

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Workers of
the World
Unite.

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

TYNE WORKERS CLOSE RANKS Strike Breaking Shop Stewards Kicked Out

BY JOCK HASTON

APPROXIMATELY 40,000 TYNE SHIPBUILDING WORKERS RETURNED TO WORK ON TUESDAY, 13th OCTOBER, AFTER AN EIGHT DAY STRIKE WHICH INVOLVED 80% OF THE WORKERS IN ALL TRADES EMPLOYED ON THE TYNESIDE YARDS. THE WORKERS WERE DEFEATED IN THEIR STRUGGLE, FOR ALTHOUGH THEY GAINED SOME MINOR CONCESSIONS, THEY HAD TO RETURN TO WORK ON THE BOSSES' TERMS.

DUE TO THE ABLE LEADERSHIP OF THEIR SHOP STEWARDS, HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO "DRIFT" BACK TO WORK, NO DEMORALISATION, BUT A RETURN OF A UNIFIED BODY OF MEN—DEFEATED, BUT RETREATING IN GOOD ORDER. THEIR RANKS HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED AS THE RESULT OF THE STRUGGLE.

THIS IS THE BIGGEST STRIKE SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR. CONSIDERING THE RELATIVE UNIMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE, IT IS AN INDICATION OF THE RESTIVE MOOD OF THE WORKERS AS THE RESULT OF THE CONTINUOUS PIN PRICKING OF THE BOSS CLASS, AIDED BY THE UNION LEADERS.

The action of the workers was provoked by the manoeuvres of the union leaders of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions with the employers' organisation, the Tyne Shipbuilding Association who sprang a new agreement without prior consultation with the workers or by their consent. In general the strike was directed against the high handed actions of the trade union bureaucrats. The agreement altered the day to which wages were made up from Tuesday to the previous Sunday, thus leaving two extra days lying pay in the hands of the employers.

When notices were first posted up announcing the new agreement towards the beginning of September, the workers were very angry and one of the yards, Redhead's, went on strike from the 5th to the 7th of September while

As the result of these actions the employers agreed to postpone the agreement for one month for further con-

sult of a shortage of clerical staff although their office employees were working only the normal peace time clerical day. Even if this statement were correct it was obvious that a serious situation had arisen and the men were in no mood to be trifled with. At the most the new arrangement would save the time of a few dozen clerks who were not producing the needed ships. Meanwhile thousands of skilled workers of all grades and trades were standing idle. More labour hours were being wasted each day of the strike than the few extra clerks could make up in a dozen years.

In view of the insistence of the Government statements as to the serious shipping crisis and in view of the press statements of the employers themselves prior to, and as a result of the strike, it was quite clear, that it was criminal on their part to force a deadlock. If the employers had been one tenth sincere in their statements regarding ship production, they would have agreed to the workers' demands

In line with the employers, the boss class press attacked the workers from every angle. "The most stupid strike ever!" "The craziest strike in trade union history!" screamed the headlines. The tone was pretty shrill and betrayed lines. Nevertheless in every paper the nervousness. They were dealing with a solid and determined body of men.

At first they portrayed the strike as a flop: "Most of the men remained at work" . . . "thousands more were listening to sensible counsel and returning the following morning . . ." But this soon gave way to another angle. Plenty of space was given to quoting statements of the Communist Party urging the end of the strike and by Len Powell, Stalinist secretary of the fast dwindling National Council of Shop Stewards. The appeal was made to the workers to "bring the strike down." The "Daily Express" piped up with the headline that the women shipyard workers were helping to beat the strike and that the women folk were hostile to the strike. "Helping Sons—

CHURCHILL WAITING—FOR A WEAKENED RUSSIA

By DAVID JAMES

Workers Must Control Supplies to Soviet Union

"THE AMERICANS AND THE BRITISH HAVE SENT US VERY FEW AIRCRAFT, AND NOT THE BEST THAT THEY HAVE EITHER. WHAT IS THE POINT OF TAKING SO MUCH TROUBLE TO SHIP ANTIQUATED MACHINES ACROSS THE SEAS THE READER WILL ASK. I FIND IT HARD TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION, WHICH I HAVE OFTEN ASKED MYSELF."

This is what the spokesman of Stalin, Ilya Ehrenburg is forced to reveal...And for this measure of "aid" Stalin has sold the Communist International and tied the working class behind the British and American imperialists. For the scrap that British imperialism no longer requires, and has replaced with more modern material, the workers are asked to "sacrifice" more and more in the interests of "Aid to Russia"! they are asked to place confidence in Churchill and his Government which is sabotaging real aid.

OUR ATTITUDE ON AID TO RUSSIA

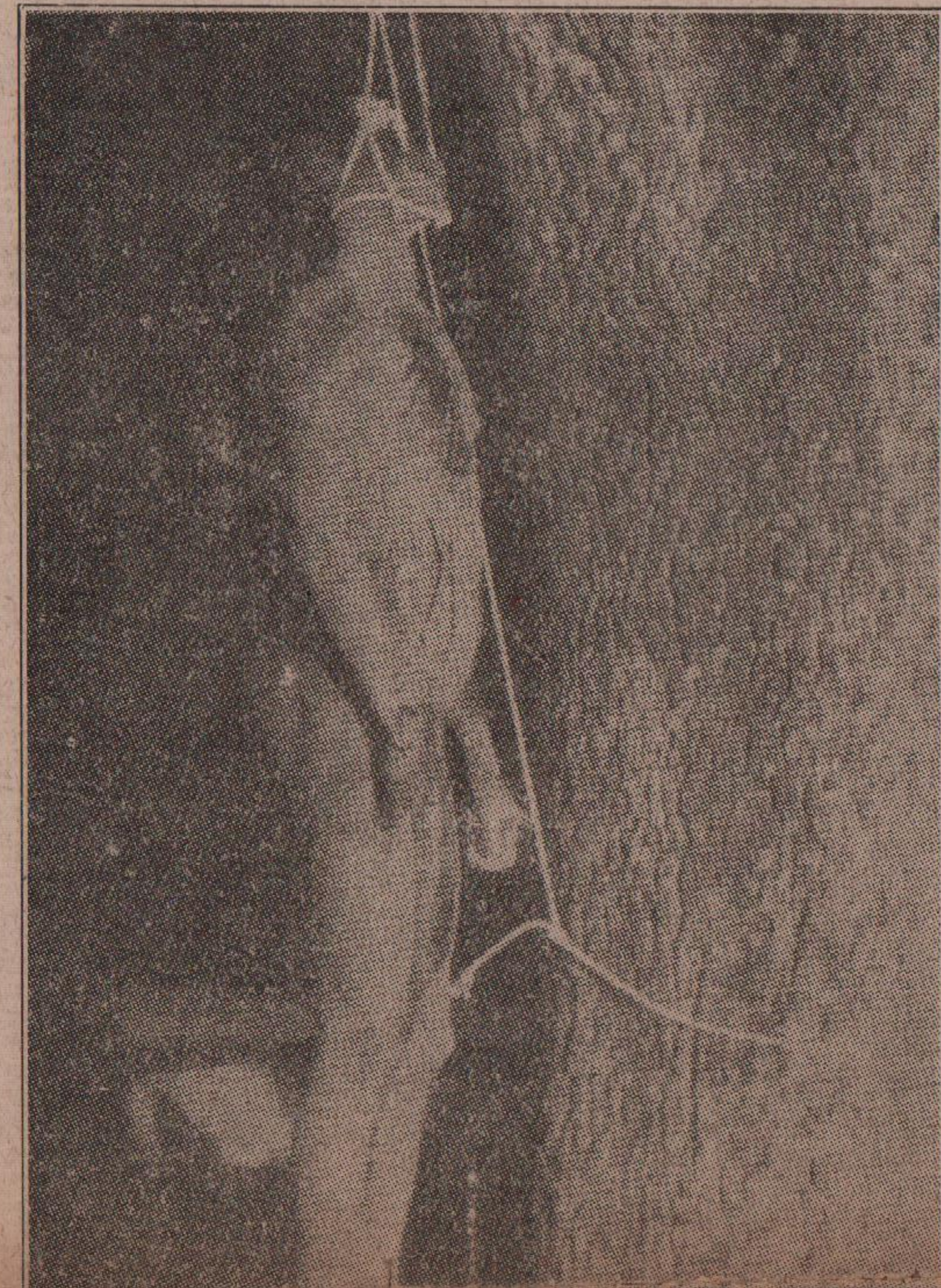
From the beginning of the Soviet-German war the attitude of the "Socialist Appeal" on aid to the Soviet Union has been clear and uncompromising. Analysing this war as essentially a class war between an imperialist and a workers' state, we have warned that to rely on the imperialists of Britain and America to aid Russia is to sabotage the only real aid that can be given: the struggle for socialism against the interests of all imperialists. We have pointed out that the policy expressed by Moore Brabazon is the secret policy of the whole capitalist class; we have warned that the imperialists of Britain and America would give just enough aid to ensure that the war would be a long one, waiting for the combatants to become mutually exhausted, and then to step in and deal a death blow to both for their own interests.

As against the short sighted policy of support for Churchill and Roosevelt we have urged the independence of the labour movement from the capitalist class; we have fought for workers' control of the sending of arms to Russia; and we have resolutely opposed the policy of "pressing" Churchill for a Second Front, knowing that such a military move would be undertaken by the imperialists at the moment of their own choosing for their own aims of dismembering the Soviet Union and stifling the European revolution by wresting control from their hands.

THE POLICY OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS

The struggle of resolutions and deputations has not moved the imperialists one inch. Churchill sits in the house of Commons and refuses to answer questions.

IN THE LAND OF THE FREE—



United States Officer Caster Force Race Discrimination

BY JIM HINCHCLIFFE

With the influx of American troops there is being imported into this country a colour prejudice against Negro troops which is alien to the traditions and sentiments of the British working class.

The voice of organised labour must be raised against the concessions that are being made the anti-democratic and vicious race prejudices of the American officer caste. The workers must make it plain to the ruling class that no concessions will be tolerated on this issue; that equal status must be given to regardless of race, colour or creed.

Stories of Negroes being turned out of hotels, refused admittance to dance-halls, instructed not to mix with white people, and the existence of a colour-bar in some air-raid shelters. These stories have filtered through the daily press in recent weeks and months.

Hannen Swaffer wrote in the "Daily Herald" (16.9.42) that:

"The problem of 'colour' is proving very embarrassing to the authorities and admitted that, 'at the request of American military chiefs, who have trouble here, British officials have tacitly agreed to the banning of coloured troops in saloon-bars and from certain dance halls.' Further on it 'in at least one A.T.S. station it has been ordered that any girl seen going out with a Negro shall be moved to a different depot for some other reason.'"

Further evidence is provided by a letter to the "Times" (2.10.42) which a reader who manages a snack-bar in Oxford wrote of an incident:

"The other night a coloured United States soldier came into our establishment, and, after a friendly presentation, he presented me with an open letter from his commanding officer explaining that 'Private [Name] is a soldier in the U.S. Army and it is necessary that he sometimes has a meal, which he has, on occasions, at my establishment.'"

When the workers were first posted up announcing the new agreement towards the beginning of September, the workers were very angry and one of the yards, Redhead's, went on strike from the 5th to the 7th of September while

As the result of these actions the employers agreed to postpone the agreement for one month for further consideration by the C.S.E.U. and the T.S.A. They then announced at the end of September that they had decided to adhere to the agreement, but meanwhile the employers would make up the two days pay which the workers would be short in their packets, over a period of 20 weeks. The workers, or their representatives the shop stewards were not consulted about this proposed solution before it was announced. Although the bosses had made a slight concession the workers refused to countenance it.

In view of the serious shipping shortage and the urgent need for more ships, the workers did not wish to hold up production and proposed that the old agreement should stand until the claims of the owners as to the reasons for the new "total time" day were investigated by the shop stewards, and its bona fides established.

At mass meetings held in all the shipyards on Saturday, October 3rd, the workers decided that unless this was carried out and the notices of the new agreement were withdrawn when they reported for work on the following Monday, they would not commence work. They published their decision in the press and made it known by special message to the Unions, Employers and the Government. Despite the seriousness of the situation, no action was taken by any of these official bodies to solve the question during the week-end.

The employers remained adamant and when the workers turned up on Monday morning, the notices were still posted and 80% of the men adhered to their decision.

That afternoon, at meetings of the workers, they decided that in face of the attitude of the owners they would be forced to withhold their labour until the employers agreed to listen reasonably, and that meanwhile they would attempt to influence the Government to undertake an inquiry. The attitude of the Government was demonstrated, however, by the reply of Bevin in the House of Commons to a question by a Tory M.P. who asked if the Government was prepared to see that the agreement was "honoured". Bevin replied: "Certainly. We do not intend to depart from the agreement made between the two parties."

The following day the shop stewards were addressed by the Labour advisor to the Admiralty, Mr. Westwood, by Admiral Maxwell, Admiral of the Port, by Mr. Adair, Northern area Ministry of Labour Conciliation Officer, and finally by Mr. J. G. Morgan as a representative of the C.S.E.U. They all urged back to work and then maybe an inquiry; they "reminded" the workers of the seriousness of the shipping situation and asked them "not to play Hitler's game". Every tactic was used to impress upon the workers that "public opinion" was against them and that they stood alone. When the workers asked these people to use their influence to get the employers to lift the notices, they refused. The workers stated that if this was done and the question was put to arbitration, they would abide by the findings of the court, but their plea was pushed aside and unconditionally refused.

The employers claimed that the new arrangement was necessary as the re-

In view of the Government statements as to the serious shipping crisis and in view of the press statements of the employers themselves prior to, and as a result of the strike, it was quite clear that it was criminal on their part to force a deadlock. If the employers had been one tenth sincere in their statements regarding ship production, they would have agreed to the workers' demands even had the workers been in the wrong. But their protestations of patriotism were exposed as hypocrisy and sham by their whole bearing during the strike. They preferred hundreds of thousands of man hours lost so long as their dictatorial capitalist interests were maintained. At all costs they must show the workers who were masters!

GIVE INDIANS THE VOTE

By Bill Chalk

A DELIBERATE POLICY OF DECEPTION HAS BEEN ADOPTED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO MINIMISE THE STRUGGLES OF THE INDIAN MASSES

India has disappeared from the front pages of the British Press and during these last few weeks a note of satisfaction has been clearly discernable in the utterances of the British statesmen. We are told that the situation in India is returning to normal and that the firm stand of the Government on behalf of law and order is having a very satisfactory effect. Attlee assures the House that the Nationalist movement embraces only a small minority of Congress malcontents and that the vast majority of the Indian masses were not affected.

Against whom then is the latest crop of repressive legislation directed? One glance at the content of this legislation will suffice to give the lie to Attlee. The most casual survey of recent measures against the Indians

will serve to show who suffers beneath the curling lash of British Imperial terror. Be assured, Minister Attlee, that it is not the Princes whose palaces are bombed; neither is it the estates of the Prince of Nawanagar which are laid waste. If we are to judge the size of the "small minority of malcontents" by the scale of the measures adopted against them we cannot but conclude that the "minority" seems to be everywhere, is to be found in great Congress, for they know full well that when the thunderclouds break, not only will the masses sweep away the hateful capitalist yoke of foreign domination but the attempts of the natives to impose their rule will be totally frustrated. It is the fear of the masses and the hope of limiting their action to "peaceful", "non-violent" demonstrations which is clearly apparent throughout the statements of Nehru and the other leaders of Congress. If now they are opposed to the British ruling class—and, be it noted, hardly

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These People Do Not Represent Indian Masses



Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, and the Indian National Defense Council

THE POLICY OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS

The outrage of resolutions and deputations has not moved the imperialists one inch. Churchill sits in the house of Commons and refuses to answer questions. However, divergencies are developing in the ranks of the capitalists along the line: has the Soviet Union been sufficiently weakened: will the Germans be allowed to advance still further? It is purely a matter of imperialist calculation.

Mr. Wendell Willkie, who can hardly be accused of having any sympathy with the cause of Labour, believes that the moment has arrived for a Second Front. On the other hand Mr. Tom Connelly, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, told the United States Senate that it was very unfortunate that Mr. Wendell Willkie should have been so free with his comments: "Mr. Willkie's statements might cause disunity between the Governments of the United States and Soviet Russia."

The decisive section of the ruling class is against opening a Second Front. However, as the "New York Herald" said:

"The military decision for a Second Front has also been made. The one remaining question is that of timing. This cannot in the nature of things be made by popular pressure."

Exactly! The imperialists must be free to decide exactly when they shall intervene.

This is the tragedy of the situation: after intensive propaganda on the part of Stalin and his "Communist" hacks, designed to align the masses behind their imperialist rulers on the pretext that they will render the needed aid to the Soviet Union, they learn, they "discover" that the imperialists

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The Above is a picture of Claude Neal after he had been lynched in the United States (1934). Note mutilation of Neal's chest and thighs. Note also how fingers have been cut from hands as "souvenirs." After this picture was taken toes were cut from the feet, also as "souvenirs."

One of the participants described it as follows:

"After taking the nigger to the woods about four miles from Greenwood, they cut off his sexual organs and he was made to eat them and say he liked it."

Then they sliced his sides and stomach with knives and every now and then somebody would cut off a finger or toe. Red hot irons were used on the nigger to burn him from top to bottom. After several hours of this torture they decided to just kill him."

In 1940 there were "only" four lynchings,—few in comparison with previous years. And yet even today the Anti-Lynch Bill has not been able to get through the "democratic" Roosevelt government.

BELFAST BOSSES ATTACK T.U. RIGHTS

By Bob Armstrong
Our Belfast Correspondent

The strike of over 10,000 Belfast workers which is shaking the whole of Northern Ireland has received scant attention in the British press. News from the censored press indicates that the strike is spreading.

The following report from our Belfast correspondent indicates the scope and intensity of the conflict. The significant aspect of this struggle is the high standard of consciousness the Belfast workers are displaying in taking such a magnificent stand on the issue of trade union principles and the rights of the workers to organise. It demonstrates also how the employers are attempting to use the war and the sentiments of the workers on the Soviet Union, in order to smash down trade union practices and democratic rights.

BELFAST.—The great strike struggle continues. I am forced to denote the two main strikes in progress as "Strike of the Engineers of Factory No. 1" and "Strike of the Electricians of Factory No. 2." There are also widespread sympathetic strikes.

Although Factory No. 1 was not the first to down tools, it involves the largest number of workers. Although this great walk out came like a bolt from the blue to the general public, the situation had been simmering for a long time as the result of the reactionary nature of the employers. A series of provocative incidents preceded the final cause—insolence towards shop stewards; repeated violations of the Factory Act, especially regarding the hours worked by young girls; and gross mismanagement.

The immediate issue, which precipitated the strike arose out of the question of Sunday work. The workers asked to be allowed to

work on Sunday with a view to making ends meet by earning more, and motivated by a desire to increase production in the interests of Russia and speed up the destruction of Hitlerism. The workers are learning in practice exactly what the capitalists mean by the so called "war for democracy": extorting concessions from the workers and sacrificing trade union practices while they pile up the profits. Calculating that Sunday work would be unprofitable, the management refused to concede this demand. Nevertheless, the workers arrived at work on the Sunday. The management thereupon called in the police to eject them. When the Convener and the sub Convener sought out the management to protest AGAINST THIS, they were sacked on the spot. A meeting was held immediately and the workers were forced to resort to strike action. On the following night, the management reaffirmed their decision to debar the shop stewards in question from the premises.

The strike in Factory No. 2 (electricians) was precipitated by the action of the management in employ-

Oxford wrote of an incident: "The other night a coloured United States soldier, who had presented me with an open letter from his commanding officer explaining that 'Private is a soldier in the U.S. Army and it is necessary that he sometimes has a meal, which he has, on occasions, found difficult to obtain. I would be grateful if you would look after him. Naturally we 'looked after' him to the best of our ability, but I could not help feeling ashamed that in a country where even stray dogs are 'looked after' by special societies of citizens of the world, who is fighting the world's battle for freedom and equality, should have found it necessary to place himself in this humiliating position."

In the "Daily Herald" on Sept. 22 we find support for "Jim Crowism" from no other than the Bishop of Salisbury whose "christian learning" has led him to the conclusion "that the sharp distinction drawn between white and black across the Atlantic

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ing a non-Unionist. When challenged, this man, who has never belonged to a Union, stated that he had been working for a certain Dublin firm. This was obviously false as the firm in question is not organised. The issue is clear. The boss is attempting to put his open shop principle into practice. This dispute has been in progress 26 days to date.

Joint representations from the Strike Committee, the Labour Party Executive and the Trades Council were made to the Minister of Labour, Gordon, and to the Prime Minister, Andrews, to compel the firms concerned to return to the pre-strike status quo. The Ministers refused to comply with the request, saying that they had not power to use against the employers, although, as is known, the Stormont Government has a superfluity of power when it comes to using it against workers.

Great mass meetings have been held almost daily in Belfast's largest hall. Owing to the great number on strike all non-strikers are excluded a

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VICKERS SHIPWRIGHTS WIN VICTORY

BY M. ORTON

The provocative actions of Vickers Armstrong, Ltd., Barrow, were directly responsible for the cessation of work by 400 shipwrights on September 22nd.

In a statement issued by the Strike Committee, the shipwrights pointed out that for over two years they had endeavoured to operate a contract system in the belief that it would increase production. In addition to this, a long established custom had been surrendered, whereby two shipwrights or a shipwright and an apprentice worked together, and the men had agreed that a shipwright and a labourer should work as mates. The management had replied however, by revising the wage contracts to the detriment of the men.

In December 1941, the bosses declared the old contracts to be in a state of chaos and gave three months notice to terminate the existing system. An attempt was made to impose a system of Differential Payment or grading. This would mean that different rates of pay would be given according to the degree of skill required, it being left to the management to decide what was a skilled and unskilled job. The shipwrights refused to operate such a system which they regarded as a direct menace to the practice of their trade.

Determined to bring their iron fist down upon the rebellious workers, the bosses reduced their wages by 3d. an hour. The only effect of this provocation was to strengthen the determination of the men not to succumb. A meeting was called and 21 days notice of dispute was given to the Ministry of Labour.

Before the notice expired, the management urged the men to accept the reduction and promised that if a monthly review showed an improvement in production, the original rate would be restored. A promise was also made to consider the conditions of men on ship repair work, who were working on a time rate basis which in some cases entailed a loss of £1 in their wages. In order, however, not to compromise themselves, the management refused to state the promises given in a written agreement. In spite of this the promises were accepted by the men, but no attempt was made to alleviate the conditions of the workers on ship repair and only in the case of one small section on shipbuilding, was 1d. an hour restored.

Encouraged by the failure of the shipwrights to take effective action, the management endeavoured to introduce Differential Payment by backdoor methods. An offer was made of 1/8d. an hour plus war bonus, but the management was to retain the right to reduce or increase the rate as it thought fit! The men replied with a counter proposal that 1/8d. be fixed as the minimum rate. This was flatly refused.

Further negotiations were of no avail. The repeated refusals of the management had to climb down. They agreed to pay 1/9d. an hour plus war bonus to those on contracting; men on repair work to be placed on a piece work system which would increase their

of strike action. The following day the members of the Shipwrights and Shipconstructors Union unanimously ceased work, about 400 men being affected. Since the shipwrights are the key men in the shipbuilding industry a stoppage lasting any length of time would inevitably have repercussions on other trades. The feeling throughout the yard was one of sympathy and support for the action taken by the shipwrights.

The strike did not receive official recognition by the union, and the union bureaucrats urged the men to return to work at all costs. Messrs. Vickers Armstrong also made an appeal through a local naval officer, who reminded the strikers that their fellow workers in the services were risking their lives without complaint. To this the men replied that strike action had been forced upon them by the attitude which the firm had adopted and that they were not prepared to stand by and see their comrades in the armed forces return to civilian life only to be met with appallingly bad conditions and low wages. The responsibility for the holding up of production rested entirely with the capitalists whose only concern was the lowering of the workers' standards and the piling up of profits.

At a meeting held on September 27th a list of demands was drawn up, to be submitted to the management. Upon acceptance of the demands by the management, the workers declared their willingness to return to work. Since the management refused to meet the strike committee, the demands were submitted through the medium of the branch committee of the union. The demands included:

1/10d. an hour plus war bonus for those on contracting.
Men on time work to be placed on similar basis to those on piece work.

Men to be granted the right to terminate contracts by giving one month's notice.
A further meeting was called on September 28th at which the Branch Committee reported that the management were prepared to look favourably on the report as a whole but did not consider that concessions could be granted on the three main points. However, if the men returned to work the firm were willing to open negotiations. The unionist strongly urged the men to go back pending negotiations, declaring that they could do nothing unless such a course was adopted.

Finally the men decided to return to work, but they also issued an ultimatum. Unless a satisfactory agreement was reached within seven days they would strike again.

Faced with this ultimatum, and realising full well that the shipwrights would not let their threat into action, the management had to climb down. They agreed to pay 1/9d. an hour plus war bonus to those on contracting; men on repair work to be placed on a piece work system which would increase their

MARCHBANKS BETRAYS LINCOLN BUS WORKERS

The recent strike of 170 busmen in Lincolnshire has aroused wide interest throughout the country. The strike lasted from Sept. 18th to Sept. 31st. Troops were called in on the first day for the purpose of breaking the strike. Court proceedings were instituted against the workers.

The events which led up to the strike were the attitude and actions of the management. The workers had been negotiating with the management for nine to ten years before the war, without any result. In addition to this the management were deliberately provoking the workers by their high-handed attitude in the weeks before the strike. The traffic manager of the company had docked the wages of 62 workers who had forgotten to clock either on or off. One conductress who had worked for 51 hours 20 minutes, received only a penny in wages for her week's work as a result of this. It might be explained here that these workers do not work by the clock but by the schedules typed on a board, so that clocking on or off did not make the slightest difference to their work, or the times they clocked on or off. By these methods the Company were violating the provisions of the EWO yet we notice no prosecution was instituted against them!

The workers immediately struck when this was announced to them, but went back a few hours later as a promise that all the workers would be paid the next day. In spite of this promise some of the workers were still not paid. In the meantime the workers who received very low wages had presented a claim to the Lincolnshire Road Company for an increase. But when it became clear that the Company had no intention of acceding to their modest demands, they were forced to come out on strike on the first and second of September. They went back on the understanding that a settlement would be reached within 14 days. The demands of the workers were for an increase on the basic rate of 1/3d. an hour for 48 hours plus war bonus of 3/4d. to 1/4d. per hour plus war bonus for drivers after the first year. This to rise to 1/5d. per hour plus war bonus of 3/4d. an hour after two years. Time and a quarter to be paid for Sunday and rest days. Conductresses wages to rise from 10d. per hour, a penny an hour every year, till after four years they would receive 1/2d. per hour. It can be seen that these were extremely moderate increases the workers were demanding on the scandalously low rates they were receiving. In fact, these are the

worst paid rates of any bus company of a comparable size throughout the country. Other bus companies in the Midlands pay 1/2 1/4d. per hour (this is including war bonus) to their conductresses for a start, 1/4d. after six months rising to 1/6d.

Thus the conductresses on this service receive almost the same as drivers in Lincoln! In Lincoln itself the Corporation busmen who do exactly the same type of work, but who do not have to drive such long distances receive 1/8 1/4d. per hour, as compared to 1/6 1/4d.

The union leaders of the N.U.R. headed by John Marchbanks sabotaged the strike and came out wholly on the side of the employers. Marchbanks even went to the length of signing a joint statement with the chairman of the company which gave a false impression of the earnings of the men. The statement gave the "average" wage as £4. 12. 4 1/2d. Yet when the defending solicitor (the union solicitor, had refused to defend the men) gave the figure of £3. 12. 2d. as the AVERAGE wage for 48 hours, inclusive of war bonus, neither Marchbanks nor the Company's solicitor objected.

Thus we had the shameful spectacle of a National Union leader siding with the employers and helping to deceive public opinion in the area as to the conditions which had caused the strike. This situation has arisen because of the shameful Standstill Agreement which was concluded nationally between the N.U.R. and the Motor Omnibus Association in December 1939 limiting the wages received by the workers to the rates received before the war. This agreement does not take into account the rise in the cost of living and is particularly pernicious to these busmen—at least a quarter of those organised in the N.U.R. who received such low wages that they could hardly make ends meet even in peace time.

The union leaders were determined to prevent the workers from receiving the increases they demanded because of the fact that this would automatically end the standstill agreement and lead the other badly paid busmen in the N.U.R. to demand wage increases. In their eagerness to achieve their ends the union leaders accepted a "settlement" with the employers without consulting the men or their depot representatives. They accepted this on the 21st September. But when they met the depot representatives on 23rd Sept., they attempted to persuade the men to accept the terms, without telling them at first that they had already agreed to them!

The company as a result of the strike has announced "concessions" to the men. They will pay time and a quarter for Sunday work and rest days and for over 54 hours worked per week. This "concession" is quite meaningless as 90% of the men do not work 54 hours on the job, although the average time they put in (including waiting time at the various towns) is much higher. Sunday is a rest day for at least 40% of the men as fewer services are run on that day. So that these drivers will receive no benefit from the increased rate for Sundays and rest days.

The cynical attitude of the bosses and the union leaders is shown by the fact that the employers can easily afford the concessions asked. The concessions would cost the company only £14,000 per year: Yet the company is paying £100,000 a year in Excess Profit Tax. So they would actually lose nothing by giving the men this concession. But it is a question of the class solidarity of the bosses. Concessions granted to the busmen in Lincolnshire would lead to concessions being demanded from the bus companies who are under-paying their workers in other areas.

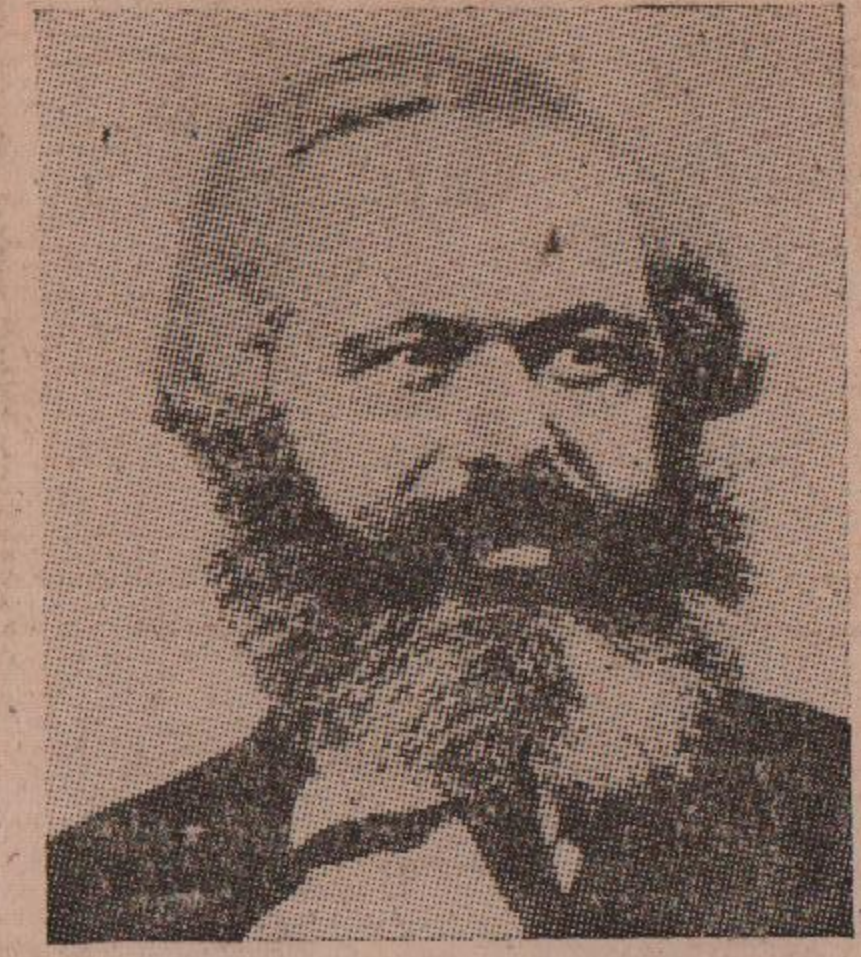
Despite the shameful attitude of the union officials public opinion in the area sided with the workers. The attempt of the company through the Prosecution to have Brother J. Russell the men's leader, especially victimised and sentenced to imprisonment failed. The men on strike were all fined 15s. and allowed a month in which to pay.

Thus the workers found themselves fighting an isolated battle, with the Government, the employers and their own union "leaders" lined up against them. This betrayal on the part of the union officials has left a bitter feeling among the men. Unfortunately their legitimate indignation has led them to tear up their cards and leave the union. Full responsibility for this rests on the shoulders of the union leaders. Such a tendency can only be counteracted by the rank and file organising themselves, contacting other workers and setting up committees to conduct a struggle on a national scale against the leadership of the unions where these have ceased to represent their members.

For an end to the infamous "Standstill Agreement!"

For a sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living!
For rank and file contact committees among the bus-drivers of the N.U.R.!
End the collaboration between the Union Leaders, the Government and the bosses!

LIVING THOUGHTS of KARL MARX



Leon Trotsky

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CORRESPONDENCE

From a Forestry Worker

To the "Socialist Appeal." Dear Comrade,

I have been reading in your paper the reports of the increasing accident rate in the mines. From official sources come many reasons but as yet no mention has been made as far as I am aware, of the quality of timber now used in the mines.

We forestry workers have noticed, especially since the closing of the Scandinavian markets a gradual deterioration in the quality of pit props produced in the home industry, which, I may say is now the only available source for mining timber. Recently in government operated forests an order has been issued prohibiting the peeling of props. This, as every miner knows, is absolutely essential as a precaution against fire rot, etc.

Coupled with this, we have the position where woods, which under ordinary circumstances, would be considered as waste, are being marketed as first class timber. These forests were not planted at all for commercial purposes but merely to give shelter to agricultural land, and incidentally, to alleviate tax per acre.

On the other hand we have some of the finest timber districts in Britain, for instance, the Lothians, practically untouched. Besides the high quality of timber in these regions, they are in the centre of the mining area. Needless to say, the owners of these forests would be highly incensed at any suggestion to operate them as at present they are used as breeding places for game. Doubtless, they consider that in their present capacity they are playing a greater part in the national "War effort" than they would otherwise do in serving to reduce the casualty list in the mines.

SHOP STEWARD, Inverness.

Durham Miner on the Home Guard

Dear Comrade, 18th Oct. 1942

There will be a special council meeting held on Oct. 24th at Red Hill Miners' Hall, Durham, when delegates from all miners' lodges in the county will be present to hear further news

Hetton was also member of the Home Guard. Returning from Home Guard duties during blackout in the month of March, he met with an accident in which he fell over a wall and dropped 12 ft. at the other side. He was fortunate in dropping on his feet otherwise he might have got a broken back or neck. As it was, both feet were broken.

After being in hospital and off work 26 weeks he was told by the hospital surgeon that he might try some work. While he had no objection to this, he told the surgeon that he had very little hopes of getting a light job owing to the accident occurring away from his employment and therefore it was not a colliery compensation case. (He was receiving compensation from the Government).

When he went to see the under-manager to ask for light work for a few weeks, he was told that there were more men wanting light jobs than he had jobs for; that he would have to start his own work, which was digging with a pneumatic pick if he wanted to start. The man told me that while he knew that he could not manage it, he did not want to let the under-manager see that he was afraid to start. His working place was 2 1/2 miles from the shaft bottom, so that besides standing all his shift he had a five mile walk, and understand, a five mile walk underground is something like seven miles on surface owing to bad travelling. And this is bad because I know, I work in the same part of the pit. Needless to say his first shift was his last. He is now applying for full pension.

One thing he told me. When the under-manager told him he had no light jobs, he felt that he would like to bring all the men out of the Home Guards and let the coalowners, colliery managers and under-managers fight this war themselves. This may not sound very much to you, but it came as a big surprise to me to hear him say this because, I have had many heated discussions down the pit with him before he met with his accident, on the war and what we are fighting for at present. And believe me he was a real red, white and blue patriot who believed that we must always have owners and managers while we must always remain workers in the same sense as we are now. If you note why he started work when told that there were no light jobs, you might get some idea what sort of

READ

M. LORIS on

THE CRITICS OF TROTSKY

Fourth Internationalist (U.S.A.)

In the "Daily Herald" (7.9.42) it is stated that the management would not attempt to establish a minimum rate. Further negotiations were of no avail. The repeated refusals of the management to improve the increasingly bad conditions and their failure to establish an equitable wage rate left the shipwrights with no alternative but to resort to strike action. On September 21st an unofficial meeting was called at which 80% of the members present voted in favour

management had to climb down. They agreed to pay 1/9d. an hour plus war bonus to those on contracting; men on repair work to be placed on a piece work system which would increase their wages by about 12/- per week; contracts to be terminated by 2 months notice. The rest of the demands were practically accepted as they stood. Only the determination and unity of action by the workers were the designs of the firm to reduce the standards of the workers defeated.

M. LORIS on
THE CRITICS OF TROTSKY
 Leading Fourth Internationalist (U.S.A.)
Workers International News

Home Guard
 Co. Durham.
 18th Oct. 1942
 Dear Comrade,
 There will be a special council meeting held on Oct. 24th at Red Hill Miners' Hall, Durham, when delegates from all miners' lodges in the county will be present to hear further a report on the 83/- weekly minimum granted under the Green award.
 Here is another case which I submit for your consideration for mining news. A workman employed at So,

fighting at present. And believe me he was a real red, white and blue patriot who believed that we must always have owners and managers while we must always remain workers in the same sense as we are now. If you note why he started work when told that there were no light jobs, you might get some idea what sort of man he is. When he told me he felt like telling the Home Guards to let the owners fight their own battle, why, he was practically admitting to me that he had been in the wrong in all our discussions. The moral of this case to me is that if owners and managers cannot find jobs for men like this during the war, what hopes will there be after the war for such men?
 Yours fraternally, W. H.

Glasgow Engineers Fight for Bonus

Approximately 2,000 workers out of 2,700 came out on strike in a Glasgow Engineering works, on October 26th. The unions involved were the A.E.U., E.T.U., Coppersmiths, Blacksmiths, Plumbers and Boilermakers.
 At a mass meeting held in Dixon Halls, Cathcart, the overwhelming majority of workers voted to remain on strike until the management accepts their terms.
 The firm is switching over from one operation to another, during which period the workers claim they are entitled to an average bonus of 100% plus 50% for waiting time.
 For a month now negotiations have been going on between the management and the Executive of the Shop Committee. Throughout this period the management has been hoodwinking the workers into remaining on the job. After offering the Shop Stewards 50% average bonus, the managing director deliberately evaded the Shop Stewards for a week. At the end of this period, the manager, when interviewing the Shop Committee, offered 25%, which he claimed was the prevailing rate being paid. Actually the men could earn under these rates 30% with production in full swing.
 This offer was, of course, turned down by the Shop Committee since it meant a loss to the men of from £2 to £3.
 Owing to the long hours that the men have been working on the old rates, it is impossible for the workers to pay income tax on the new rates offered.
 It is necessary to stress that the Shop Committee did everything in their power to avert a strike. They offered to go into conference with the management on Saturday or Sunday. But the management turned this down.
 Now, when the workers were provoked into taking action, the management offers to set up a conference to discuss the question on condition that the men return to work.
 This offer was refused by the men at their mass meeting on the grounds that in all cases where workers had returned to work, they had lost their case. The futility of these negotiations is still fresh in the minds of the men, since the question of bonus grievance, which has been going on for over nine months through the lengthy procedure of the York Memo, still remains unsettled. Thus it is being brought home to the men forcibly that strike action is the only means left to them. A.K.

LESSONS OF THE TYNE STRIKE

Continued from page 1

women as they left the yard for the dinner hour break with shouts of 'Blackleg' and other abuse. As a result they did not turn in on Tuesday." The Shields "Daily Gazette" published a letter from an ex-Commander saying he sympathised with the strikers. The lies of the boss class press only served to anger the workers further.

HOW THE STALINISTS PREPARED TO BREAK THE STRIKE

The Communist Party marshalled the whole of its apparatus to smash the strike. Prior to the commencement of the strike every Tyneside shipyard worker who was a member of the "Party" received a personal telegram from Harry Pollitt, stating that it was imperative that he attend a special meeting which Pollitt was to address. At this meeting Pollitt denounced the militants and stated that any "shipyard worker who went on strike was a traitor to his country."

But for the first time perhaps, Pollitt's position was hotly contested by the rank and file, and although his course was adopted at the meeting, the more class conscious workers in the Party stood with their class against the strikebreaker. A prominent party shop steward attacked his strike breaking policy; in this he received good support and it was obvious then that a serious split was developing in the Party.

Thousands of leaflets and daily dullelins to Party members were issued under the signature of Malcolm MacEwen, the District Organiser. In a bulletin advertising a meeting for Pollitt, it was stated: "Yesterday the shop stewards who are leading the strike called a meeting of shop stewards from which however, 50 shop stewards were excluded because they or their men are refusing to strike..."

When the Strike Committee were asked about this statement they branded it as a deliberate falsification. This same bulletin, under the headline "Give a Courageous Lead" gave the line to the members of the Party thus: "At every yard meeting our comrades should take part and forcefully put the case for returning to work, announce their own intention of going in, and appeal to the workers to follow them."

Thousands of leaflets were issued under the signature of Stalinist, Len Powell, secretary of the now non-representative National Council of Shop Stewards urging the men to go back to work. A circular from the same source was sent to shop stewards committees and union branches all over

the country urging telegrams of protest to be sent to the Strike Committee. Dozens of such telegrams were received by the Strike Committee, few with the consent of the workers they claimed to speak for.

As the result of this campaign the shipyard workers became more and more hostile to the Stalinists. Some Party members took off the Star and replaced it with their union badge in the hope of disguising themselves when they dished out leaflets. The workers threatened to toss the leading Stalinist Shop Steward into the Tyne when he tried to address a meeting. The Strike Committee condemned the Communist Party and the "Daily Worker" refusing to give it a statement.

WILKINSON REFLECTS FEARS OF TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS

Ellen Wilkinson—"Red Helen"—now tinged with Royal Blue—addressed a meeting at Newcastle where she delighted the hearts of the shipyard owners, whom only a few years ago, she so vehemently denounced when they were starving these same shipyard workers through unemployment. Attacking the strikers in the most violent terms, she said: "nothing could be so disastrous to the future of the strikers themselves as that they should win this strike . . ." "Temporary leaders thrown up by the present strike will be the first victims of such mob rule. They will be displaced as they themselves have been displaced by the shop stewards who are working."

A victory for the strikers would have administered a defeat for the trade union and labour leaders who must demonstrate to the boss class that they still retain control over the workers. It would have damaged their bargaining power for the juicy steaks in the shape of state posts which is their payment for selling out the workers. Ellen Wilkinson faithfully reflected the fear of the office-seekers, who felt that their jobs would be endangered by a victory. Indeed, every day that the strike lasted, the position of the bureaucrats was undermined.

In face of this unholy alliance, the workers were undaunted. But a week of strike brought a new factor into the arena: the household bills without a weekly pay packet. Since the strike was "illegal" the strikers received no union pay. At the outset of the strike the overwhelming majority of the workers believed that they would be out for a day or two at the most. They did not visualise a really vicious struggle and were not prepared for a long, drawn out struggle. The bosses seized



WILKINSON BETRAYS HER ELECTORS—HERE SHE IS SEEN MARCHING WITH THE UNEMPLOYED IN 1935

Jarrow Hunger Marchers got Ellen Wilkinson's ministerial food ticket. Now she insults these same shipbuilding workers, and says she hopes they are defeated by the very employers who threw them on the scrap heap of unemployment in 1935, by closing down the shipyards.

upon this and tried to bribe a section of the workers by adding the "agreement" sub to their pay packet when they went for their lying time. But the stewards stood side by side with the bosses pay clerk and checked each worker as he handed the "sub" back to the pay clerk.

As the strike lengthened into the second pay week it was obvious that the workers were going to suffer hardship. In consequence the stewards met to sum up the situation and on Monday 12th, they decided to advise the workers to return.

Throughout the strike, the Shop Stewards faithfully reflected the attitude and mood of the workers. The Strike Committee which was set up ad hoc consisted of two delegates from each yard, made no attempt to spread the strike, nor did they appeal to other

sections of the workers to support them financially. When the Stalinists surreptitiously whispered about an outside organisation financing the strike, the stewards categorically denounced this lie and stated that they had even returned monies which they received from a few shop stewards Committees and militants in different parts of the country.

In putting their case to the men for returning to work, they took the view that they had come out as a solid body and as such they should go back. They made no bones about it: they had been defeated. There was neither the mood nor the desire to extend the strike to other parts of the country or have it ended as an adventure. Every Shop Steward should immediately resign on returning to work and seek the confidence of the workers by a re-election.

In this way the feeling of the men could be properly tested and the waverers and strike breakers among the shop stewards could be eliminated from their ranks.

The feeling of the workers was adequately expressed by the re-election of every steward who stood with the workers in the course of the strike and the unceremonious way in which the Stalinist strike breakers were pitched out of the workers' committees. So drastic was the purge as expressed by the democratic will of the workers that the "Daily Worker" of October 15th complained bitterly:

"Shop stewards who remained at work during the Tyneside dispute have been removed from their posts in a number of Tyneside yards. This action which is calculated to widen the breach in the working class in this great shipyard area is being sponsored by certain shop stewards who were active in the strike leadership."

A well known Communist has been removed from a yard committee, another from the Chairmanship of the Shop Stewards and some others from departmental positions of shop stewards."

By this action, the shipyard workers of the Tyneside demonstrated that at least they learned one important lesson from the strike. The influence of the Communist Party has been almost wholly shattered. The first important cracks in the Party commence to appear. Faced with the ejection of their members who supported the Party line, from key positions; the Stalinist leadership turned to the trade union bureaucrats to use the apparatus and preserve the Stalinists in their shop stewards positions against the democratic will of the workers. "It will be recalled," continues the same article in the "Daily Worker", "that the shop stewards who are being attacked remained at work in conformity with union instructions. They cannot be removed from yard committees without the consent of the Confederation or from their shop stewards' posts without the consent of the District Committees of the Unions. It remains for these bodies to support the stewards who adhered to their instructions. Only the abandonment of the disastrous policy of the victimisation of shop stewards will preserve unity and enable Tyneside to play its full part in the war effort."

Lord save us from "victimisation" (!!) by the workers!
 The present policy is starting to sift the genuine working class militants in the C.P. from the Pollitts and their stooges. A strong bloc signified that

they were quitting the Party and throwing in their cards. These workers will keep the trust and confidence of their fellow workers on the Tyne, for they demonstrated in practice that when the Party puts forward an anti-working class policy, they choose to stand with their class.

THE LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

The main weakness of the workers was that their official union machinery stood behind the bosses all the time. Against the expressed democratic will of the overwhelming majority of the Tyne shipbuilding workers, the trade union officials pursued a course of action in violation of every function for which the workers' organisations were set up. In withholding strike funds on the plea that the action of the workers was illegal, they gave the capitalists the weapon which gained them victory.

If these leaders—bureaucrats is the correct term—had desired to represent the men who pay their wages, or even made the slightest concession to the workers, the owners would have capitulated in a couple of hours and the struggle would have been avoided. By their actions they reveal that they travel further from the ideals of working class organisation every day. If the workers desire to be represented by men who will fight in their interests, they must learn the lessons of the strike.

Out of their own ranks they threw up a leadership which showed great capabilities as well as a fighting spirit. These men should be pushed forward to oust the present chair warmers who control the unions and hold the workers down. But this can only be done as the result of a bitter struggle as well as a revival of the interest in the affairs of the union and a break with the prevailing psychology that nothing can be done. The feeling of disgust with the union leaders which exists on the Tyneside is general throughout the country. All that is needed to bring about a militant revival is a lead. As the result of official betrayal many workers become disillusioned with the unions. In this sense the unions become weakened. To save the unions is the first task of every militant industrial worker.

The failure of the strike committee to contact the Clyde and the Mersey as well as other shipbuilding centres should be corrected. National contacts should be immediately sought for and a discussion organised on problems facing the shipyard workers. In particular, the problem of converting the unions into fighting organs of the working class.

SOCIALIST APPEAL
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EDITORIAL.

“United Strategy”

All is not well, it seems, with the “United Nations.” The last few weeks have seen such a squabble break out among them as almost puts the war itself to shame in the vigour with which it has been conducted. Across continents and oceans accusations and defences, charges and counter-charges, have been hurled by each and every one of the Allies against its—Allies.

America is accused by Britain and Russia of holding back its vast production of armaments for the use of a vast American army which is not yet trained; a section in America warns Britain to beware of losing America's support if Britain continues to fight only for the Empire; Stalin has openly charged America and Britain with not having fulfilled their obligations in regard to the opening of a second front; China has bitterly complained that she is receiving practically no assistance—and an attempt has been made at placation by the “giving up of extra-territorial rights;” India has shown in action as well as in words her dissatisfaction with the allies who drag her into a war for “freedom” and then categorically refuse to give her—freedom. Australia complains that she is not getting her fair share of tanks and planes.

As a general solution the British press has put forward the idea of a “United Strategy.” As the “Observer” puts it: “A start should be made at once by working out together and agreeing upon a joint grand strategy for global war with a Supreme Command to direct its execution.”... This unanimous and facile solution suggests that the matter is a comparatively simple one: the Allies are all sincerely intent on helping each other, but they haven't just got down to working out the technique of collaboration; the real causes of the international slanging match are just ‘misunderstandings’ and ‘rough edges’ that will soon be smoothed down.

If the real situation is examined, however, the matter is seen to go somewhat deeper than this. It resembles, not so much a football game in which a team has merely failed to appoint a captain and work out a strategy, but rather a position where one player is intent on playing baseball, another football, still another water-polo, and a fourth settles down to a contemplative game of chess. In other words, there is no common denominator. The supposed allies are fighting for entirely different aims; and different not only from each other, but from what they themselves have said they are fighting for.

Russia's war is progressive, even if Stalinism is incapable of using the weapons of a revolutionary war, while that of America and Britain is imperialist. For this reason it is hopeless not only to ASK for a “united strategy” but also to try and FORCE one on Churchill and Roosevelt by means of demonstrations and demands for a Second Front. The leaders of the “democracies” are making use of Russia's resistance to gain time for themselves and assure meantime that the rival German imperialism will not dominate the world. When they are ready they will have a Second Front—for their own ends.

There can be no real “united strategy” between America and the Soviet Union because they are

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
AND THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

By **ANDREW SCOTT**

Never was an anniversary more charged with meaning and portent than is the 25th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Never was an anniversary more dynamic and alive. Never one less pious and moribund. For history has placed once more upon its balance the whole fate of that greatest of all revolutions, the whole destiny of the 180 millions of the U.S.S.R., the whole future of the masses of Europe and the world. With a tip of the scales the Russian Revolution can achieve a greater scope and breadth than ever before; with a tip of the scales in the opposite side, it can perish from the earth.

The October Revolution is being commemorated today not only in words but in the very heat and smoke of battle itself. It is asserting and vindicating itself in the unequalled heroism and self-sacrifice of a whole people at war. For it is not for Russian nationalism that the Soviet masses are fighting and dying—but for the Revolution. It is the Revolution that is filling millions of hearts with the courage of lions. It is the Revolution that has transformed the most weary and disillusioned people of the last war into the most determined and courageous soldiers of the present war. It is the Revolution that has given the Russian masses something to fight for.

What was the significance of that event 25 years ago? Just this. That for the first time in history the common people, the workers and peasants, had overthrown the capitalists and landlords and established their own regime. Out of the very chaos, hunger and misery of the war into which decaying capitalism had inevitably led humanity, the first workers' state was born. A new economy was founded. The event shed its light across the whole dark continent of Europe and beyond. At last, after three years of war, it offered a ray of hope to the masses.

The Revolution meant this, too: that for the first time in history the masses had been led by men who understood the laws of history, who truly grasped the direction of events, who really represented the interests and aspirations of the masses. The Russian Revolution was distinguished by the degree of consciousness that went

Revolution itself that brought about their failure. For the revolutionary Government rallied to itself as no other government in the world could do, the mass of the people. Despite the poverty and starvation, and despite the lack of arms, the solidarity and spirit of the Soviet masses proved unbeatable against the might of the powerful nations. In that period there was first manifested the spirit that today has defended Leningrad, Moscow and Stalingrad.

But in that initial period of the Revolution there was a second factor that saved the U.S.S.R. from destruction. It was the fact the opposing armies were rendered completely incapable of fighting; they were made to disintegrate; they mutinied. And it was the revolutionary propaganda of the Soviets that accomplished this seemingly miraculous result. The German paper Kolnische Zeitung complained:

“By creating a feeling of internationalism an attempt is being made to win back that which was lost by force of arms. We have a firm belief that our workers, upon whose sympathy Trotsky would like to build up his plans, will not listen to this syren song.”

However, Trotsky's voice was listened to not only by the German workers but by the workers and soldiers of all the intervening powers. And it was this that forced one power after another to withdraw. There is an infectious quality about all revolutions, and the Russian Revolution displayed that quality more powerfully than any other in history. For its internationalism was consciously voiced by its leaders. The capitalists sought to keep their troops free from it by withdrawing them. But in vain. The voice of the Revolution crossed national barriers and oceans.

Thus it was that revolutionary internationalism saved the Soviet Union

from disaster 25 years ago. But Lenin and Trotsky knew that it was not enough that the capitalists should be forced to withdraw their armies. They knew that the only real guarantee of the revolution lay in its extension to other countries, and particularly to Germany, and they did everything to encourage the workers in these countries to take the same path as the Russian masses.

The fact that this extension of the Revolution did not take place was particularly due to the Labour leaders of Europe and, later, to the policies of Stalinism.

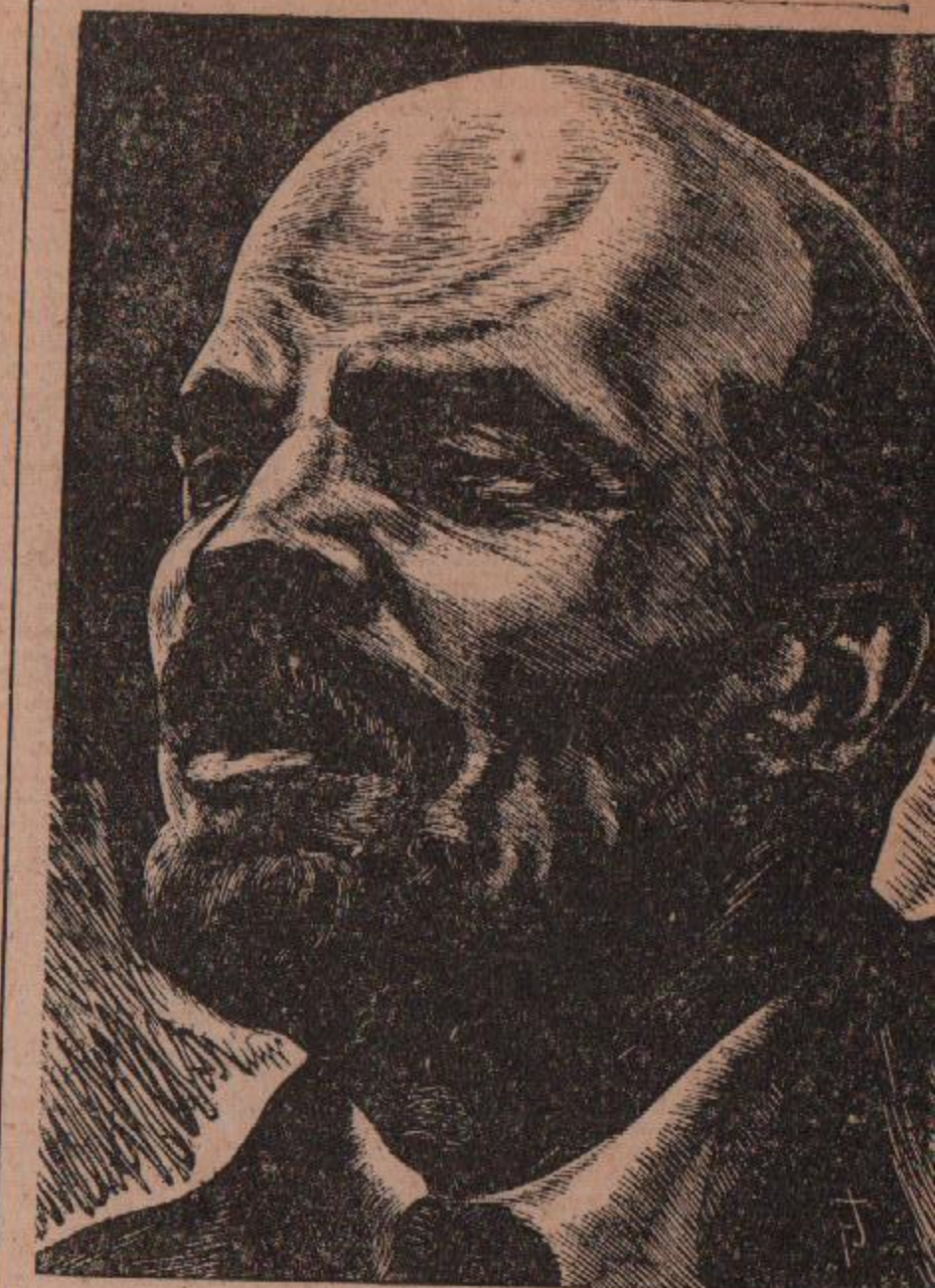
The world situation today is a continuation of the situation out of which the Russian Revolution emerged 25 years ago. The differences are principally those of decay. The decay of a capitalism that has been granted a reprieve and has only been able to throw up Fascism. A decay which has been due solely to the failure of the spread of the Revolution. A decay that has also affected the Revolution itself, and has given rise to the disease of Stalinism.

And this same Stalinism is today proving itself incapable not only of extending the Revolution but even of defending the gains that have already been made. Its failure and its inability to use the weapons of the world revolution are leading the Soviet Union directly towards catastrophe. Its reliance for assistance on the enemies of the Revolution—the Churchills, the Roosevelts, the Sikorskis—has been completely without positive results. The much heralded pacts and diplomatic agreements with the capitalists, and the solemn promises to open up a Second Front, have only led to the military isolation of the Soviet Union. The losses in territory, resources, industry and agriculture have continued on a gigantic scale, while the “allies” on whom Stalin has relied have sat back with folded arms

and watched the process with satisfaction.

If this process continues, then the Revolution will inevitably be smashed either by German or by Anglo-American imperialism. And it will continue so long as Russia's only allies are the capitalist government of the West. The Revolution must either expand and extend or be shattered. There is no standing still, no constant status quo. The position today is of the most serious possible nature, but it is no worse either militarily or economically, indeed not nearly as bad, as the position reached during the worst period of the first wars of intervention. And it can be retrieved in the same spectacular manner if the same methods and the same allies are relied on.

Not Stalinism, but the true Soviet democracy of the first period of the Revolution; not alliances with capitalism, but reliance on the workers and soldiers of Europe and the world; not “Socialism in One Country”, but the World Revolution. It is only by these methods that the Russian Revolution can be saved and restored. In Britain itself, only policies based on such methods and such a perspective can constitute a truly proletarian and revolutionary commemoration of the Russian Revolution. The greatest revolution in all history demands for its defence the greatest possible movement for power of which the world proletariat is capable. Today, in the fourth year of the second world war, it can truly be claimed that that movement is already stirring and moving in every part of the world. The Fourth International will provide it with the Marxist leadership which is the essential pre-requisite for its success. On that road the Russian Revolution will not be thrown by world capitalism on to the scrap heap of history, but will instead prove itself to have been the first and greatest battle in the true war of the masses—the war against world capitalism.



We Continue Lenin's Policy

An end to the coalition with the bosses. Labour and Trade Union leaders must break with the capitalist Government and wage a campaign for power on the following programme:

1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.
6. Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
7. Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
9. Establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
10. Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or Petainism.
11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the Colonies.
12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe on the basis of this programme in Britain to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

LEON TROTSKY—Founder and Leader of the Red Army
Reviewing a Military Parade in Moscow, 1917.

“ CONCESSIONS ”

Churchill and Roosevelt by means of demonstrations and demands for a Second Front. The leaders of the "democracies" are making use of Russia's resistance to gain time for themselves and assure meantime that the rival German imperialism will not dominate the world. When they are ready they will have a Second Front—for their own ends.

There can be no real "united strategy" between America and the Soviet Union because they are based on two different systems and are therefore fighting for two radically different aims.

In the same way they are making use of China's heroic resistance to assure that Japanese imperialism will have to keep millions of troops locked up there and unable to extend the limits of the Rising Empire even further than they have done already. China's war, even if not revolutionary, is not imperialist. It is fought, not to extend imperialism, but against it. Under a Soviet China it would mark the end of Japanese imperialism, but even under Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese capitalists it has dealt hard blows against Japanese imperialism.

It is significant that the disagreements have arisen over the question of the distribution of arms, for this goes to the very heart of the problem. It is as good a test as any of the claims of the imperialists to be fighting for "democracy" and "national freedom" and against Fascism. If these claims were true, then arms would be sent where they were most needed and where they could best be used. But as it is, Russia which needs them most gets not only the most ineffectual quantities but also the poorest quality. (The Russian leaders have complained recently that they get the old Hurricanes while Britain uses the new Spitfires).

As with the distribution of arms, so with military action. Any such action taken by them will be done with an eye, not on any pious unified aim of the United Nations but on the interests of imperialism. Libya therefore comes before the Soviet Union and a Second Front. The invasion of Liberia comes before the "liberation" of China. For the defence of the Suez Canal is the defence of the heart of the Empire, and Liberia is the stepping stone to an American empire in Africa.

Th British workers want to see a real end made to Hitlerism of all varieties and to the domination of one nation by another. They want to win the peoples of Europe to their side in a common struggle against these evils. They want to see the Soviet Union given the full measure of real assistance that will save it from destruction and enable it to reclaim and rebuild all that has been lost. They want to see China victorious over Japanese militarism. They want a genuine international "united strategy" that will enable these tasks to be performed and bring about a truly democratic and lasting peace. **BUT WHILE IMPERIALISM SITS IN THE SADDLE THERE CAN BE NO SUCH THING.**

These aims can only become a reality, that is, be transferred from the realm of words to that of deeds, when the workers take effective measures against imperialism. Such measures would necessarily include the granting of immediate freedom to India and the colonies, the nationalisation under workers control of the banks and all heavy industry and armaments industry; the election of officers by the soldiers and the merging of the armed forces into the armed people. Only when such measures have been taken would Britain's war be transformed into one genuinely being fought for national liberation and in defence of the Soviet Union. Only a government of the workers can take such measures. Only a workers' government can lay the basis for a genuine "united strategy" of a global nature. For the only force that cuts across national frontiers and continental barriers is the common interest of the working masses against capitalism.

The true aims of the masses of each nation are in accord with each other. But this accord cannot be made effective until the masses have power in their own hands.

Only two sorts of world unity are now possible. One is the unity of a world dominated by one imperialist power or group of powers. The other is the true revolutionary unity of the workers of all countries. The first is the unity of a world-wide concentration camp, and it will be the inevitable fate of the masses if imperialism is left in power. The second is the only possible foundation on which the fabric of a true peace and a genuine civilisation can be built.

equal for the first time in history the masses had been led by men who understood the laws of history, who truly grasped the direction of events, who really represented the interests and aspirations of the masses. The Russian Revolution was distinguished by the degree of consciousness that went into its preparation, the working out of its perspectives and methods, and its actual fulfilment. To good effect had Lenin and Trotsky as its principal leaders, studied and applied the scientific methods of Marxism. To good effect had a truly Marxist party been built to lead the inevitable movement of the masses.

It was on the road of class independence that Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian masses. Throughout the war their constant fight was against the advocates of class collaboration. They based their intransigent struggle for power, not on any narrow nationalism but on a bold revolutionary internationalism. Out of the slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" they made not a holy ikon but hammered a programme of action.

Against this movement, against its leadership, against its aims, its methods and its slogans were ranked all the forces not only of Russian, but of world, capitalism. And the final weapon of the Russian capitalists was the age-old accusation that the revolutionaries were helping the national enemy.

The British capitalists made the same accusations against the Bolsheviks—that they were German agents. As early as September 28th, 1917, the "Times" said:

"The Bolsheviks are the real counter-revolutionaries, who are doing their best utterly to ruin the country, and are working hand in glove with the enemies of Russia. . . . There is only one remedy against them. . . . The proverbial 'whiff of grape-shot' is the only medicine, and until it is administered in the proper dose the present situation will continue."

But the Russian masses as well as the Bolsheviks treated the slanders and lies as if they did not exist, and marched on to take power.

Then came the attempt of British capitalism, together with its dozen or so allies to administer the "whiff of grape-shot" which they imagined would be enough to send the Bolsheviks scurrying, and enable them to restore capitalism in Russia. Churchill later wrote to Lloyd George, "Since the Armistice my policy would have been, 'Peace with the German people, war on the Bolshevik tyranny'. And war the 14 interventionist powers certainly tried to wage against the Russian Revolution.

But in spite of every effort and in spite of the expenditure by Britain alone of £100 million, the intervention of Britain, America, Japan, France and the others was proved to be hopelessly incapable of overthrowing what was, materially, the poorest government in the world. And again, it was the

LEON TROTSKY—Founder and Leader of the Red Army reviewing a Military Parade in Moscow, 1917.



Stalin Cannot Blot Out History

The following is an extract from a pamphlet entitled "The Socialist Soviet Republic of Russia" by Jacques Sadoul who became the head of the French speaking section of the Russian C.P. This was an official publication of the People's Peoples' Russian Information Bureau, 1918:—

THE RED ARMY

The Soviet Government had hoped to be able to devote itself entirely to the creative work for which all its resources, all its energies, were none too great. Peace had been signed at Brest-Litovsk. Demobilisation, the colossal task which all the experts had declared impossible, had been completed in about six weeks. What need was there of an army?

The counter-revolutionaries of the whole world thought differently. Their manoeuvres have forced Russia to create, hastily and anyhow, a new military organisation. A Herculean task after three years of war, and after a revolution made precisely in opposition to the war! My letters have, from day to day, given the history of the painful and laborious formation of this new army. That history is the history of the will of one man. As Carnot organised the armies of the French Revolution, so Trotsky is the father of the Red Army; and one could not express sufficient admiration for the extraordinary work done during the last nine months in the most varied spheres by this remarkable statesman—worthy colleague of Lenin. Having started with the voluntary system, Trotsky procured the swift acceptance of the great principle of compulsory service for all workers. Leaders were lacking. Trotsky forced the officers of the Tsarist army to give their services to the army of the Social Revolution. Many proved traitors. Trotsky had foreseen it: but he could not dispense at first with the services of these co-devants. He was neither surprised nor discovered by treachery. He was able gradually to eliminate traitors and enlist loyal officers. At the same time he had opened throughout Russia military schools of instruction where the proletariat developed leaders taken from its own ranks. The Prussian discipline which dominated the old Army had finally killed all discipline by reaction. Trotsky has laboured; and now, in the streets of all the towns, at Moscow, you will meet companies of the Red Army which drill indolently. What do the reverses of to-day. (July 1918) matter? This Army is now learning how to conquer, as Peter the Great learned at Poltava; and victories will come.

" CONCESSIONS " TO CHINA

By Harold Atkinson

Great play is being made of the decision of the British and American Governments to relinquish their extra-territorial "rights" in China. The capitalist press here attempts to present this as an altruistic gesture from the "democracies" to their Chinese ally in the "war for freedom". The actual events are different.

In contrast to India which is wholly under the domination of British imperialism, China is a semi-colonial country. That means that the Chinese rule at least a part of their own soil. But not all of it.

For over a century China has been the object of imperialist attack. British imperialism led the way, but she was not without rivals: France, Russia, Germany, Japan and the U.S.A. After world war I the list was narrowed to three: Britain, U.S.A., Japan. In passing it should be noted that the Russian interests in China were voluntarily relinquished by the Bolshevik Government after the 1917 Revolution.

Prior to the present conflict the estimated investments of foreign capitalists and financiers in China was £700 millions. These investments belonged for the most part to Britain, U.S.A. and Japan. Between them these brigands owned all China's railways, most of her shipping, all her greatest factories, her coalfields and many of her iron foundries. They had complete control of all China's customs' receipts, salt tax receipts, telephones, telegraph and radio.

It is over 100 years since the Treaty of Nanking was signed between Britain and China. It marked the conclusion of the "Opium War" which was launched for the purpose of opening up China to foreign trade and exploitation. Five ports were opened to foreign trade by this treaty also from which originated the system of extra-territoriality in these ports. Extra-territorial "rights" means that the invaders have their own laws and administration which must be also observed by the natives in the occupied zone. Well might the "New York Times" admit: "foreigners (Americans included) have now enjoyed for a full century special rights in China which

have been humiliating to that country and destructive of its sovereignty."

To establish this position British imperialism sent troops and warships on six occasions between 1839 and 1927. They bombarded Canton, Amoy, Peking and Nanking. They having thus forced her way in, Britain by diplomacy and finance fought to turn France, Japan, Russia, Germany and the U.S.A. to prevent them from challenging her dominant position. Of the £700 millions invested by foreign capitalists, £230 millions was owned by the British.

Industrially backward and politically heterogeneous, vast, agrarian China was unable to resist these encroachments. But the national unification of China, the national revolution which has been, and still is progressing, despite its many vicissitudes is altering all this.

For over five years, under pressure from the Chinese masses, the bourgeois regime led by Chiang-Kai-Shek has offered military resistance to Japan. This growing realisation of their powers and abilities has brought from the Chinese masses the demand for the ending of Britain's and America's imperialist territorial "concessions"

Japan's Pacific victories, apart from revealing the decadence and impotence of British imperialism, also placed her in a position to conclude agreement with the puppet Quisling regime of Wang Ching-wei abolishing the "unequal treaties". Naturally the Axis propagandists have made much of the contrast between the "generous" terms of the Japanese in the occupied territory and China's allies' refusal to relinquish their imperialist "rights"

The Chinese Government have thus been forced to intensify their demand in Washington for a cessation of Anglo-U.S. extraterritorial "rights". To say the least, moral issues apart, the situation had become somewhat farcical in view of the fact that the International Settlement at Shanghai, the Diplomatic Quarter of Peking and all the Concessions in China are now under Japanese control.

Roosevelt yielded and forced Churchill to follow suit, and China has now been formally recognised as an "equal" partner in the alliance of the United Nations.

Thus it can be seen that despite the ballyhoo in the capitalist press nothing was freely given away by the "democracies" to their "ally". It was forced

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THE WORKERS MUST SUPERVISE AID TO RUSSIA

Continued from page 1

are betraying them. But now they attempt in vain to appeal to these same masses to use "pressure" on these imperialists. The truth is being demonstrated once again: that only revolutionary leadership can effect action of the workers independently of the imperialists; only revolutionary action can bring "pressure" on the ruling class. Such leadership Stalin and his agents cannot and will not give. The story of how the Stalinists have systematically throughout more than a decade, sabotaged the only effective aid of the Soviet Union, the world revolution, throws light on why the Stalinist leadership is now a helpless pawn in the hands of the imperialists.

Thus we observe the fruits of Stalin's foreign policy. In a terrible war against the Soviet Union the German workers are alienated; the British workers are bound hand and foot to their imperialists who are conspiring to build a Greater Empire from the wreckage of Soviet Russia.

Every day shows the futility of the alliance with the ruling class. It is over a year now since Pollitt commenced to call for the Second Front. The volume of noise has been terrific, the effect nil. It is being revealed that the so-called "realistic" slogans "Support the Government" etc., are indeed exceedingly unrealistic so far as the Russian defenders of Stalingrad are concerned.

Obviously the imperialists are reluctant to send aid, and when they do,

they send the cast off and out-dated material. The only guarantee that up-to-date material and sufficient quantities will be sent to the Soviet Union, can be provided by the working class movement which genuinely desires to assist Russia. So great is the mass pressure, in their desire to assist the Soviet workers, that the capitalists would be powerless to prevent such Committees being set up in factories and Trade Unions to supervise material to be sent. These Committees would decide. The capitalists and the government claim that they wish to aid the Soviet Union—they could therefore have no objection to these committees deciding what could or could not be spared to render effective aid. The reply that is made, that only military experts must decide, is to place the fate of the Soviet Union in the hands of the clique of generals who have always been against the Soviet Union and the working class, and who have more in common with Hitlerism than socialism.

These gentry in any case, surely should not object to the workers making an inventory of the material to check on what aid is being sent and what can be sent.

Effective aid can be rendered to the Soviet Union only by an independent working class movement; by a policy of the independence of the Labour movement from the capitalist masters. Labour must end the coalition with the Tories and wage an independent struggle for power on the basis of a socialist programme; aid must be sent to Russia under workers' control.

U.S. Race Discrimination

Continued from page 1

justified by experience" and writes, "On no account should young women make acquaintance and take walks with soldiers of African blood".

In the "Daily Herald" (7.9.42) it was also reported that,

"Coloured American soldiers were refused admittance to an Army dance at Eye, Suffolk, on Saturday. A coloured military policeman was posted at the door to turn his comrades away. Now they are under orders not to

denouncing the malpractices of the Herrenfolk dare not lift even a finger in defence of the elementary rights of the black soldiers from America. None of them so far as we are aware has demanded that the British Government should inform their American ally that these racial practices will not be tolerated.

Our Minister of Information, Mr. Brenden Bracken, recently contributed an article on Colour bar in which he dealt with everything except the colour bar in the American Army. Even this

FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE FORCES

By a Comrade in the R.A.F.

On the introduction of conscription, it will be remembered how politicians and newspapers reflected the workers' demands under the slogan of "democratisation of the armed forces". And for a short time it is true a certain amount of muck-raking went on. Some of the worst cases of officer-caste snobbery and injustice were brought out into the light of day. But this campaign wasn't allowed to carry on for very long. As the developing crisis in British Imperialism mounted, and the inefficiencies of the officer-caste, paid for at such sacrifice by the worker-soldier, became obvious to the whole world, there came a change. An examination of the dominant newspapers over the period of the war, will show how quickly this "democratisation" campaign was damped down until there is to-day barely a whisper.

Marxists have always held that the armed forces of a capitalist state (the police, army etc.) represent a weapon the bosses will never fail to use against the working class. It is in fact the ultimate basis of their power, "the bodies of armed men" of which Engels wrote as being the kernel of state power. It is little wonder, once this is realised, then that the boss class press and their 'liberal' and 'labour' lick-spittles should as the crisis developed, spring to their masters aid and hasten to blanket down the rising tide of resentment felt by the fresh masses of workers entering uniformed life at the class-ridden organisation found there.

But even these abject pen-prostitutes were not all sufficiently wide awake when their bosses sounded the almost panic-stricken retreat. They were soon, however, brought to heel. The threatened suppression of the "Daily Mirror" was occasioned not by dislike by Minister Morrison of one cartoon as was alleged, but because, with its large circulation in the forces, it had been carrying on overlong a typically demagogic campaign against army "high-ups". The removal of columnist Cassandra who had been particularly virulent in his exposures of the stupidity and incompetence of the officer caste, and the subsequent marked toning down of this rag showed how soon and how thoroughly it would cringe at the cracking of its master's whip.

It only remained then for Sir Edward Grigg on behalf of the War

Office, to announce in-parliament that "Anything that suggests that the morale of the army is in any way affected (by poor pay) at the present time is treasonable", to dampen many critics' enthusiasm for better rates of pay, apart from the vital question of "democratisation" and the totalitarian disciplinary system.

On the details of this disciplinary system there exists a conspiracy of silence. Articles on almost every phase of Army life are spewed forth by hack journalists, but on this disciplinary system practically nothing. In nearly every family in the land there is husband, son or daughter who is subject to this discipline. This blackout is certainly not because of lack of interest on the part of the workers.

The omission is no accident. For even to truthfully describe the system and how it works would completely expose the army as a despotic organisation whose whole basis is opposed to all working class and democratic ideas and rights. This whole question of democratic rights becomes vitally important to the worker when he finds himself switched from the environment of the relatively democratic working class movement, into the autocratic caste-ridden atmosphere of the armed forces.

Can the soldier complain if he receives less than justice in the Army? The answer of any soldier would be a loud rude noise. Yet it remains true that by going through the prescribed channels a complaint can be made. So, at any rate, reads the "army bible" King's Regulations. However, in a recent official document circulated to every officer it is pointed out that "Official complaints are rare, as most soldiers dislike making them for a variety of reasons." The following passage from the pamphlet "What's Wrong with the Army" sums up the "variety of reasons", very clearly.

"Man for the extra guard? Ah, Smith, the bloke who made that complaint."

"One short on the picquet? Get Smith. Just going out, is he? Well catch him before he leaves the camp."

"What's this? Smith wants to get off five minutes before time so that he can catch the only available leave train? Sorry, can't be done, Smith. You know the regulations."

"The voice is the voice of the

sergeant-major or of any N.C.O. against whom an official complaint has been made. It's Private Smith every time. Smith is a marked man as long as he remains in the unit."

"No. Soldiers don't complain—at least, not officially."

There is no need to study King's Regulations very closely to find that they are designed to cover every contingency and are wide enough to enable any soldier to be continually trapped and his life made an utter misery.

It is likewise true that for some of what authority considers particularly heinous crimes, the soldier accused has the right to choose how he should be tried. The "right" to choose between accepting trial by an individual officer or by a committee of officers, a court-martial. On this, the equivalent of judge and jury combined, there is not one rank and file soldier. One could imagine the reaction of the working class movement if juries in civilian life consisted only of bosses!

No objection can be raised to discipline as an absolute necessity in warfare. The disciplinary methods of the British Army, however, are not aimed to strengthen and hold together military efficiency on the battlefield, but primarily to laud and bolster up the autocratic regime of the officer caste and assist them in suppressing the just grievances and demands of the worker-soldier.

In the same manner as paper reforms in civilian life are only given practical content by the strength of the independently organised working class movement, so also in the last analysis will the soldier-worker only experience any real measure of democracy when he has his own independent organisations only the lines of Grievances Committee or a Forces Trade Union.

No boss class or reformist politician whether he be labelled "Liberal" or "Labour" will ever make any serious attempt to alter the vicious army system of repression, because it represents the core of the army as the instrument of boss-class rule. It must be made an essential part of a working class programme to raise alongside such demands as trade union rates of pay etc., the demand for soldiers' committees to remedy grievances and win a real democracy in the armed forces.

GIVE INDIANS THE VOTE

continued from page 1

numbers, and exhibits every characteristic of a substantial majority.

What sort of minority is it which calls for a wholesale curfew to be imposed in every industrial city of any size? Which compels the streets of Bombay and Delhi to be patrolled by armoured cars? (Aug. 10th). How insignificant a minority it must be, which can be controlled only by the proclamation of a decree forbidding the assembly of more than five persons, how "normal" a situation when the Government must needs proscribe the local organisations of Congress—numerically the biggest Party in the world—seize their funds and confiscate their Press, and decree that all convicted of rioting during strikes shall be flogged (Aug. 11th). Precisely what degree

of "minor" influence is it that requires to be met with the suspension of local authorities and the dropping of tear-gas bombs by the R.A.F.? (Aug. 12th). How would the hypocritical Attlee explain the introduction of an All-India death penalty for anyone cutting telegraph wires? (Aug. 17th.) A "minority", did you say, Attlee? The imposition of collective fines on villages, the prohibition of strikes and the setting up of special Criminal Courts to dispense summary trials and quick sentences—are these the usual methods taken to deal with a handful of malcontents? (Aug. 20th).

Such are a few—a very few—instances of the conditions legalising a virtual reign of terror against the Indian workers and peasants, and by no stretch of the imagination can they be construed as indicating a state of normalcy. The truth is, of course that the whole of India is seething with hostility to the British, that this hostility is assuming an active form. As Louis Fisher, correspondent of the American "Nation" says, "Practically every Englishman I talked to in India, realised that the country has never been so anti-British as it is today. The cause may be manifold. The fact is indisputable." Fisher points out that even if the movement is entirely crushed, "India will be bitter, sullen and resentful and an easy prey to Japan and Germany."

A great storm is piling up in India, a storm which is plainly feared not only by the British exploiters, but with equal detestation by the leaders of the congress. In spite of Churchill's insinuation of a secret plan to capture

Congress leadership, they are entirely without the desire to mobilise Indian masses in a revolutionary struggle for freedom. As always, it is left to the militant workers and peasants to organise the struggle, it will be from them and from none other that the struggle will reach its final and ultimate victory.

The British have been exploiting India for over 150 years, during which they have extracted Himalayas of wealth from the downtrodden population. That same ruling class is the enemy of the British workers. It follows that the Indian masses are our allies and that their struggle is in its every part integrated with our own struggle. For the Indian workers and peasants a Constituent Assembly is the necessary concomitant to their endeavours, for it alone can give a voice to the voiceless millions, it alone can mobilise the colossal might of the Indian giant-in-chains to secure his deserved freedom.

The British Government has set up a National Council for Defence which is composed of representatives of the Indian princes and industrialists who are as much representative of the Indian workers and peasants, of the Indian people, as Quisling is of the Norwegians, Mussert, the Dutch Nazi is of the Dutch, or Doriot of the French people. They are nothing more or less than British quislings completely dependent on the bayonets of the British ruling class. Without the support of the British, they would collapse within 24 hours under the blows of the Indian masses.

Yet the British solemnly claim that this group is far more representative of India than Congress. Perhaps they are right! Let the question be decided by a democratic decision of the Indian masses themselves. The imperialists know the answer they would get as well as we—that is why they reply to the demand for the vote with bayonets, and to the demand for arms with tear gas and bullets.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE INDIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS. IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA.

FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY BASED ON UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE.

FOR THE ARMING OF THE

For an A.B.C. of Trotskyism

READ

THE TESTIMONY OF CANNON

in the U.S. Labour Trial

A Magnificent Case for the Socialist Revolution

of them so far as we are concerned. In the "Daily Herald" (7.9.42) it was also reported that, "Coloured American soldiers . . . were refused admittance to an Army dance at Eye, Suffolk, on Saturday. A coloured military policeman was posted at the door to turn his comrades away. Now they are under orders not to attend any dances there in future."

"It is understood that this action was taken at the instigation of the American military authorities".

These facts, throw a much clearer light upon the real aims and policies of the ruling class than all the columns written by the apologists of American Imperialism.

If the American rulers are really fighting against Hitlerism and its racial doctrines then why do they not give equality to the millions of negroes in their own country. In the Southern States of America today, although slavery is supposed to have been abolished in the Civil War, the Negroes live under conditions which are not much different from that period.

There, racial segregation has been carried to an extent which would put even Streicher or Rosenberg to shame. Taking an example from the American "Militant" we read—

"In Beaumont, Texas, a Negro soldier, Private Charles J. Roco, was ordered off a bus because he took a vacant seat in a section 'reserved for white passengers'. According to the Department of Justice, these are the facts. That after he got out of the bus, a police officer, 'struck him several times with a nightstick and forced him into the back seat of a police car; that during the trip to police headquarters one of the officers shot him once through the shoulder and once through the arm . . . Reports to the Department of Justice indicate that Roco had caused no disturbance on the bus and that he had not resisted the police officers until after he had been struck several times'."

In another issue they report a Negro soldier who

"was attacked and beaten for going into a drug store to get an ice-cream cone last week" reported in the Pittsburgh Courier, "after . . . he had been beaten by the white clerk and other Jim Crow elements standing around, the cops came—and threw him into jail." He was tried next morning in the police court and sentenced to 30 days on the chain gang or a 50 dollar fine."

In these areas even the most elementary right, the right to organise themselves into Trade Unions, is not permitted. But all the talk of the "war for democracy" is now coming home to roost, and is resulting in the development of a movement among the Negroes to really secure democracy and equality for themselves.

The attitude of the British press to this question is indeed a revealing one. These papers which are always loudly

demand that the British Government should inform their American ally that these racial practices will not be tolerated.

Our Minister of Information, Mr. Brenden Bracken, recently contributed an article on Colour bar in which he dealt with everything except the colour bar in the American Army. Even this timid and harmless article was not allowed to be published in America. It might "seem to be a piece of gratuitous advice" to one of our allies as to how it should deal with its own subjects, explained Mr. Bracken.

The censorship is nicely adjusted to suit the interests of the ruling classes of both countries. The British press is wonderfully silent on the indignation that has been aroused among the American workers by the terrorism in India. And no less silent is the American press on the disgust felt by the British workers over the colour bar in the U.S. Army. It seems that our Government has agreed not to offer "gratuitous advice" on the colour bar to its allies on condition that the Americans similarly do not offer "gratuitous advice" on the Indian question. Asked by Mr. Driberg in the House of Commons if he would inform the Americans that there is no colour bar here, Mr. Churchill replied that the question was unfortunate and he hoped the point of view of all concerned would be respected.

The colour bar is not just a question of social prejudice which can be got rid of by our appeal to "humanitarianism" or "enlightened" thought. It is the inevitable product of the capitalist civilisation which always seeks to divide the working class and weaken its strength. That the white section of the American working class is beginning to realise this is seen in the rules of the C.I.O. which admits Negro workers on terms of equality with their white comrades. Only by this method, by the unity between the workers of all colours and creeds against the race-brothers of finance-capitalists can real equality between races be achieved.

THE TESTIMONY OF CANNON

in the U.S. Labour Trial

A Magnificent Case for the Socialist Revolution

CHINA "Concessions"

Continued from page 3

from them by the Chinese bourgeois Government propelled by the irresistible mass pressure of the Chinese toilers. Let those who doubt it mark this statement from the Chungking correspondent of the "Times": "Neither the *taipan* (British 'big shot') nor anyone else supposed for a moment that China, after resisting the common foe for five long years, could be expected to forgo any longer the full exercise of sovereign rights in her own territory".

This represents a victory for China against imperialism. And it is an important counter to those socialists who claim that China's struggle for national independence has been subverted in the interests of her imperialist allies.

Our attitude on this is laid down in the "Transitional Programme of the Fourth International": "Some of the colonial or semi-colonial countries will undoubtedly attempt to utilise the war in order to cast off the yoke of slavery. Their war will be not imperialist but liberating".

That is what China is doing even under bourgeois leadership under mass pressure, "utilising the war to cast off the yoke of slavery". We continue to give our support to China's war of national liberation and work for the day when that struggle will be led, by the Chinese proletariat, along the path trod by the Russian toilers in 1917.

Belfast Workers Fight for T.U. Rights

continued from page 1

special precautions are taken to keep out Press representatives because of unfair comment. Nevertheless, the boss class press has been compelled to pull in its horns somewhat, as they fear the mood of the Typographical workers. During the first day or two, numerous stooge letters were published. Then the "Telegraph" suddenly announced that it was withholding "Letters from readers" in order not to embarrass the work of the Court of Inquiry. Midgley the Bevin of Belfast, haughtily protested that he had been grossly distorted by the "Telegraph" which reported him as stating that irresponsible elements who had played no part in building the Trade Unions, were in control of the strike. Knowing Midgley, and likewise knowing the "Telegraph," your reporter leaves it to the "Socialist Appeal" readers to draw deductions either way.

The Joint Strike Committee formulated a Five Point Platform of demands. The first three conditions laid down for a resumption of work are unassailable—(1) The full reinstatement of the dismissed shop stewards of Factory No. 1; (2) The immediate dismissal of the non Union man as demanded by the electricians of Factory No. 2; (3) Cancellation of all fines. The fourth and fifth points, however, must be criticised because they demand class collaboration to increase production instead of posing the question of Workers Control as the only means of increasing production in the interests of the workers; and because a call is made for the settlement of disputes by machinery consisting of an equal representation of workers and employers presided over by an impartial arbiter. In this respect it must be pointed out that to place the fate of the workers in the hands of such machinery, where the employers will have the permanent majority in the person of the "impartial" arbiter, would bring only defeat for the workers. The employers would under no conditions sit upon such a committee unless they had complete control of it.

Yet with these modest and moderate demands, the employers are not prepared to concede an inch. Think of it! These reactionaries who are clamouring for more sacrifices from the workers and denouncing the strike as "unpatriotic," are not even pre-

pared to concede the "normal" procedure which the capitalists are as a rule only too glad to use against the workers—the Production Committees and arbitration machinery. They want to beat the workers into complete submission to their autocratic and high-handed rule. While accomplishing this, the "war effort" for their part can go to the devil. For them, the fight against their "main enemy," the working class at home is more important.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

At a meeting of several thousand of the strikers the Five Point Platform was endorsed with only two or three dissenting votes. A typographical worker, belonging to the Communist Party read out an amendment to the preamble of the official resolution. This C.P. amendment resolved that the strikers immediately return to work and then open negotiations for the restitution of their violated rights. This Stalinist spokesman, who was accorded a completely democratic hearing, then expressed the view that the strike was doomed to disaster as it had not the official sanction of the A.E.U.

This amendment was treated with the contempt it merited, receiving the ludicrously small vote of one from the body of the hall and three from the gallery. This, it is worth emphasising, was at a meeting of thousands. The small number of workers who had voted against immediate action at the outset, loyally considered that now the momentous struggle was under way, it was their bounden duty to see it through to final victory and that retreat now would be disastrous for trade union organisation. The Stalinist proposition that only when the wheels of industry were revolving again (churning out the bosses' profits) could an outcome favourable to the workers be achieved was a puzzle that only the C.P.ers themselves could understand. It was clear to the average striker that to go back to work on the bosses' terms would have catastrophic consequences for the whole of the North of Ireland working class, especially in view of the fact that the Employers' Federation (the Bosses' Trade Union) has endorsed the stand of the management of Factory No. 1.

At the end of the first week of the great strike, the Stalinists called a

public meeting to convince the workers that they were placing a trivial issue before the needs of the war, and especially the needs of Stalingrad. The Strike Committee attended this meeting en bloc and the Communist Party speakers were given a thoroughly hostile reception. The militant shop stewards contended that the Hitlers at home must be smashed before the German Hitler can be effectively tackled and that only an iron working class control over the bosses can ensure aid to the Soviet Union.

The greatest feature of this strike has been the truly magnificent militancy of leading Communist Party shop stewards who, in defiance of the party line, have stood in the vanguard of the struggle. Surely this is a precious earnest of the future. In this connection the role of Brother Telford (A.E.U.) must be specially mentioned. It is hard to separate his speeches from those of Brother McVicker (E.T.U.) as the tenor of both has been the same . . . That the workers and not the management must have the controlling voice in industry, that the boss class Hitlers must be smashed, that the capitalist Government must go. The militant shop stewards have not as yet succeeded in finding the alternative programme to counterpose to the betrayal of the Stalinist and Labour leaders. Yet on the basis of their class consciousness and experience, they are instinctively adopting the essentials of the "Socialist Appeal" transitional programme—an end to the class true and workers' control of industry.

A Court of Enquiry has been set up on the basis of an Act of 1919. As I write this despatch, 21st October, the verdict has not yet been published. I hope to send the "Socialist Appeal" a postscript on this matter if the decision is published in time. Towards the end of the Court of Enquiry proceedings the employers concerned made a widely publicised "peace offer." They allowed it to be stated that they were prepared to take back the two dismissed shop stewards as fitters, but not in the capacity of shop stewards, pending the decision of the court and reserving the right to dismiss them if the verdict is in their (the bosses') favour!

IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA.
FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY BASED ON UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE.
FOR THE ARMING OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE UNDER THEIR OWN LEADERSHIP.

The Strike Committee has set up Contact Committee. Militant workers have once again been to the forefront in this and have been urging a general walk-out throughout the city. The fate of the strike quite probably hangs on this. The next few days will be almost certainly decisive.

Belfast, 22nd Oct.
This morning a great meeting of strikers endorsed by a huge majority vote the Strike Committee's resolution rejecting the employers' offer. The resolution was moved by Bro. McVicker, E.T.U., who incidentally revealed that a resolution, alleged by the boss Press to have been passed by 1,200 dockers (not on strike) belonging to the Amalgamated & General Workers' Union, was in actual fact a branch resolution carried during an attendance of not more than a dozen members. A message from the A.E.U. was read out instructing the strikers to terminate the stoppage immediately.

A splendid morale was demonstrated by the resounding response to spirited utterances of Bro. McVicker, Bro. McBrinn and a delegate from factory No. 3. This Brother assured the meeting that 90% of the workers of the great No. 3 factory were eager to show their support.

A girl striker (E.T.U.) speaking from the floor, called for great public rallies to place the full facts of the strike before the whole Belfast working class. I heard another girl striker express the view that any speaker advocating capitulation on the bosses' terms should be run out of the hall. Nevertheless a minority of shop stewards who in a roundabout fashion seemed to be in favour of an organised return were listened to with little interruption, although their view received scant sympathy when it came to the vote. Bro. Telford, A.E.U., belied his earlier militant speeches when he said that "we are in the position of men trying to fight an 80-ton tank with rifles. This revealed a serious relapse towards the Party line. Anyhow, although he did not explicitly state a position, I am entitled to infer that Bro. Telford considered a return to work expedient.

After the mass vote had been taken Bro. Carlin, A.E.U., the deputy Chairman, revealed that the resolution had been approved by the shop stewards at their private meeting by 75 votes to 9.

Editor's Note: Harry Pollitt is in Belfast, ostensibly to attend the Irish C.P. Conference.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

The Meeting on the Russian Revolution

will be held at

THE ESSEX HALL
ESSEX STREET, STRAND

at 6.30 p.m.

on Saturday, 7th Nov.
AND NOT AS ADVERTISED

at the Holborn Hall on Sunday 8th