation.

The main concession is contained in the increase from the maximum of 35s. to £2 per week, a concession which very few single men will ever enjoy, and for whom it is largely an illusion, since **SINGLE MEN DO NOT RECEIVE THE EXTRA 5s. UNLESS THEY HAVE BEEN DISABLED FOR AT LEAST THIRTEEN WEEKS!** This will deprive at least 90 per cent of these workers of receiving any increase at all, as it is estimated that only between 4 and 10 per cent of the accidents exceed the thirteen week period, they will be compelled as a result, to exist on the bare minimum of 35s. which, if we take the official cost-of-living figures, is now worth 24/6d. A splendid example of the kind of "concessions" which are handed out to the workers!

This is not all however, if we take the example of a single man, we can see a progressive decrease of benefit when we take into consideration the real purchasing power of money. In the dim past of 1898, these workers

**In 9 years (1928-1937) 1,602,497 miners were killed and injured. Each Day: 3 killed and 500 Injured!**

**Sons of the nobility get princely incomes from the Government for coal royalties from inherited land—But miners get bare existence from Government when injured for life!**

were granted under a Tory Government, 20s. per week compensation and which is actually worth £2 6s. 6d. today. In 1965, under the much-publicised Beveridge Plan, such "security" benefit, as it is called, will be 24s. a week!

We thus receive the following amazing record of "progress":—  
1898—Compensation equalled 46s. 6d.  
1943—Compensation equals 35s. 0d.  
1965—Compensation will be 24s. 0d.  
Now we are able to view capitalist concessions in a more realistic light! We can see more clearly that the overwhelming "generosity" of our ruling class is merely a cover for a more intensive exploitation of the workers, and a more skilful way of deceiving the mass of the people.

Workers who are disabled during the course of their work are not only entitled to their full pre-accident earnings, but also an additional grant to pay for any additional expenses which inevitably occur during such periods. A full and ample maintenance allowance is the elementary right of all workers placed in this position.

**This issue can and will only be settled by the overthrow of the capitalist system which breeds these evils, and the workers must raise the demand through their Labour and Trade Union organisations that the Labour and Trade Union leaders break the criminal coalition with the capitalists and wage a campaign for power on a Socialist programme.**

**HE OWNED THE LAND — Compensated £113,000 when coal royalties were nationalised. About 500 years' wages of average miners!**



DUKE OF HAMILTON

# Hatfield Miners Strike

BY BETTY HAMILTON

The Hatfield Main miners have been on strike since October 28th on an important issue and one of principle. The strike involves 2,500 miners.

The Yellow Press including the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Worker* have only published part of the facts, and in such a manner that a case is made against the miners. The strike committee has therefore, refused to give them any further statements.

The principle involved is against "pruning" or "taking out" money from the pay-sheets on certain items of work done, not covered by Local or County Price Lists and agreed upon by the Deputy, after "bargaining" between the chargemen and the Deputy in the various stalls. This method is an accepted and legal one. At a previous strike at the same pit and on the same issue, Joe Hall, President of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, stated that no withdrawal payment after agreement had been reached with the Deputies, was illegal and quoted a case when coalowners had been sued on a similar case.

This position has lasted for over twelve months. Official machinery has been used from the beginning. Sometimes claims were met; sometimes not, and discontent among the miners was rising. Week after week miners had to wait hours in the pit yard, in all weathers, after coming from the intense heat underground, in attempts to see the Management and claim payment for work done, at a price agreed upon by the Deputy. This continual and outrageous robbery of the miners' hard earned wages, and the failure of the negotiating machinery caused things to come to a head on October 21st, when the men from four stalls refused to work until the money due to them for the week ending on that date and withdrawn from their pay sheets, was paid them. The local union officials persuaded them to continue work, leaving four of their number as representatives to approach the Management together with the local Branch officials.

Part of their claims were met and negotiations continued for the rest of the claims. But no satisfaction had been obtained by the end of the following week, when new and similar claims were made by the chargeman of 26 stall and a man from 23 stall. In many of the previous cases the



Socialist Appeal, Dear Comrade,

Carmarthenshire, 3.11.43.

I am disappointed not to see any account in the "Socialist Appeal" of the anthracite pit boys' strike. These lads are kicking the traces in vigorous style. Although without any official T.U. sympathy, and open sabotaging by Stalinists, they staged a three weeks' strike involving ultimately 500 boys of the West Wales Amalgamated Anthracite Collieries. Deputations of the boys were invited to Cardiff by the S.W.F.M. They have since returned to work.

After working three days they handed in notice to terminate employment on Monday, November 1st. The boys had to write out their notices on slips of paper as the Union would not furnish them with printed notices. Their notices are to expire in 21 days. It is rumoured that the strike is extending to the whole of South Wales.

The amusing feature of this stoppage has been throughout the attitude of the men at the various S.W.M.F. lodge meetings. At my own lodge, at which the C.P. member of the rank and file S.W.M.F. executive along with the miners' agent urged the boys to return to work with the usual patriotic emotionalism that we expect from these garrulous gentry, the meeting voted unanimously to return to work, then, lo and behold! walked back from the pit top in support of the boys.

The boys drafted out a charter which culminated with the words:

**"If these demands are not met the coal shall be left in the bowels of the earth forever. We shall not bring it forth!"**

At my pit, I held a cap collection, which even though the men only had two shifts out, totalled £3 11s. 3d. Well over 90 per cent of the men chucked in the cap.

Yours comradely, L. P.

### FAMINE IN INDIA

31st October, 1943.

The Editor, "Socialist Appeal", Dear Comrade,

In my article, "Famine in India", published in the October issue of the "Socialist Appeal", a very important paragraph was mistakenly omitted. As this refutes one of Mr. Amery's excuses about the famine in India, I hope you will publish it in your next issue. This paragraph should be

hundred and ten men complete with full kit, life-belts and sundry other possessions.

Even this meagre space was halved by fixed tables, running parallel across, at intervals of four or five feet.

Here, they were to eat, sleep and amuse themselves, and they were more than a little gloomy of the prospect! despite the oration of an Officer, who told them that the trip was an operation of war, and he hoped they would take the unavoidable crowding "in the right spirit".

That is how we came aboard, some few days ago—browned off with the conditions, but willing to make a certain concession to the dictates of "necessity".

But we have had time to look around now—and what we find is guaranteed to sow in every mind the seeds of inquiry into our war aims, or—if the seeds were already present—cause them to flower into the certainty of the only road for us to follow—the road to Socialism.

Three decks above us—up in the clean sea air—the Officers' quarters are situated. And as you enter this part, you step into another world!

In place of the crowded compartments, are neat little cabins, equipped with white-sheeted bunks and with adequate washing arrangements to hand. (We sleep in hammocks, slung so closely together that they cannot even swing: we queue up—hundreds of us—for a hasty wash in one of a handful of crude basins, mostly without plugs, and more often than not, without water!)

Up here, mess tins are unknown—as are queues—for are not these Majors, Lieutenants and Colonels, the élite of the Army?

These gentlemen do not feed, they dine! At white-clothed tables, neatly laid, and with stewards to serve them, they lean back in their arm-chairs after a hearty meal and chat of the "animal-like qualities of the German".

Yes, you can see them—if you walk along the gallery which tops their dining hall—all busy making sacrifices, as this is "an operation of war"—and all, no doubt, taking it in the "right spirit"!

Then, after meals, they can retire into their lounge, and smoke away the hours from the depths of easy chairs, or pace up and down that select part of the deck marked: "Officers Only".

of his previous weekly earnings, and in some cases only two-thirds. Even the conservative Journal of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation was moved to comment that:

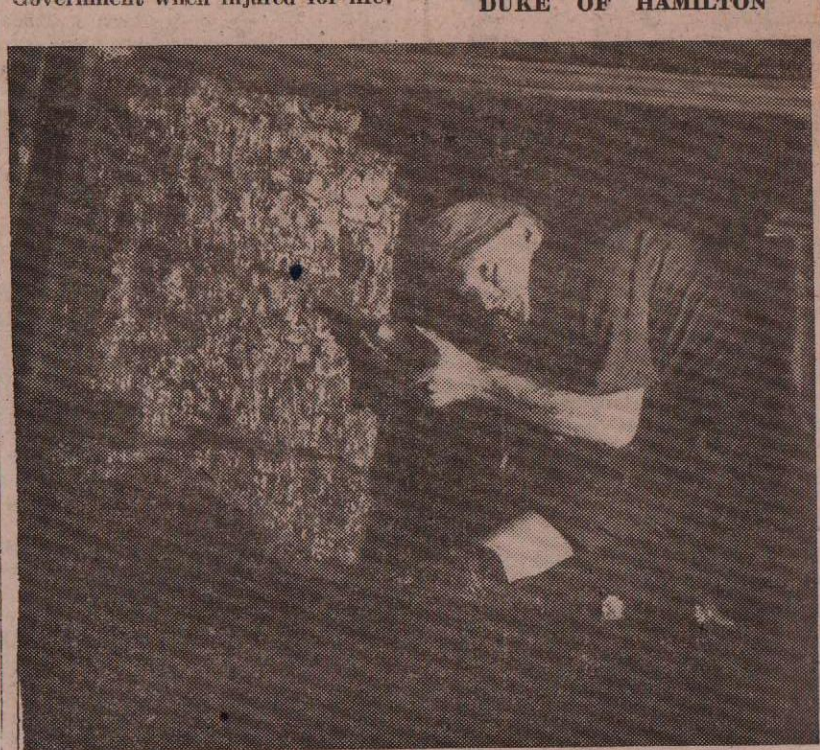
"It seems that we are so afraid that a workman shall receive as much money when he is injured as he would if he were working, that the principle of something less must be maintained at all costs. There are thousands of salaried people who receive full salaries when sick. It is never argued in those cases that this is an incentive for them to remain away from their duties longer than is necessary. It appears, however, that it is only the wage-earners who are in need of an economic deterrent to prevent them malingering . . ."

And the disastrous and tragic results which follow from this deliberate slow starvation policy, which drives back the worker to his factory before he is really fit and well, cannot be underestimated. It is one of the main weapons which the ruling class possess in making the worker "toe the line".

## STALINIST HEROES

According to a press report the Soviet Government has instituted a high military order named after Bodgan Chmielnitski, which is to be used as a decoration for gallantry. This man Chmielnitski was a Cossack Hetman in the seventeenth century and under his direction 300,000 or more Ukrainian Jews were massacred by the Cossacks. Naturally his elevation to the status of a patriot or hero whose deeds are presumably to be regarded as an inspiring example to all Russians was not a little painful to Jews. It is not surprising therefore that the two representatives of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Russia — Professor Mikhoels and Lt.-Col. Feffer — who are now in London, should have been asked to explain. Their reply that what Chmielnitski did was to lead a rising of subjugated Ukrainian masses against their Polish oppressors and those whom they believed to be associated with them can scarcely be regarded as very satisfactory. It must be remembered, however, that the question was fired at the distinguished visitors at a press conference and they may well have had no opportunity whatever of consulting those in a position to explain the official viewpoint. We welcome, of course, the visitors' assurance that the attitude of the Soviet Union to the Jews has not changed. The Russian Jews have taken and are taking a large and heroic part in the struggle on the Eastern Front. It is to be hoped that none of these real heroes will, through an act of sheer forgetfulness, be insulted by decoration with the order of Bodgan Chmielnitski.

— Jewish Chronicle, 5/11/43.



IF THE ROOF FALLS IN AND INJURES HIM —  
His Compensation is — the life of a pauper!

## WORKERS' FIGHT COMPANY UNIONISM

The Shop Stewards' Committee of a large West-London Aircraft Factory, which was a well-known coach-works firm in peace time, are fighting successfully to enforce the right of the staff employees to join the T.G.W.U., and in so doing set a fine example of unity in action between workers and staff.

The management maintains that the staff must join the company association, and it has repeatedly refused to negotiate with the stewards representing the staff members in the T.G.W.U. The issue is in reality a fight between company unionism and trade unionism.

The Shop Stewards Committee are determined that company unionism shall not triumph, and together with Mr. Terry, an official of the T.G.W.U., have repeatedly tried to force the management to recognise the staff's right to join a trade union of their own choice. The staff, in turn, apart from the usual bunch of "crawlers", are enthusiastically supporting the Shop Stewards, realising that a victory would mean payment of the union overtime rates for weekdays and Sunday work, whereas at present, under the company association they receive only the flat rate for all overtime, Sundays included.

Convenor Gives the Lead

At a mass meeting, held in the

canteen and attended by over a thousand workers, unanimous support was given to the fight being waged by the Stewards.

This meeting was originally called by the management and the Production Committee to launch a production month, with the full backing of course, of the C.P. group in the factory. On the platform beside the chairman were the Production Manager and a prominent C.P. Shop Steward.

After the manager and C.P. steward had spoken, Brother Richetts, the Shop Convenor, then rose to his feet and proposed to the meeting a resolution on behalf of the Shop Stewards Committee, declaring that while supporting Production Month, they believed that maximum production could only be gained once the management recognised the T.G.W.U. for the staff, and gave a bonus to all the lower paid workers. In a fighting speech he exposed the obstructionist tactics of the management, explaining that their policy was similar to that of managements elsewhere who went out of their way to provoke strikes.

The convenor's resolution was unanimously carried, copies being sent to the appropriate bodies. Although the *Daily Worker* was expected to report the opening of the Production Month, not a word was mentioned about this meeting.

DUKE OF HAMILTON negotiations continued for the rest of the claims. But no satisfaction had been obtained by the end of the following week, when new and similar claims were made by the chageman of 26 stall and a man from 23 stall. In many of the previous cases the chageman had not insisted on getting the Deputy's signature in their own books after he had agreed to a price for a particular job.

This time the chageman of 26 stall produced his book, there two items not shown on the pay-sheet, had been priced and signed for by the Deputy. In the case of Mountjoy, from 23 stall, he had been in a position to do special work on individual contract with the Deputy and had received payment for it on the previous week.

A meeting was held at the canteen at the pit-head and the men refused to work until the matter was settled. The afternoon shift did not go down the pit and a mass meeting was held the same night, at which the men reaffirmed their determination to stay out until the Management agreed to abide by and carry out legal agreements.

On Friday, 29th, a deputation of the local Union Committee and chagemen met the Management. All books were produced, compared and found to correspond. The miners' deputation stated that it was illegal to withdraw items agreed upon in the above-established practice, from the pay-sheets. In reply to a direct question from the workers' side as to who was responsible for the "pruning", Mr. Smith, the Company's under-Manager stated that he was. The illegality of such actions was again pointed out he was told that the matter would be taken to the proper quarters. To this he replied that he had the right to "vet" and alter the decisions of the Deputy, so long as it complied with the Price Lists. This, in spite of the fact that the cases involved were not covered by Price Lists.

There were other similar cases for which the miners wanted satisfaction. But these two cases are being used as examples. Mountjoy had been receiving 4/6 a yard for "recovering". The Deputy had booked the same price for the week ending on October 28th, but the under-Manager had cut it down to 3/6, while men in 26 stall received as low as 13/8 for one shift where they had previously got from 19/- upwards. It is worth mentioning that those men were receiving 25/- before the war on the same work.

A further meeting with the Management took place on Sunday, October 30th, at which the under-Manager stated that he would negotiate if and only when the men went back to work.

The men instructed the local Union Officials to take County Court proceedings against the Management to settle this question of the "pruning" of their wages.

At the mass meeting held on Sunday, November 7th, which was attended by 1,500 miners, a resolution was moved reaffirming their will to stand firm against going back to work

Continued on back page.

as this is an operation of war — and all, no doubt, taking it in the "right spirit!" Then, after meals, they can retire into their lounge, and smoke away the hours from the depths of easy chairs, or pace up and down that select part of the deck marked: "Officers Only".

Exaggeration, you say? Judge from these figures, which I obtained from diagrams and details of the ship, displayed for all to see, in a prominent situation, amidships.

[For reasons of security I cannot quote actual figures of men carried, but will turn them into proportions and percentages.]  
Thus, the number of officers now carried, is in excess of the number of first class berths (before the ship was converted to a troopship) by roughly 1% (one per cent.) The proportion of men now accommodated, to the number of previous 2nd and 3rd class berths is as 11 to 1. That is fact.  
In addition to the basic discrepancies in conditions of ranks and Officers, there are innumerable little (and maybe, not so little) rules and regulations, which tend to wear already frayed nerves, even thinner. I'll cite just a few.

Fraternally,  
HAKIM MIRZA.

### FROM A TROOPSHIP

Dear Comrade,

"Socialist Appeal."

I don't know if this letter will get through the censor or not—if it doesn't it'll just be further proof (if any were needed) of the vile hypocrisy behind the cry of "War for Democracy".

This is a troopship—typical, I suppose of its kind, and we're embarked for destination unknown. It is on this boat, that thousands of us will gain our last impression and memories of our home country, and it would be thought that an effort would be made to make those impressions both representative and pleasant, of the country we are defending from the "Hun".

You can judge from the subsequent account whether they're pleasant. You might also consider if they're representative.

It's extremely difficult to know where to start—the whole affair is so disgusting. But here goes:—

Long lines of soldiers were waiting on the quay, most of them tired out, after train journeys, and a little irritable from want of a cup of tea to wash dirt from dry throats. Silently they filed up the gang-plank and along the upper deck to disappear into the perpetual electric lighting of the ship's hull.

Down between decks the head-room was limited—and so was room of any kind. Lower and lower into the ship they went, climbing down ladders between decks crammed with men, until eventually they reached the lowest deck of all which proved to be the one which would quarter them while they were on the voyage.

This particular portion of the ship was divided into compartments of approximately sixty by twenty-five feet and was laid out to hold about one

as this is an operation of war — and all, no doubt, taking it in the "right spirit!"

Then, after meals, they can retire into their lounge, and smoke away the hours from the depths of easy chairs, or pace up and down that select part of the deck marked: "Officers Only".

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In addition to the basic discrepancies in conditions of ranks and Officers, there are innumerable little (and maybe, not so little) rules and regulations, which tend to wear already frayed nerves, even thinner. I'll cite just a few.

The times set aside when the ship's barber will shave Officers and Warrant Officers only. The fact that lavatories must not be used between the hours of 8 a.m. and 10 a.m. The endless queuing for the canteen. The food—but you could go on ad infinitum.

Of course, we realise that the same state of affairs prevail throughout Britain generally—that life for the few, is luxurious and leisurely, and for the many, is painful and hard. Here, however, the issue is raised on a more intense scale, for the opposite dwell side by side.

One day, we will have Democracy: but we will have to supply a base other than the Capitalist system, before the word becomes clother in reality.

The best of luck.

A.P.K.

### BARROW SPARKS LAY TOMBSTONE

To the Editor, "Socialist Appeal,"  
Dear Sir,

The attached is a rough sketch of an imitation Grave and Tombstone as exhibited in the workshop of the electricians at the Sub Dock of Vickers' Armstrong's Ltd., Barrow, on the 16th October 1943, to commemorate the death and burial of the Premium Bonus System after 41 years' Service and the change over to the T.P. at 5 p.m. the same day:

R. I. P.  
1902 - 1943  
HERE LIES  
PREMIUM BONUS  
Age 41 Years  
Who Died

After a Severe Twist  
— It Paid on the Ark —  
Basis Time Card  
Wreath  
Flowers.

Electrical Worker.

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
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## EDITORIAL

# "Democrats" Threaten "Socialist Appeal"

There is an important difference between the two methods of Capitalist rule, Fascism and Democracy. But the difference is one of tactics and not of principle. A quantitative not a qualitative difference.

In Germany, organised Labour is crushed. The entire working class movement is atomised and suppressed and can only operate illegally at great risk and with clandestine press. Not so in Britain. Here, there are free workers' organisations and a free workers' press. These rights were gained in years of struggle and are deeply cherished by the working class.

But this "freedom" is by no means the same for all organisations of the working class.

The "Communist" Party and Labour Party together with their satellite organisations support the Capitalist class in their war and all their imperialist aims. They undermine the class confidence of the workers and conduct themselves as vicious strike breakers. In return they get full freedom to conduct their anti-working class activity. They are freed from persecution and released from all restrictions.

Not so with the Trotskyists. We oppose the ruling class, its war and war aims; we aid the workers in their fight for a living wage; we raise the confidence of the working class by our fight for International Socialism.

In consequence OUR FREEDOM IS LIMITED. We suffer all kinds of police persecution and state restriction and threats.

The day that war broke out our headquarters were raided by the special political branch at Scotland Yard. And that act is characteristic of the attitude of the State towards our party until this very day.

For years our mail has been tapped. Scotland Yard now reads most of it before we do ourselves.

In every part of the country our comrades are persecuted and hounded. The police aid the employers to victimise our comrades—of this we have definite proof. From Glasgow, Newcastle, Barrow, Liverpool, Sheffield, Coventry and London; even from sleepy Cornwall this persecution and "Gestapo" hounding goes on.

As revolutionary international socialists we expect this type of persecution and in consequence have been forced to adopt all kinds of manoeuvres. The boss class control the apparatus of repression, which they use, not unskillfully, in the interests of their class.

# TASKS OF INDUSTRIAL MILITANTS

Resolution Adopted at W.I.L.  
Conference, October, 1943.

This Resolution has already been published in the October issue of "Workers' International News", but in response to numerous requests from industrial workers, we publish it in the "Appeal" which is widely read by industrial militants throughout the country.

The favourable turn for British Imperialism in the field of military struggle is accompanied by the beginning of a crisis in the field of arms production. The influx of American munitions has resulted in contraction in certain aspects of the British arms industry. In some of the large munition plants a slackening up of production is already taking place. The transfer of workers from one branch of production to another is accompanied with widespread redundancy. The ability of the capitalists to make profits out of war is hampered and they are no longer able easily to grant concessions, being forced to clamp down more definitely on the wages and conditions of the workers.

The first serious attempt to tighten up on wages, was indicated in the National Arbitration Award (No. 326) for engineering workers. Behind the legalistic phraseology of the terms of this twice interpreted Award, the gains from which affected only a very small section of the workers (those working in establishments paying the 'bare' minimum), and which for the vast majority of the workers, meant no increase at all, can be seen an attempt to fix a "ceiling" on wages.

## WAGE CUTS

### DRIVE WORKERS LEFT

The increasing radicalisation of the organised workers is particularly underlined by the recent turn of the Postal Workers and the Civil Servants Unions and their struggle for affiliation to the T.U.C.; the challenge to the state which is contained in their recent actions. With the mass industrial conscription, the working class has been united on an unprecedented scale. The women and the youth, inexorably drawn into the struggle side by side with the men, become an important

stranglehold on the traditional centres of working class militancy to push their anti-working class and strike-breaking policy and put a brake on the working class struggle. Nevertheless, the Communist Party, which has become the most vicious strike-breaking force in British working class politics, cannot quell the rising tide of militancy among the working class. Nor, with the continuation of its present policy, will it be able to place itself at the head of any mass movement to divert it into harmless channels. It is already apparent that the hold of the Stalinists over the advanced workers is loosening.

## NATION-WIDE STRIKES POSE END OF INDUSTRIAL TRUCE

The local nature of the early disputes resulted in the almost complete isolation of the strikers. But the third year of the war, 1942, witnessed the workers participating in more strikes than in any single year since the General Strike of 1926. By far the most important dispute of that year had taken place on the Tyneside, which, though traditionally a backward area, was the scene of a strike involving more than 20,000 ship-building workers. This strike marked the end of a year in which the engineering workers participated in almost half the total number of disputes, whereas previously the miners had borne the brunt of the struggle.

Despite the fact that more Labour days were lost in several of the "peace" years from 1926 to 1932 of disputes and the manner in which the workers are tending to spread the struggle, serves to remind the employers of the eruptions they will have to face in the coming days.

In 1943 the Transport Workers, especially in the Midlands areas, joined with their brothers in the coalmining and engineering industries in showing fight against the employers. But it is now possible to perceive not only a broadening

## DEMOCRATISE UNIONS IN STRUGGLE FOR MILITANT LEADERSHIP

The effects of the industrial truce with the Government and the employers, which places the trade union movement in the clutches of the state machine and gives the employers a free hand, are becoming obvious to the broad mass of the working class. Under the control of the present administration, the trade unions are rapidly becoming appendages of the capitalist state, with large numbers of trade union functionaries (starting with Bevin) in official government positions as labour officers, etc.

The foregoing is clear indication that all the objective and even the subjective conditions for tremendous explosions are maturing in the factories, mines and transport of Britain.

Arising out of the struggles that have already taken place, the question of leadership is being raised more and more sharply in the minds of the working class. The workers have learned, whenever they have been forced to stand and fight, that the Labour and Trade Union leadership, together with the Communist Party and the National Council of Shop Stewards, have deserted them, and indeed, sabotaged their struggles at every turn.

But whilst the servile attitude of the trade union bureaucracy to Churchill and the capitalist class and their sell-out of trade union rights has aroused the anger of the rank and file, only a small section is expressing its disgust by a conscious struggle for the removal of the leadership. Generally, the workers in the trade unions are apathetic, the branches being poorly attended. This is assisted in no small degree by the Stalinists, who, more skilful at putting forward their strike-breaking policy, are acting as props of the bureaucracy. Nevertheless, this apathetic mood can only be a temporary one, and will be overcome by the workers on the morrow. The attitude of the A.E.U. members on the recent wage award which forced the bureaucrats to make hasty pious gestures to the rank and file, is an indication of what the leadership will have to face as the struggle develops. Our duty is to assist these workers, the vast majority of whom are hostile to the strike-breaking policy of the

the workers in their factories, this Committee adopted a fighting programme which included as the central point, the struggle for the independence of the trade union movement from the capitalist state machine.

More important, however, is the fact that these militants, recognising the need to link up with other militants, not only locally, but nationally, established a national federation of trade union militants now known as the "Militant Workers' Federation."

This Federation is not a paper organisation characteristic of Stalinism from 1925 to 1935, but already has a certain backing among influential workers' committees, and genuinely reflects a tendency now developing in Britain. Whatever the form of the struggle in the various industries (the possible establishment of "consultative" committees in single industries or groups of factories), this national Federation has every possibility of becoming the focal point around which the workers will organise, when the coming storm, which will inevitably witness the most terrific industrial clashes in the history of British capitalism, breaks out. The Militant Workers' Federation may not receive a mass response immediately, but it is already attracting the cream of the industrial militants who are aware of the false policies and corruption of the trade union leadership and of the Stalinists. Even if the stormy days of industrial strife engulf this Federation before it has had the possibility to harden its national connections, there is no doubt that it will play an important role in the future national struggles of the industrial workers.

The trade union leaders and Stalinists in particular are aware of this. That is the reason for Bevin's recent outburst and his threat of new repressive legislation. It was a reflection not so much of the fear of the ruling class as of the misleaders of the working class in the field of industry. But whilst repressive measures both through the state machine and by expulsions from the unions may temporarily halt the forward march of the Militant Workers' Federation, history demands this form of organisation. Repression can succeed only in consolidating the working class and establishing the role of the trade union fakers in the eyes of the

goes on.

As revolutionary international socialists we expect this type of persecution and in consequence have been forced to adopt all kinds of manoeuvres. The boss class control the apparatus of repression, which they use, not unskillfully, in the interests of their class.

They are now using part of that apparatus—the Paper Control—to clamp down on our freedom to express ourselves and spread our international socialist policy. This is an example of the limitations of capitalist democracy.

They fear the "SOCIALIST APPEAL" which tells the workers the truth about their war and peace aims. They fear the "SOCIALIST APPEAL" which calls upon Labour to take Socialist power into its own hands.

If they succeed in limiting or suppressing the "SOCIALIST APPEAL" they will have struck a savage blow against the working class. Emboldened, they will proceed to suppress other labour press and organisations. Such steps go hand in hand with and are a prelude to fascist reaction. The workers will have fought the "war for democracy" to find themselves bound in the chains of dictatorial capitalist slavery.

The workers must see that the "Appeal" is kept going and that the capitalists are not allowed to stab the labour movement in the back.

## SOLIDARITY WITH ITALIAN REVOLUTION

The Second National Conference of Workers' International League (Fourth International) proclaims its unshakable solidarity with the workers and peasants of Italy in their heroic struggles against the imperialist war, and for economic and political emancipation.

We salute those courageous fighters—imprisoned and free, who are carrying on the struggle against overwhelming odds, to fulfil the tasks of the Socialist Revolution, begun by the overthrow of Mussolini and his fascist regime.

We condemn the military intervention of Anglo-American and German imperialism against the Italian revolution, and call upon the workers of the organised labour movement to proclaim their support of the Italian revolution by a struggle against their own capitalist class and their own government; only by such a struggle here can we effectively aid the Italian workers and peasants to free themselves from their national and foreign capitalist oppressors.

We call upon the British socialist workers wherever possible to take the lead: in fraternising with the revolutionary Italian soldiers, workers and peasants; in propagating the ideas of socialist fraternisation; in assisting the Italian people to free themselves from the economic and political domination of the Italian monarchy and capitalist class.

We call upon the Italian revolutionists: to base themselves upon appeals such as were issued by the

Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky to the armies of intervention; to seek allies in their revolutionary struggle among all the armies of intervention—for this is the surest guarantee against the inevitable attempts of the imperialists of both camps to crush a genuinely democratic and socialist government.

We solemnly warn the courageous revolutionary Italian workers and peasants: against accepting the policy of a "popular bloc" led by bourgeois and petty bourgeois politicians, and against the policy of the so-called Socialist and Communist Parties who accept and propagate such a policy which must inevitably divert the Italian revolution from the road of socialist emancipation and convert the revolution into an instrument of Anglo-American imperialist policy.

We learn with joy of the latest despatches, that the struggle is being continued, despite the terrible repressions, by the revolutionary workers against all the criminal capitalist gangs.

We extend our warmest fraternal greetings to the courageous Italian Trotskyists who alone at this stage in the struggle fight as a tendency for an Italian Socialist Republic.

We pledge ourselves to render the maximum aid by carrying on the struggle against our own exploiters.

**Success to the Italian Workers' Revolution!**

**For a Soviet Socialist Italy and the Socialist United States of Europe!**

change in their recent actions. With the mass industrial conscription, the working class has been united on an unprecedented scale. The women and the youth, inexorably drawn into the struggle side by side with the men, become an important factor in the struggle. In particular the women are fast losing the psychology of domestic drudgery, and are rapidly developing all the characteristics of class conscious proletarian fighters. The number of organised workers has reached its highest peak, having exceeded the year 1920 which was 8,000,000 workers in the unions.

Faced with attacks on wage standards and the intensified exploitation through piece-work conditions; the added burden of income tax; the failure of Joint Production Committees to solve the problems of production except at the expense of the workers; the use of the reactionary Essential Works Order and the victimisation of trade union militants—a sharp discontent and radicalisation is transforming the outlook of the British working class.

This discontent has already manifested itself in sporadic and ever-increasing disputes throughout the length and breadth of the country. Following the Betteshanger dispute in Kent at the beginning of 1941, a series of strikes swept the coalfields. These were followed by small strikes on the part of dockers, of railwaymen, and of engineers. These later struggles, however, took place in relatively backward and unorganised areas. A contradiction existed in the fact, that despite the deep feeling of dissatisfaction among the workers in areas such as the Clyde and South Wales, the workers in these parts had not yet participated in any major industrial disputes.

The Stalinists, who had entrenched themselves among the militant workers in these areas, used their

In 1942 the Transport Workers, especially in the Midlands areas, joined with their brothers in the coalmining and engineering industries in showing fight against the employers. But it is now possible to perceive, not only a broadening out, but a general transformation in the nature of the struggle. Whereas previously the workers who were involved in disputes were isolated, the nation-wide support given to the Neptune Engine Works on the Tyne; the solidarity of the miners in the South Yorkshire and South Wales Coalfields over recent disputes affecting single collieries in the given areas; or the strike of 23,000 Nottinghamshire miners over the imprisonment of a lad—these are demonstrations that the workers are closing their ranks in solidarity. But the latter strike, in particular, is an indication of the political character that the struggle is assuming.

Already the workers are realising the necessity of linking up with, and gaining support of workers in other parts. The Committees that were established as the directing centres in all these disputes, are not as yet Soviets, but they point to the manner in which the workers, through the efforts of their local leaders, will create fighting Committees or Soviets on a regional and national scale in the future. More significant, however, is the fact that instead of the struggles being confined to the more backward areas as in the past, the recent disputes among the miners and engineers in South Wales and the Clyde, point to the fact that the more advanced workers are on the move. All these factors demonstrate that the main strategy of the revolutionary socialists in the field of industry must be to raise consciously in the minds of the industrial workers, the necessity to end the industrial truce.

## SOLIDARITY WITH CEYLON AND INDIAN TROTSKYISTS

The Second National Conference of Workers' International League sends special greetings to the members of the Lanka Sama Samaj, the Trotskyist Party of Ceylon, and to the Bolshevik Leninist League, the Trotskyist Party of India.

We protest against the suppression of our Ceylonese and Indian parties, the suppression of their press, and the re-arrest in India of the leading comrades of the Ceylonese party after their escape from imprisonment in Ceylon, including Comrades D. P. R. Gunawardene, Dr. N. M. Perera (members of the State Council), Dr. Colin R. de Silva and E. Samarakkody.

We demand the immediate and unconditional release of these comrades, together with all Indian and

from the unions may temporarily halt the forward march of the Militant Workers' Federation, history demands this form of organisation. Repression can succeed only in consolidating the working class and establishing the role of the trade union fakers in the eyes of the organised workers.

The decision of the industrial militants to establish the Federation on a broad basis to include all industries, is fundamentally correct. In the present stage of development of monopoly capitalism and the closely knit character of British industry, when all the major problems that confront the workers in the engineering trade, also confront the workers in other industries. When the miners, transport workers, railwaymen, are all crying out for a clear lead, the sectional policy advocated by the I.L.P. of confining the organisation to the engineering industry, would doom it to the fate of the unofficial movement at the end of World War I. Moreover, in the final analysis, the correctness of broadening out the basis of the Committee will be demonstrated with the inevitable transformation of the industrial struggle into the challenge for power. To assist in this process, by waging a struggle against any ultra-left, syndicalist, or sectarian tendencies, is the duty of the revolutionary socialists.

### CO-ORDINATE UNION AND STRIKE COMMITTEE ACTION

The Barrow strike was remarkable for the magnificent co-ordination of legal and "illegal" activity: co-ordination between the local legal machinery of the unions, as evidenced in the A.E.U.—the Branches and District Committee, and the "illegal" machinery: the "Council of Action, the Shop Stewards Committee and the Strike Committee. Backed by the high morale of the Barrow workers, it was the co-ordination of the legal and "illegal" activity which gave the "victory punch" to the Barrow workers' struggle.

The experience of the Barrow strike destroys completely the theory of ultra left sectarians who wish to turn their backs on the mass industrial organisations of the working class (the unions) and concentrate the whole energy of industrial militants on the building of ad hoc factory organisations. This experience underlines the need to carry the fighting spirit of the factory organisations into the branches; into the District Committees, and into the topmost organs of the trade unions. It emphasises the tremendous strength of the workers organisations.

### WORKERS' COMMITTEES ORGANISE NATIONALLY

The struggle in the workshops cannot be separated from the struggle in the unions, but inevitably it takes on a faster tempo and consequently assumes a more direct form. The actions of the bureaucrats in sabotaging the attempts of the working class to defend themselves from the attacks of the capitalists, force the workers in the direction of seeking an alternative leadership. Once again they are setting up Committees more directly representative of the rank and file, and while it is not possible to foresee the exact form the movement will take, some indication can be obtained by the recently formed Glasgow Committee, which adopted the historic name of the "Clyde Workers Committee." Initiated by militants in that area, directly representative of

NEW INDUSTRIAL LEADERSHIP CRYSTALLISING IN M.W.F.

The struggles of the engineers towards the end of the last war, saw the transformation of Card Stewards who merely acted as collectors and reporters for their respective unions, into a fighting shop stewards movement organised on a factory basis irrespective of trade union, in order to carry on the struggle abandoned by the union leaders. Nevertheless, after the glorious struggles on the Clyde and elsewhere, seeing in this movement a threat to their positions, the union leadership were able, through the lack of conscious leadership on the part of the Shop Stewards movement, to absorb the movement within the legal framework of the Unions. This was followed, with the exception of 1926 and 1931, by a period of almost 20 years of relative stability for British capitalism, which witnessed a slow, day to day process of struggle on the part of the rank and file in a second attempt to build up an alternative leadership to the trade union bureaucracy.

This period was a favourable one for British capitalism in its attacks upon militant workers. It saw many of the finest types of militant workers crushed through isolation, victimisation, and subsequent unemployment, becoming disillusioned and dropping out of the struggle. When the National Council of Shop Stewards was formed in 1936, the most advanced elements of the working class gathered around it in the belief that at last they had found a solution to their

(Continued on page 4)

# LEBANON BARES PEACE AIMS

Continued from page 1.

imperialists have not had the slightest intention of relinquishing their hold, if they could avoid it.

But what has precipitated the conflict has been the obvious encouragement given to the Lebanese nationalists by British Imperialism. It is clear that the capitalist leaders of the Lebanese nationalists would not have taken the bold steps they did, especially when it is considered that the population of the Lebanon is only a million if they had not been promised support in advance. The French Committee in Cairo openly stated:

"Under the influence of elements who are not so much interested in the independence of Lebanon as they are anxious to push France from these regions the (Lebanese) Government put a fait accompli before the French National Committee . . ."

Daily Express, 13th Nov, 43.

This support was obviously promised by British imperialism. The immediate protests lodged by the British Government with De Gaulle, indicate that this is so, British imperialism comes forth as an altruist interested in the rights of small nations. In parliament the Astors and other reactionary former supporters of Hitler came forward in protest against the actions of General De Gaulle. The British authorities in Lebanon in the army of occupation have already proclaimed that the French have lost control of the situation, thus preparing the excuse for any action they may take. If the British imperialists were interested in the independence of the Arabs, they have had plenty of possibility of showing this by granting independence to Palestine and other countries. But in India, while paying lip service to the idea of independence . . . after the war, the British capitalists have as brutally as De Gaulle suppressed the Indian masses for demanding freedom. They have as much belief in De Gaulle's promise "after the war" as they have in their own—that is precisely nil.

The aims of British imperialism in this area are transparently clear. Through their Egyptian quisling King Farouk they have protested to the French as well as directly themselves. They wish to pose as friends of the Arabs. British imperialism hopes to set up a Pan Arab Federation under British domination. Lebanon occupies a key strategic position in the Mediterranean. It is in the centre of the rich oil-bearing regions of the Middle East. It is rather curious that the Regent of Iraq, (a British puppet who together with the Egyptian government, are pushing the plan for Arab Federation—under British domination) should be in London at the present time. "Reynolds News" points out that:

"the countries considered desirable adherents to the plan contain most of the oil fields and oil routes of the

out of place. While the Labour leaders are naturally openly and unashamedly supporting British Imperialism, the Labour Lefts have placed themselves in the ridiculous position of defending the actions of the French National Committee. And they are forced into this position in order to maintain the fiction of an anti-fascist war. The Stalinists have run true to form in maintaining an even viler and more treacherous stand. The "Daily Worker" has played down the incidents in the Lebanon and attempted to cover up the real cause of the uprising and of the conflict between the French and British imperialists. To tell the truth that this is an indication of Allied Imperialism's war aims, would serve to discredit their shameful policy of lies and deception. Hence their support of General De Gaulle and their frantic hope that this conflict between Britain and France will be settled quickly—inevitably, of course, at the expense of the Lebanese masses. They are afraid that if the conflict develops, it would open the eyes of their own followers as to the perfidy of their policy.

The irony of the situation rests in the fact that French Stalinism in obedience to the orders of the Kremlin, is just at this moment exerting pressure on De Gaulle in an effort to force him to accept the role of satellite to the Anglo-American-Soviet bloc. In dealing with the negotiations of the French Communists with the National Committee in Algiers for representation in the Committee, the "News Chronicle" correspondent in Algiers reports on November 13th:

"Following their refusal of a seat on the National Committee, the French Communists have taken the Committee sharply to task for demanding a place for France on the European Control Commission.

The spokesman for the Communists in this matter is Florimond Bonte, one of the six Communist delegates in the Consultative Assembly and editor of the party paper "Liberte".

In the latest issue of this paper, Bonte writes: 'We do not know why the National Committee has judged fit, without saying at whom it was aiming, to temper its satisfaction at the Moscow decisions with observations on the future settlement of the fate of Germany.

'The duty of the National Committee, if it wishes to give France the means of playing a prominent part in the concert of free nations, is to augment every day the war effort of the French Empire, to reinforce the morale and the material of the National Army, and to increase the armament of patriots inside France . . .'

Thus the Stalinists, in Britain, France and other countries play the most shameless role.

The Turkish press has now taken up

# BASIS OF SOVIET VICTORIES

Continued from page 1.

ary upsurge of the Soviet peoples faced with imperialist attack, into chauvinist and anti-revolutionary channels. It is a test once and for all, of the superiority of Socialism and its right to supersede the capitalist system.

What has taken place in the field of battle has exceeded even the most optimistic forecasts of Lenin and Trotsky. Despite the handicap of the reactionary policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the conquests of October have given results on the field of battle which deal a shattering blow to the myth of capitalist superiority as a social system.

Long before the war Trotsky had pointed to the results of the five year plans, on which the material basis for the resistance of the Red Army is based, as indicating the superiority of social methods of production over those of capitalism:

"With the bourgeois economists we have no longer anything to

quarrel over. Socialism has demonstrated its right to victory, not on the pages of 'Das Kapital', but in an industrial arena comprising a sixth part of the earth's surface—not in the language of dialectics, but in the language of steel, cement and electricity. Even if the Soviet Union, as a result of internal difficulties, external blows and the mistakes of its leadership, were to collapse—which we firmly hope will not happen—there would remain as an earnest of the future this indestructible fact, that thanks solely to a proletarian revolution a backward country has achieved in less than ten years successes unexampled in history."

But war is the decisive test for all regimes. Socialism has also demonstrated its right to victory in the language of guns, planes and tanks, in the language of battle. The experience of backward Russia in peace and war demonstrates what could be achieved by a Soviet Germany or a Soviet Britain, or a Soviet Europe united with the Soviet Union.

World imperialism regards with deadly fear and hatred, the unexampled successes of the Red Army. If the Allies have temporarily continued the "alliance" with the Soviet Union it is only because of the reactionary nationalist orientation of the Stalin regime. They calculate, that with the conscious aid of the Stalinist bureaucracy, they will succeed in the coming period in strangling the Socialist revolution in Europe and then turn on the Soviet Union.

Fortunately the imperialists have miscalculated together with Stalin. The victories of the Red Army demonstrate the viability of the October Revolution. The successful defence of the Soviet Union constitutes a factor of world historical importance. The masses in Europe and the world will find in it an inspiration and an example to be followed. The European revolution in its turn will have its effect on the victorious Russian workers and soldiers. The Red Army successes are successes which make for the revival of workers' democracy in Russia and the victory of Socialist revolution throughout the world. Salute to the Red Army!



I stake  
my life!

BY LEON TROTSKY

DEWEY REPORT on the  
Moscow Trials

6

## Industrial Policy

## Greetings to the Fourth International

The Second National Conference of Workers' International League which convened on October 2nd, 3rd and 4th, 1943, greets the International Secretariat; and, through the I.S., greets the Socialist Workers' Party and the Fourth Internationalists of all lands.

Our Conference meets amidst a tremendous reactionary press campaign directed against Trotskyism, and the "Socialist Appeal" as the ideology and press of the militant workers. Initiated by the Minister of Labour, Mr. E. Bevin, and fanned by the Yellow Press with the aid of the Stalinist "Daily Worker" this campaign presages a new stage in the development of our tendency in Britain, which has now fused with the class actions of the most conscious and militant sections of the workers; the campaign demonstrates that despite our numerical weakness and relative isolation, the capitalists understand that we have the most powerful revolutionary class ideology and programme which must gain the support of the workers of the whole world.

In Britain the coalition of the Labour and Trade Union bureaucrats with the capitalists is being terminated by the masses, not in the debating chambers of the Labour Party and T.U.C., but in the factories and mines throughout the country; mass strikes are taking place which are blows against the alliance of the capitalists and their labour agents; the Stalinists, playing the most perfidious role of strike-breakers and police agents

for the capitalist class, are also powerless, despite their usurped revolutionary traditions, to stem the rising tide of militant action.

No longer is the authority of the labour lackeys good coin. The masses are taking the road of independent struggle; the forces are aligning themselves consciously and unconsciously for battle, the outcome of which must be socialist victory for the toilers or their crushing defeat under the most barbaric repression the capitalist system has yet imposed upon them.

Our Party, basing itself upon the invincible principles of Bolshevism and on the programme of the Fourth International, takes its place today as a factor in the mighty battles now beginning on the class war arena.

Though slandered and vilified by all the enemies of the workers, and threatened with repressive measures by the Government, we do not halt or deviate on our path towards the Socialist Revolution. This Conference signifies the establishment of our tendency on a national scale and is a magnificent vindication of Comrade Trotsky's faith in the power of our ideas, which are being translated by the workers into action.

We march forward with ever increasing confidence in our movement and in our ability to influence the course of events; we share with you the right to revolutionary optimism; we extend on this historic occasion, the hand of fraternal solidarity to the I.S. and hope that coming events will weld us together in a closer bond for the achievement of our common task.

## Support Hatfield Miners

Continued from page 2.

until they have won their case against this "highway robbery". An amendment for returning to work, finding no seconder in the audience, was seconded from the platform by one official, but received only five votes.

A resolution was also passed that the local Union officials deal with the negotiations.

A panel meeting of representatives of 11 pits in the Doncaster area took place on Saturday, and a further one is to be held to consider what action should be taken by the Yorkshire miners in support of the strikers.



Last month our comrades did splendidly in contributing towards the Fighting Fund. We did not quite reach the target set, but several pounds came in the first few days in November which were obviously intended for the October Fund and would have carried us well over the £100 mark.

Keep at it. See that we keep the only militant socialist working class paper published in Britain on the streets. Answer the threats of the

ment, are pushing the plan for Arab Federation—under British dominion—should be in London at the present time. "Reynolds News" points out that:

"the countries considered desirable adherents to the plan contain most of the oil fields and oil routes of the middle East outside Iran. They are Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, the Lebanon, Iraq and Saudi Arabia."

It is control of this strategic group of countries that the British capitalist gangsters are after. And it is for the French capitalists to have a finger in this lucrative pie, that De Gaulle is desperately defending.

The whole character of the war is shown in this dramatic episode! It is not democracy that Anglo-American and French imperialism is fighting for but loot, colonies, markets, raw materials and spheres of influence. Yesterday British imperialism applauded De Gaulle as a great French statesman. Today they are attacking him in the British capitalist press. The reason is clear. De Gaulle has refused to accept the position of a puppet of Anglo-American imperialism. He still does not realise the reality of the weak position of the French capitalists and has fantastic illusions of restoring French imperialism to as powerful a position as it possessed before the war. But French imperialism has been defeated by Germany. Her dear "ally" Britain, though weeping many tears over this fact is only too eager to take advantage of it. It is the inexorable law of capitalist power politics. But now the war in Europe is drawing to a close and the defeat of Germany is inevitable. The ruling class is pre-occupied by the struggle for position in the post-war world. From continuing the political and economic war by military means they wish to transform the military war into the war for their interests by political means.

In peace and war it is the interests of the capitalists of all the imperialist countries which dictates their policy. The workers of Britain and of the world have been given a dress rehearsal of the world the imperialists are preparing for after the "peace". Today British imperialists double-cross their French "allies". Tomorrow American imperialism will mete out the same treatment to their dear cousin. Both Anglo-American imperialists will treat the Soviet Union in the same way if they get the chance. Dog eat dog is the law of imperialism. Not "right", "honour", "freedom" or "friendship" or the "rights of small nations", etc. dictates the policies of the imperialist states but the naked calculations of profit.

The friction between the French imperialists and their British allies and rivals already was revealed by the Moscow Conference when the Allies were meeting to decide the fate of Europe and the French National Committee were not included in the discussions or given a seat on the "European Advisory Commission" which is supposed to decide all questions of policy for Europe. It is thus that the fate of all the nations of Europe, little and big, is to be decided. The French National Committee in Algiers protested vigorously against their exclusion.

The antics of the Labour "Lefts" on this question are quite grotesque and

force the material of the National Army, and to increase the armament of patriots inside France . . ."

Thus the Stalinists, in Britain, France and other countries play the most shameless role.

The Turkish press has now taken up the pressure on the French National Committee and has openly warned the French that they will be thrust out of Syria.

"If France thinks she is going to remain in Syria after the war she is mistaken," writes M. Neomeddin Sadak, editor of "Aksham". Turkey here is obviously also playing the game of British Imperialism, in return for promised favours, which may have something to do with the discussions Eden had in Egypt with the Turkish Foreign Minister.

Meanwhile, the incident has been a welcome diversion for Goebbels, who is faced with growing mass revolt against the Nazis in Germany. He is using the incident to demonstrate what are the real aims of Anglo-American imperialists and what the German people could expect from them if they were victorious. Thus the imperialists assist one another with their crimes.

**British workers must demand that unconditional freedom should be granted to all the Arab peoples without the right of Britain or France to garrison the "independent" countries of Egypt, Syria, etc. They must aid the Arab masses to fight for an Arab Federation completely independent of all the Great imperialist powers. For this is a step in the direction of a Socialist World.**

## DOCKERS SAW HEROES

Nov. 10th. Leith.

The Editor, "Socialist Appeal."

Your article dealing with the return of the wounded war prisoners must have struck home. (in Nov. issue).

We witnessed the "homecoming" of the lads when they were brought ashore and it made our blood boil. While the bands played, the usual class distinction between officers and men was being practiced. At the reception meal, held in the sheds, the officers had decent chairs and tablecloths when they "dined", but the soldiers ate off bare boards and plank forms.

In the many discussions we had with the lads before they drove away, although they were happy to be home, few seemed to have any illusions about what they were coming home to.

As a group of Scots lads drove away in a charabanc they expressed the completely cynical attitude of the returning prisoners towards the Churchill promises of food, homes and work for all, by shouting:

"Back to the broo, boys!  
Back to the broo!"

Signed by

A group of Leith Dockers. ("Broo" is the local jargon for bureau—Labour Exchange—Ed.)

# Industrial Policy

Continued from page 3.

strivings for a fighting alternative leadership.

The hold this body gained over the industrial workers has been utilised, since the political turn of the Communist Party in 1941, to put forward an anti-working class, strike breaking policy. It now serves merely to implement the policy of the union leaders in the factory committees. The significance of this situation is that for the first time, the trade union bureaucracy has large numbers of direct agents in the factory committees, and where the C.P. is the strongest, the result is demoralisation and despair among the workers. But even this cannot last for long.

## INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE AND POLITICAL TRUCE

Towards the end of World War I, despite the low level of consciousness, and despite the lack of a conscious leadership, the workers were striving in the direction of a political solution to their problems. Since that period, however, the workers have experienced two decades of sell-outs on the part of the labour bureaucracy and the Stalinists. Consequently, we have the contradiction where today the workers are far in advance of their predecessors in the last war, with a higher level of political consciousness, but are tending to express their militancy on the industrial field with a distrust of all the established political tendencies of the working class. The effect has been the revival of a semi-syndicalist trend among the industrial militants.

**But the integration of the trade union bureaucracy with the state machine, and the complete control of the state over Labour through the medium of the Essential Works Order and other legislation, creates the objective conditions whereby any militant industrial movement must inevitably come into conflict with the state machine.**

At such a stage, the whole struggle, which is at present centred mainly on the wages question, will be raised to a political plane. The struggle against the strike-breaking policy of the trade union bureaucracy and their new-found appendages, the C.P., will coincide with the struggle for the ending of the industrial and political truce.

## FACTORY COMMITTEES ORGANS OF POWER

The organisation of this National Federation marks the turning point in the Labour and Trade Union movement: it is an earnest of the fact that for the third time, in an effort to release themselves from the stranglehold of the bureaucracy, the

workers are attempting to create a movement with a national link-up.

For 25 years the Shop Steward and Factory Committee form of organisation has been steadily extended throughout the length and breadth of Britain. From a few advanced, but isolated factories in World War I, the factory committee has extended to almost every factory throughout the country in World War II. Large and small, heavy industry and light industry, the factory and shop stewards committees have been built and extended to all fields of production. In essence these committees are embryonic soviets and a reflection of dual power inside the factories.

Due to the strength of the capitalist class and the relative stability of their rule, and as a reflection of the low tempo of the revolutionary movement, these committees play an essentially defensive role at the present period. But with the turn in the situation, the deepening of the crisis and the sharpening of the class struggle, these committees will inevitably assume an aggressive character and seek a dominating position, challenging the capitalist class for the control of the plants, for the control of industry.

It is necessary consciously to extend these committees from one plant to another, from area to area, and establish a firm national tie. But our primary task in this field is to make the workers conscious of the real possibilities of these committees, not as defensive organisations of this or that group of workers, but as organs of control, as organs of power. The more deeply we entrench these ideas among the industrial workers, the easier the task in the future struggle, the surer the victory in the coming battle for proletarian power.

## TROTSKYISM, TRADE UNIONS AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

These factors impose on the revolutionary movement all the more sharply, the necessity of orientating itself towards the trade unions and industrial movement. Just as Britain is the key to the international situation, so is industry the key to the situation in Britain. The success of our work in this direction, will be the yardstick by which we will measure the building of the party. As the movement finds expression in the industrial field, fresh elements will be pushed to the fore. Constituting the cream of the working class, unspoiled and uncorrupted, they will be among the best fighters in the front line of the struggle. This strata will provide the new cadres for Bolshevism and will become the recruiting ground for our party.

In spite of the numerical weakness of the forces of revolutionary

Continued next column.

negotiations. A panel meeting of representatives of 11 pits in the Doncaster area took place on Saturday, and a further one is to be held to consider what action should be taken by the Yorkshire miners in support of the strikers. Unsupported by their Union Executive and persecuted by the Ministry of Fuel Board for a past strike, the miners are faced with severe hardship for their families and without further coal distribution for their own grates as long as the strike lasts.

In their determination to wage a vital struggle against the robbery of their earned wages by the profiteering coalowners, the Hatfield Main miners deserve the full support of all workers. The Strike Committee has issued an appeal to their fellow workers to support them and give them financial help.

The lesson to be learned for the Yorkshire Miners is that they should press through their branches for an alteration of their Union's constitution for the re-election of their officials at least every two years.

Demand the Nationalisation of the mines without compensation to the coalowners.

SUPPORT THE HATFIELD MINERS IN THEIR FIGHT FOR A LIVING WAGE!

In solidarity send your donations to: Hatfield Main Strike Committee 15, Junction Road, Stainforth, Doncaster.

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL NEWS

NOW ON SALE.

socialism, our ideas are the most powerful ideas yet forged by the working class movement. We can play a decisive part in the coming struggles, by giving conscious expression to the movement of the workers. This has already been shown in practice. With a correct policy on the issues which face the working class, we can raise the struggle to a higher level, simultaneously drawing the best workers into our ranks to build the party of the Fourth International in Britain. But we will only succeed in this task of building mass party and challenging the capitalist class for power to the extent that we succeed in converting the mass industrial organs of the working class into instruments of the socialist revolution.

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tended for the October Fund and would have carried us well over the £100 mark.

Keep at it. See that we keep the only militant socialist working class paper published in Britain on the streets. Answer the threats of the Paper Control with silver bullets from our arsenal.

Spare the praise and pass the Silver ammunition!

In the last few days we have been getting more praise than ammunition.

If we had a Postal Order with every letter of praise, we would be well over the target!

If our comrades want to see us over the top this month with more than £100, then they will have to get cracking and double their efforts for the "Fighting Fund."

Send your cash to:

JOHN BELL,  
Fighting Fund "Socialist Appeal,"  
61 Northdown Street, London, N.1.

# 25,000 Strike Defeat

Continued from page 1.

so the large majority still opposed the views of the shop steward committee. The hostility shown throughout the strike to the weak leadership of this committee remained to the end, and it is up to every worker to seek fresh elections of stewards and kick out all those who did not act in their interests. Every struggle of the working class on the industrial and political field is doomed to defeat unless a firm and determined leadership with a programme of clear cut demands, is at the head.

In both Barrow and this West of Scotland dispute we had a splendid and solid rank and file. The only difference lay with the leadership which in Scotland was Stalinist and this important factor decided very definitely the course of the struggle and its defeat.

The 26 shop stewards that comprised the minority in the committee stood loyally by their class and they can hold their heads high for the part which they played during the strike.

Not one factory, shipyard or workshop of any kind will escape the coming fierce struggles which face the working class in defence of their living standards. Let this dispute be a dire warning: that it is imperative to build now strong workshop organisations. It is equally imperative that the workers fight inside the trade unions for a militant programme with a new top leadership that is prepared to struggle tooth and nail on behalf of toiling people.

Workers: Clear out the C.P. and all other boss class agents from the trade union movement!

Build militant shop steward committees pledged to struggle!