

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Workers of the World Unite.

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## PRO-FASCIST GIRAUD TAKES OVER

By BILL CHALK

THE ECHOES OF THE SHOTS WHICH ENDED THE LIFE OF ADMIRAL DARLAN HAD REVERBERATED IN THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTH AFRICA. THE DEAD HIGH COMMISSIONER'S CHAIR HAD HARDLY GROWN COLD WHEN IT WAS FILLED BY A NEW PUPPET — GENERAL GIRAUD.

Darlan is dead, but Darlanism is still very much alive! The actors change but the farce goes on undisturbed and unimpeded by the death of the villainous "hero"; for the stage managers are beyond the range of pistol shots fired in North Africa—they are in Washington and London.

### WHO IS GIRAUD?

General Giraud—"hero of two worlds," "anti-German to the core," the great General whose mission it is to liberate France—who is he? In what way does the assumption of Darlan's role change the character of the regime in North Africa and how does it affect the workers of North Africa and France?

In North Africa Giraud possesses a professional army which is composed of Senegaleses and Zouaves. This army is officered almost exclusively by members of the Fascist Youth Movement of France. While this army no doubt be used against the German army in the field at a later stage,

are still behind prison bars. At a later stage the "safest" of these will be released and this will be applauded as the evidence of the regime turning towards democracy.

The very method by which Giraud was "elected" leader is a reflection of the future visage of the regime which is being sponsored by the "Democracies". He was appointed without the semblance of election, but by a Council—itsself a bunch of anti-semites and pro-fascists—who were hand-picked by Darlan. Giraud continues the traditions of Darlan.

The assassination of Darlan has caused a little flutter in the higher places of the Allied Quisling setup, and the speedy judicial murder of the terrorist, is obviously meant as a deterrent against anyone having similar ideas about Giraud and others.

denounces the assassination as "murder in the first degree" and describes it as a "cowardly act"; Cordell Hull echoes the voice of the master.

ism—to kill another was the act of a "coward".

The foul odour of slimy diplomatic intrigue emanates from the whole affair. The faction struggles behind the scenes, the jockeying for place as leading Quisling to one or other "ally" has nothing in common with the methods of democracy or the working class. Today Giraud bears the mantle of "democracy" with "allied protection"; tomorrow it might well be the Finnish pacifist Passikivi or the pro-Fascist Riti; the Italian Grandi, or Badoglio or some others, and so with the Balkan countries as well as Spain. Laval, De Gaulle, or Giraud, Quisling or King Haakon, the Gaultiers of "European unity" or "Free Europe"—all are but pawns in the hands of the capitalist class and Washington; pawns in the imperialist struggle for world domination which these monopoly imperialists desire.

The workers of Europe and of Eng-

## BITTER PIT STRIKE 30 BOB WAGE SLASH 1,500 Cortonwood Miners Out Over a Month

By JOCK HASTON

A WALL OF SILENCE HAS BEEN ERECTED BY THE YELLOW PRESS AROUND A STRIKE WHICH IS TAKING PLACE AT CORTONWOOD COLLIERY, WOMBWELL, YORKSHIRE. THIS VOLUNTARY CENSORSHIP BY THE CAPITALIST PRESS AS WELL AS THAT OF THE LABOUR AND "COMMUNIST" PARTY, IS IMPOSED TO COVER UP THE MOST VICIOUS WAGE ATTACK TO BE MADE AGAINST A SECTION OF THE WORKING CLASS FOR MANY YEARS. THE PEOPLE WHO CONTROL THESE PAPERS ARE WELL AWARE THAT IF THE TRUE FACTS OF THIS DISPUTE WERE PUBLICISED, THE WORKERS EVERYWHERE WOULD IMMEDIATELY DENOUNCE THE COALOWNERS AND EXPRESS THEIR SYMPATHY WITH THE CORTONWOOD COLLIERIES IN THEIR STRUGGLE.

In the December issue of the "Socialist Appeal," miner correspondents from another pit in the same village issued a warning through our columns, that the mood of the workers at Cortonwood was bitter and that there would be an immediate down tools if the cut was imposed. The correctness of their estimation is demonstrated by the bitterness of the struggle which meant very lean Christmas dinners for the families of the striking miners.



1,500 miners have been on strike for several weeks as a reply to a cut in the wages of about 150 fillers on the Silkstone Seam by approximately 30/- per week. The reduction is the result of a slash in the price list for the Silkstone Seam from 1/7 a ton to 1/3 a ton. This unjustifiable wage cut has infuriated all the workers at the Colliery, welding their ranks into a solid body in defence of the standards of the few who have been directly attacked.

Sharp friction has existed at this colliery for more than 18 months owing to the previous attempts by the employers to cut the price list. In November of 1941, Joe Hall, President (referred to in Wombwell as the Mussolini of Barnsley), along with Tom Oakey, another official of the Yorkshire Miners Association, signed a new price list with the management without consulting the workers who would be thus affected, and indeed in direct contradiction to their expressed desires with which the officials were familiar. By this act, Hall and Oakey demonstrated that they were not guided by the wishes of the miners who employ them, but on the contrary, they undertook to dictate terms to the miners. This they were enabled to do as the result of their control of the Yorkshire Miners Association.

When the management attempted to put the new price list into operation in May 1942, the pit struck work, the workers returning to work only when the new price list was suspended and negotiations reopened through the intervention of the then Ministry of Mines, headed by Deakin.

the employers and Government that they would not stand for a reduction and would strike if necessary in defence of their existing standards.

### OUTPUT UP 50% — WAGES CUT 30/- WEEK

The price list at this Colliery has been in force for several years—"peace" years, but the employers must slash the price list in the middle of the war when they are fully aware that this would upset the "normal" trend at the pit and provoke a strike in defence of the already meagre conditions of the miners. By this action the coalowners demonstrate clearly the motive of capitalist control of the mines as maximum profit and not at all maximum production.

The workers at this seam have increased their output of coal from 4.41 tons per shift in 1938 to 6.61 tons in 1941. Instead of welcoming this increase of tonnage and consequent increase in wages, the coalowners set out to break the price list down so that the wages of the colliers would remain static in spite of the 50 per cent increased output. All the capitalist propaganda for "increased output" is seen to be lies and fakery—all the owners are interested in is profits, and more profits.

This was clearly exposed at the Court of Arbitration when Mr. Chorlton, the colliery manager stated that when he came to Cortonwood he "took over a legacy of trouble with £1 shares down to 5/-". Obviously under pri-

### ACTS AS BOSSES' STOOGES

The Arbitration Board, which met on November 20th to finally decide on the price list, was a farce from begin-

could only be remedied at the expense of the miners. Hence the attack upon their conditions and the cut in the price list. But it was further underscored by Hall's statement that when

inevitably be used in the same  
General Franco used the Moors  
ain—against democracy and  
the working class.  
then is the man who the  
now "honour" for his "clean  
, and as the man who will  
the Free French or Fighting  
Darlan was an embarrassing  
but Giraud who has not been  
y compromised to the same de-  
s less well-known figure with  
to bluff the masses. But far  
ne regime in North Africa as-  
a more democratic colouration,  
ation remains unchanged. The  
wish laws of Vichy still remain,  
i-fascist prisoners and internees

about Giraud and others. Roosevelt  
denounces the assassination as "murder  
in the first degree" and describes it as  
a "cowardly act"; Cordell Hull echoes  
the voice of the master.

The hypocrisy of these people is  
astounding. Were they not respon-  
sible for advocating and applauding  
similar acts against other Quislings and  
traitors on the continent? Who  
applauded the terrorist attack  
against Darlan's pal Laval more  
than the Rocsevelts and the  
Churchills; who was more de-  
lighted when Heydrich was  
killed by a similar act? To kill  
one filthy monster was an act of hero-

and Washington; pawns in  
tic struggle for world dom-  
which these monopoly imperialists de-  
sire.

The workers of Europe and of Eng-  
land have no common ground with  
the Quislings or their masters. In  
Europe, England and America as well  
as among the exploited masses in the  
colonial world, the workers have the  
task of breaking through their chains;  
of overthrowing the iron rivetted  
tyranny of their oppressors. Until  
they do so the war will continue and  
the world will be drenched in the  
blood of millions of workers for gener-  
ations to come.



**Beveridge for Strength**

With apologies to a better Brew

# BEVERIDGE — AN EMPTY PROMISE

## "Time for Revolution, Not Patching"!

# Railwaymen Demand a Living Wage

By SID BIDWELL (N.U.R.)

shameful wage award which  
made by the National Railway  
Tribunal has infuriated the over-  
ing majority of railway workers.  
months of patient negotiations  
th all stages of the cumbersome  
tion machinery, the workers  
granted less than half their wage  
e claimed. Meanwhile their  
al claim has been outdated by the  
cost of living.

among the 64,000 members of  
S.L.E.&F. however, that the dis-  
tion is expressed in its sharpest  
These men, drivers and firemen  
l as their juniors had accepted a  
onus increase as the result of  
negotiations last summer. They  
plied for an increase in their  
wage rate as well as a bonus.

tribunal award, which granted  
an extra 1/- (!), making their  
increase up to 5/- and thus in-  
s the wages of the footplate men  
pence a day and junior cleaners  
penny a day is considered by this  
n of the workers to be a gross  
amounting to provocation.

deep is the feeling of bitterness  
espite the conciliatory policy and  
le adopted by the leading officials  
e A.S.L.E.&F., they were forced  
ue a statement to the company  
overnment pointing out that un-  
ne negotiations were again opened  
nd some concession made to their  
bers there might be a strike and  
could not guarantee to hold them  
eck.

at the officials were in no way  
sible for this feeling of militancy  
did not propose to give it a lead,  
icated by the interview given by

Mr. W. P. Allen, the Secretary of the  
A.S.L.E.&F. to the "Daily Worker" of  
Dec. 30, where he is reported to have  
said, with regard to strike resolution  
which it was expected would be pre-  
sented to a delegates' meeting held in  
London, "that is must not be under-  
stood that he or his colleagues will  
support the resolution."

The feeling among the drivers and  
firemen is reflected in all other grades  
of railway workers. They know that  
the railway companies are piling up  
huge and ever increasing profits as the  
result of increased traffic and speed up  
of their labour. Any movement from  
the footplate men would be supported  
and reflected in the N.U.R. and R.C.A.

It is this fear of action that prompt-  
ed Mr. Marchbank, general secretary  
of the N.U.R. to characterise all talk  
of militant activity as "pure irrespon-  
sibility". In an interview with the  
"Daily Telegraph" of Dec. 30, he is  
reported to have said that: "there  
could be no argument about an award  
which all parties had agreed to ac-  
cept."

"I cannot see any reason to placate  
one section of realwaymen" he con-  
tinued, "when it would cause resent-  
ment to many thousands of others."

"I believe that joint consultations  
between the unions would find a satis-  
factory solution to this business. It is  
up to the society to make the first move  
because the N.U.R. has accepted the  
position as it stands."

Having accepted the miserable pit-  
tance on "behalf" of the 400,000  
members of the N.U.R., but knowing  
the deep resentment felt by the rank  
and file of his own union, Mr. March-

bank fears a lead from any quarter  
which might lead to an explosion  
among the railwaymen. He knows  
that if the A.S.L.E.&F. took action,  
they would be supported by the maj-  
ority of members of the N.U.R.

Many branches of both unions are  
in favour of strike action to secure an  
adequate increase. These workers, the  
key workers in the national transport  
system are working under impossible  
conditions. Having given up many  
rights won as the result of bitter strug-  
gles, they see the railway company re-  
fusing to give the slightest concession.

They do not wish to take strike  
action and have done all they could  
to avoid it, but the attitude of the rail-  
way companies has forced them into  
a position where the withdrawal of  
their labour appears to be the only  
alternative left to gain a minimum  
wage concession.

Whatever action the railworkers  
take, knowing the conditions under  
which they labour, workers every-  
where will extend solidarity to the  
railworkers in the fight for a decent  
wage.

★ *The workers pennies keep our paper going*

**Send the "Socialist Appeal"**

**A New Year's Gift**

To : M. LEE, Business Manager, 61 Northdown St., London N.1.

"A REVOLUTIONARY MOVE-  
MENT IN THE WORLD'S HIS-  
TORY IS A TIME-FOR REVOLU-  
TIONS, NOT FOR PATCHING."  
Around this statement, with which the  
working class will wholeheartedly  
agree, Sir William Beveridge intro-  
duces his Report on Social Insurance  
and Allied services. But the roar of  
the Lion becomes the bleat of the  
Lamb! Despite this bold "revolution-  
ary" but demagogic introduction he  
proceeds to dish up a fraudulent  
patched-up plan which is completely  
utopian under modern British capital-  
ism, but which, even if it were possible  
to operate, offers nothing but a meagre  
and paltry existence to the working  
people.

The Report proposes to deal with  
the "five giants on the road to recon-  
struction." The giants are named  
*Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor,*  
and *Idleness*. Sir William forgets that  
these Five "Giants" are merely a few  
of the many offsprings of the society  
under which we live. He closes his  
eyes to the Father Giant: *Private*  
*Ownership and production for profit.*  
In doing so he fails completely to get  
down to the root of Social Security and  
Reconstruction.

The successful operation of the plan,  
even according to Beveridge himself, is  
dependent upon the following con-  
ditions:

1. International Co-operation between capitalist states.
2. Expanding prosperity, i.e. on the question of exports.
3. Full utilisation of the industrial resources of the nation.

4. Full productive employment.
5. The abolition of the class struggle.

### "PEACEFUL CO-OPERATION" A PHANTOM

The operation of these points pre-  
supposes that private ownership of the  
means of production can function in the  
interests of the many and not the  
few, that it can produce for needs and  
not for profits. We need only look at  
the situation leading up to and during  
the present war to see what measure of  
peaceful co-operation is possible be-  
tween imperialist nations after the war,  
when the contradictions will have been  
immeasurably sharpened. The period  
immediately prior to 1939 saw an in-  
tensive struggle being waged by all the  
large industrial countries for spheres  
of influence and control of markets.  
The U.S.A. has used the war as an  
opportunity to drive her main rival,  
Britain, from one stronghold after an-  
other in the South American markets,  
and has extended her tentacles to the  
"holy precincts" of the British empire  
itself. In reply to Mr. Wendel Will-  
kie, who wants full freedom for Amer-  
ican imperialism in the markets of  
the British Empire, Mr. Churchill  
made a statement at the Mansion  
House recently that he had not taken  
office as first Minister of the Crown  
to see the liquidation of the British  
Empire.

Apparently the two great "demo-  
cracies" are not sure of their ability to  
co-operate between themselves, let

### ACTS AS BOSSES' STOUGE

The Arbitration Board, which met  
on November 20th to finally decide on  
the price list, was a farce from begin-  
ning to end. The employers were re-  
presented by their most conscious  
agent, Mr. Furness, who ruthlessly  
and loyally presented the coalowners'  
case; the workers were represented by  
Mr. J. Hall, who did not, indeed  
could not honestly or loyally put the  
case for the miners, since he had al-  
ready agreed to the owners' terms in  
advance. Under these circumstances  
he could only act as a stooge for Fur-  
ness. With the workers' "representa-  
tive" already in agreement with the  
bosses, the decisions of this Board  
were a foregone conclusion. The  
miners at Cortonwood knew that this  
would be so in advance, and warned

could only be remedied at the expense  
of the miners. Hence the attack upon  
their conditions and the cut in the  
price list. But it was further under-  
scored by Hall's statement that when  
he was originally called to the pit it  
was because the owners had given  
notice to the men that this productive  
seam was to be closed!

Instead of using this threat to indict  
the colliery management for deliberate  
sabotage of coal production, Hall used  
it to justify the cut in the price list!

The main claim of the Colliery  
owners was that the working of the  
seam showed a heavy loss over a  
lengthy period. But never have they  
invited representatives of the miners  
at the pit to inspect their books and  
test the truth of this assertion. What  
may be considered "uneconomical" by

Continued on page two

BY LESLIE KING

alone co-operate with other nations.  
In the recent debate on air policy in  
the House of Commons, Mr. Perkins  
(Conservative) expressed his fear that  
"Britain... had practically no mach-  
ines with which to compete in the race  
with America for control of the world's  
air lines, which would come with  
peace." (Daily Telegraph, 18.12.42).

While they attempt to fool the  
people by smooth phrases about their  
peaceful, co-operative intentions after  
the war, the capitalists have no illu-  
sions among themselves and are al-  
ready girding their loins for the inten-  
sification of the economic struggle with  
their imperialist rivals. In a world  
dominated by an economic system

whose driving force is the profit mo-  
tive, a constant struggle for spheres of  
influence, sources of raw materials and  
markets, is inevitable and there can  
be NO "peaceful co-operation". Under  
capitalism "peace" is an interlude, a  
truce between wars, which get "bigger  
and better" successively, and which  
are a continuation by military means  
of the constant economic struggle that  
is inherent in the system.

In view of these irrefutable facts,  
we can only come to the conclusion  
that the fairy tale of Sir William and  
the Five Giants is no more related to  
reality than any of the previous utop-  
ias of the capitalists.

But even assuming that the Plan is  
workable as a temporary expedient  
"after the war", what does it propose  
to grant the workers?

### WORKERS WILL PAY

The whole plan has been worked  
out on the basis of a redistribution of  
the income of the working class. Sir  
William went to considerable lengths  
in his report to demonstrate how  
"Want could have been abolished be-  
fore the present war by a redistribution  
of the income within the wage earning  
classes, WITHOUT TOUCHING A  
PENNY OF THE WEALTHIER  
CLASSES" (Our emphasis). The fact  
that he does not state it will cost the  
wealthier classes a penny after the war,  
presupposes that the workers would  
have to shoulder the whole of the  
burden. And this of course, is exactly  
what is being proposed. According to  
the report, "The first view is benefit in  
(continued on back page)

**HE SAID IT!**

"If we have mass unemploy-  
ment we may not be able to carry  
out the proposals in my report.  
We may give people the money,  
but there will not be the goods  
for them, and so there will be  
want. I do not know how we  
shall continue productive em-  
ployment after the war. When  
people say we cannot abolish un-  
employment, however, I say we  
have abolished it twice in my  
lifetime—during the last war and  
during this war. I simply will  
not believe it is impossible to  
abolish mass unemployment but  
I do not know how it is to be  
done, and I do not know whether  
anybody else knows."  
Sir William Beveridge,  
"Times" Dec. 7th, 1942.

# What the 'Socialist Appeal' Stands for

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 shopkeepers.
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.

# BUILDING WORKERS MUST CLOSE RANKS

FROM A SITE OFFICER ATTACHED TO THE N.F.B.T.O. (National Federation of Building Trades Operatives)

Building workers have never had ideal conditions of employment, but since the outbreak of war those conditions have degenerated at an alarming rate. A cool calm and collected view of the onslaught of the employing class upon our working conditions compels the inevitable conclusion that the employers aggression must involve us sooner or later in revolutionary tur-

amended the previous Agreement in the employers' favour to be followed by the youth and women agreements. Travelling and lodging allowances, the acceptance of the bonus system, designation of craftsmen to do labourers work without consultation with the rank and file of the unions are examples of trickery which militants should specially note. Unable themselves to

# Open Letter to the Yorkshire Miners



appearing in the 'Socialist Appeal'.

Comrades,  
On Wednesday, 23rd December, the Council of the Y.M.A. carried a resolution which stated:—

**"That this council meeting authorises the officials to take legal advice as to what action, if any, can be taken in regard to the articles which are continually ap-**

This resolution is aimed to silence our criticism of Hall and the present leadership at Barnsley and its policy. It carries the campaign to suppress the "Socialist Appeal" initiated by Hall last July a step further. It is a police substitute for an open discussion before the miners of Wombwell and Yorkshire.

The "Socialist Appeal" has had some hard things to say about Joe Hall. So also do we say hard things about any working class "leader" whose policy is against the interests of the workers. These are mild, let it be said, in comparison with statements made to the "Socialist Appeal" by hundreds of miners about their "leaders."

Although Hall has had every opportunity to reply to a public challenge which was issued on July 18th, 1942, he has not availed himself of the opportunity and attempted to refute our charges.

His latest move is an act of desperation. Meanwhile the so-called Communist Party members and sympathisers in the Yorks area are peddling the story that the Trotskyists and their paper, the "Socialist Appeal" are responsible for the present strike at Cortonwood. Every miner who is familiar with the events leading up to the strike will immediately recognise this as a lie, and will brand it as such.

In peddling these lies the "Communists" echo the slanders of Joe Hall whose allegations were completely exposed as lies that they were in Parliament when the Coal owners and Tory representatives attempted to use his allegations to get the "Socialist Appeal" suppressed.

"Why does a political organisation interfere in an industrial dispute?" is the trick question which the fakers ask. Any miner who deludes himself that it is possible to separate industrial from political questions is making a grievous blunder.

When the coal owners say that the present strike "holds up production and helps the Nazis" that is a political statement; the

ere responsible for firing the first shot in the industrial field, attempt to throw the political responsibility for the outcome of the dispute on to the shoulders of the workers. The action of the Government in allowing the courts to be used to intimidate the colliers, is a political action. The action of Hall and his colleagues, of tying the hands of the miners behind their backs, giving them the right to strike, and collaborating with the coalowners and their capitalist government, is a political action. So also is the action of the renegade "Communists" who have deserted the workers and appealed to the miners to accept the lie in the interests of the "war effort."

It is no accident that the coalowners who are Tories in politics embrace Joe Hall who claims to be Labour. Nor is it an accident that Joe Hall who was the most bitter opponent of the Stalinists months ago, now embraces them and endorses the political activities of the Communist Party and Young Communist League, while the Stalinists quote Joe Hall with great favour. For all these people have the same political aim: support the present capitalist coalition and its repressive legislation against the working class. No matter what they may say in private or in the bedroom about "Socialism after the war," their public activities and present day actions is detrimental to the interests of the working class.

The "Socialist Appeal" is the organ of Workers International League, a Trotskyist political organisation which continues the policy of revolutionary socialism. The policy which made the Russian Revolution. We oppose the present capitalist coalition, its repressive legislation against the workers, and all its other actions detrimental to the working class. We do not believe that this capitalist coalition is interested in conducting a war for democracy nor that it is capable of doing so, since it uses repression against the people in the colonies as well as at home. We believe that the only people who are really interested in or capable of conducting a war against fascism and reaction are the working class, and for that reason we say that political power must be in the hands of the workers.

In our view, the only way in which coal production can be thoroughly organised is by the nationalisation of the pits without compensating the present owners, who have sucked the blood of the miners for long enough, and by the operation of the pits under the democratic control of miners and technicians, who are the only people really capable of solving the question of production.

In the present dispute we believe that any honest working class organisation must come out openly in defence of the Cortonwood miners and assist them to the maximum in their present struggle.

These actions are political acts for which we

# Correspondence ON LEEDS TRANSPORT DISPUTE

## FROM SOLDIERS

19.12.1942.

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

We were very glad to read in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal" of the class-conscious stand taken by some soldiers over the threatened transport strike at Leeds. We would like to express, as another group of soldiers, our complete solidarity with the attitude of our fellow soldiers at Leeds, in their leaflet distributed to the workers, in which they expressed their resentment at being used as strike breakers against their fellow workers.

When we soldiers were called up, we were told to defend democracy and fight for a better life for ourselves and our children. Now we find that we are being used to break the democratic rights and conditions of our fellow workers. The capitalists ask us, in the interests of "national unity" to accept sacrifices and renounce the right to strike but in the meanwhile the capitalists, through their control of the Government, are continuing to amass profits and striving to undermine the trade unions and depress the workers' power of resistance. When, in self-defence, the workers are compelled to strike, the army is immediately brought in against them. In this way we soldiers are being used to undermine our own conditions for when we return to industry after the war.

The capitalists and their agents are, by clever propaganda, trying to prejudice the soldiers against their fellow workers in the factories by tales of "high wages" etc., which we are expected to fight and die for three bob a day. But we soldiers are not fooled. We know that the people responsible for our low pay are not our fellow workers, but the Government. We also know that it is up to us to fight for better conditions ourselves.

We would like, through the "Socialist Appeal" to tell the civilian workers that we do not want to be used as cheap labour and strike breakers against our own class. But we are victims of military discipline. To disobey orders is mutiny, punishable by death or penal servitude. There are many class conscious workers and trade unionists in the forces who are doing their best to educate their fellow soldiers in the spirit of class solidarity but they also need the support of the labour movement as a whole.

We say to our fellow workers in civvies—the best way you can help us and yourselves is by pressing in your T.U. branches, Trades Councils and factories, for the following:

1. The right of men and women in the forces to organise in their own committees and union to represent their interests.
2. The right of men and women in the forces to read and distribute working class literature without fear of victimisation.
3. Representation of the forces rank and file on the local Trades Coun-

together in a spirit of comradeship the soldiers and workers will together defeat all attempts of capitalism to ensure the continuance of its profits and privileges by placing the whole burden of the war upon the backs of the working class.

Long live the solidarity of the workers in civvies and the workers in uniform!

For a forces' union!  
Signed, "A Group of Pioneers."

## FROM A LEEDS BUS DRIVER

Leeds, 22.12.42.

Dear Editor,  
A reporter writing under the name of Stanley Paige, Industrial Correspondent, has written an article in the "Leeds Weekly Citizen" the organ of the local Labour Party entitled: "Trotskyists But in on Leeds Transport Dispute." He undoubtedly proves to the Leeds Transport Workers that he has no right to the title of Industrial Correspondent. He shows throughout the article a complete lack of knowledge of industrial problems, the rules of the T.&G.W.U., the local conditions of Leeds Transport Workers and the non-Traffic Section. He has not even troubled to ascertain if the claims that the Soldiers' Letter printed in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal" is authentic or not. One or two enquiries locally would lead him to the original and the circumstances surrounding its receipt by the Strike Committee. A further inquiry would prove to him that in the opinion of Leeds Transport workers, the report appearing in the "Socialist Appeal" is a precise statement of events and has not been exaggerated by one iota. A self styled Industrial Correspondent who is not even aware of the conditions in his own city, in spite of the fact that he should be in contact with his party councillors, and questions the number of members present at the meetings, when by a simple enquiry from the caretakers of the Salem Hall, he would receive the official capacity of the rooms in question, added to the fact that members had to stand at both meetings, a point again easily proved—all this displays a complete disregard of the principle of fair criticism, and demonstrates his prejudice and distorted outlook.

He draws notice to the fact that the resolution of November 26th mentions a Strike Committee before the Branch Secretary, Chairman and Trade Group Secretary had left the meeting, apparently he is not even aware that all strikes are unofficial according to the national policy of the trade union movement, and it should be obvious that provisions had been made in the Resolution for the contingency that did arise. Again, a few inquiries would have proved that this was the actual motion moved at the meeting before the officials quit. It does appear that the Industrial Correspondent requires a far deeper experience of industrial affairs before he is competent for his position, and will have to recognise that a few inquiries will

struction have been let loose on a scale which threatens to destroy mankind. It is not surprising that the building industry whose primary function is to construct, finds itself in its present plight.

The policy of the National Government to restrict social building work as forced men into contracts of a military nature. Workmen are being directed under 58a which has been invoked by the Ministry of Labour to subject the building workers to a most violent and unlimited attack upon their social and economic liberties.

The lack of enthusiasm for the war can be measured by the methods adopted by the ruling class to force men on the sites. The prospect before us promises an even greater intensification of reactionary methods. Men are being driven at a few hours notice from their homes and families, to live on sites where conditions are on the lowest possible level. It is blandly assumed that the building workers can put up with anything. They can endure cold, rain and frost, hunger, fatigue, improper feeding, sleep under wretched conditions, packed in shanties, plough about muddy fields, with neither baths, drying rooms, lights in the shanties or mess rooms. Hygienic arrangements are of the most primitive type. Men are expected to do their hard and intricate work in sodden clothes. The latest edict is that no rubber boots can be provided even if men are working in trenches full of water. It is impossible to describe in words the hardships and privations the building worker is undergoing on these sites. The Welfare and Safety order of January is contemptuously ignored by the employer and so-called factory inspectors, but to date no employer has been prosecuted for refusing to adhere to the above order.

The master class, through its class laws, works increasingly to crush the spirit of the building worker. Summonses for lateness, absenteeism, and failure to obey directions are rife today under the contract. This is the price being paid for co-operation.

Meanwhile, let us examine the economic position. The first agreement to cover this type of contract was the Scheduling Agreement. As this was relatively a good agreement it was soon smashed by the Civil Engineering and building employers with the aid of the Ministry of Labour. This took place without even a protest from the N.F.B.T.O., and was replaced by the infamous Uniformity Agreement which

slash working class standard, the of Britain enlisted trade union leaders, E. Bevin, R. Coppock, Luke Pawcett, George Hicks. Building trade workers know to their cost the meaning of the policy of class collaboration. The N.F.B.T. leadership is keeping its promise to co-operate with a vengeance, even though it means sacrificing standards that have taken a century of struggle to win.

The entry of Russia into the conflict has created a further danger to the hard won standards of the building worker. The Communist Party in this country now support the war, cynically claiming that it is now a just war and that the interests of the building workers must be sacrificed in the interests of the national front. The London Division of the A.U.B.T.W. workers which is controlled by C.P. elements have a united front with the leaders of the N.F.B.T.O. in their eloquent silence, during this period of acute struggle. The cowardice and treachery of these betrayers of the working class principles is manifest on many contracts. But fortunately for the building worker, the rank and file are beginning, albeit slowly to sense realities; are realising that only by their own active struggle, will they determine their future fate.

The apostles of "work harder", "go anywhere", "do anything", "no strikes however much provocation" are losing whatever prestige and respect they once held amongst the building trade workers. The advanced workers in the industry are not allowing themselves to be carried away by the "everyone must sacrifice" propaganda is shown by their attitude on some big contracts in many parts of the country.

The shattering of old craft illusions, the passing away of the old landmarks, the opening of the new era is transforming the consciousness of the building trade. The C.P. and the N.F.B.T.O. leadership are incapable of workers adjusting themselves to the change that is taking place. The workers are beginning to realise that there is no possibility of a real leadership coming from these quarters.

In face of these realities the militant and revolutionary elements inside the industry should endeavour to build a new leadership on the jobs and in the union before it is too late. This is the task of all conscious building trade workers irrespective of craft. Only through class struggle can the building worker go forward to final victory over his exploiters.

# CORTONWOOD MINERS INCREASE PRODUCTION—OWNERS SLASH THEIR WAGES

Continued from page 1.

the bosses, may be considered highly profitable by the workers. A miners' leader who was genuinely concerned with establishing the just claims of the men he represented, would have made this a key issue in any negotiations with which he was associated: **checking the books of the Company in conjunction with elected representatives from the Silkstone Seam.** Failure on Hall's part to demand such investigation at the Court of Arbitration was worth a panzer column to the owners in their attack.

## MINISTER OF FUEL NOT INTERESTED IN THE DISPUTE

During his recent tour of Yorkshire coalfields, Major Lloyd George, Minister of Fuel, visited Cortonwood Colliery in company with a host of other officials. He undoubtedly knew that a dispute existed at the Colliery which would very soon vitally affect production. But although he "had lunch with the miners" and praised them as a "fine body of men" who were doing their best, he did not ask them what they thought of the proposed 30/- wage cut. He did not ask them if they thought that the wage cut would interfere with or hold up production. In this, he demonstrated the impotence as well as on whose side the Ministry of Fuel stands in face of vicious wage cutting by the owners.

## JONES FAILS TO FIND QUISLINGS

A few days after the commencement of the strike, Ernest Jones, one time Secretary of the Y.M.A. who deserted the union for a "better" job with the Government, addressed the miners at the Reform Hall, Wombwell in his capacity as National Service Officer. He proposed that the workers go back to work. Failing to get a response to this appeal, he then suggested that since only a proportion of the miners were directly affected, the rest should go back. This attempt to split the miners was given a hostile reception and one miner put the policy of Jones in a nutshell when he stated: "**Jones is looking for Quislings. There are no Quislings in Cortonwood!**"

## BOSSSES WANT PROFIT NOT PRODUCTION

Expressing the thoughts of the Cortonwood miners, a miner at the colliery wrote to the "Socialist Appeal":

"The miner is in a dilemma. He is told by the Government that he has

to beat the Fascists on the Continent so he goes all out. What happens? He receives more money. Then the bosses get together and say: "These miners are earning too much money. We will cut the price of the contract and keep a bigger margin of profit: We will cut their wages!"

Exactly! The "Socialist Appeal" has consistently pointed out that the management and owners are not concerned with production but with profits. While the miners are forbidden by law to strike to defend their existing standards, the owners are left free to upset production by driving against the miners and slashing their wages. When the Ministry of Fuel was set up to co-ordinate and organise a maximum production and the Miners' Executive accepted the policy of complete collaboration with the owners and responsibility for holding the workers back and emasculating their struggles, it was the "Socialist Appeal" alone of the workers' press, which explained the impotence of the M.O.F., called this act of Lawther, Hall & Co. by its right name: **BETRAYAL.**

The conduct of the management and Government over Cortonwood has de-

## STALINISTS ATTACK CORTONWOOD MINERS

REPRODUCED FROM THE "DAILY WORKER" 29. 12. 42.

A dispute lasting several weeks in the Cortonwood Colliery has prevented the miners in the entire county from being entitled to a bonus under the Greene Award, for their output over the current four weeks.

This was disclosed at a recent meeting of the Yorkshire Miners' Association Council, which by 2,036 votes to 232 recommended the men to return to work.

The Independent Labour Party and the Trotskyists, in complete indifference to the fuel crisis have been engaged in persuading the miners to remain on strike—against an agreement made by their own officials.

The attacks on the officials by a Trotskyist paper have been of such a virulent character that the Council authorised the officials to take legal advice as to whether action could be taken against this sheet.

**IT SPEAKS FOR ITSELF!**

minstrated the correctness of this view. Despite the squeal which was put up by Hall and Lawther and their lying slanderous attack against the "Socialist Appeal" for its plain speaking, events have proven our estimate of their actions to be correct—**THEY ACT AS QUISLINGS IN THE RANKS OF THE MINERS.**

The struggle at Cortonwood is likely to be one of the most bitter in the Yorks coalfields for many years, and the Cortonwood miners need all the assistance they can get from other sections of the working class. In the past the workers could always turn to their union for one measure of solidarity and assistance against the boss. In the present period, however, the workers have arranged against them not only the coalowners and the Government through the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Fuel, but also their own trade union machinery through its bureaucratic officials. Hall and the "leadership" of their trade union at Barnsley declares their strike unconstitutional and refuses to grant them solidarity and strike pay. The miners are therefore isolated through the officials from their own machine and are forced to take "extra" trade union action to gain the solidarity of their fellow workers.

They have decided not to make the same mistake as they did in previous struggles by not publicising their grievances. They have set up a strike committee—the first for many years in the district—and circulated all the branches in the Union in the Yorkshire area, seeking their moral and financial support. They also decided that runners should go out to the pits in the district and seek financial aid as their brother miners come out of the pits on pay day. Yorks miners will assist their fellow workers as they have done in the past.

But these activities of the miners, while they are a big advance on their previous actions during their last strike, are limited and can only be properly carried out if they are part of a thought-out organised campaign to shift the bureaucratic clique who control the union at Barnsley. The widespread hostility to Hall which exists throughout the country, must be organised. Side by side with the demand which has already been made that Hall resign, the miners should demand the re-election of their officials at Barnsley every two years at the most.

**OPEN THE BOOKS AT CORTONWOOD COLLIERY FOR EXAMINATION BY THE MINERS AT THE PIT!**

**FORCE THE RESIGNATION OF HALL AND OAKLEY AND THE RE-ELECTION OF OFFICIALS EVERY TWO YEARS TO THE HIGHEST POSTS IN THE UNION!**

**TRADE UNION SOLIDARITY WITH THE CORTONWOOD MINERS!**

4. Raise forces pay to the level of civilian workers and adequate to keep their families and dependants in comfort without having recourse to charity or hardship grants.
  5. No cheap labour or strike breaking. Where soldiers are employed on civilian jobs they should get the rate for the job.
- We are sure that by standing solidly

ary mistakes. If the correspondent had sincerely desired to report the dispute no doubt he could have had the opportunity of gaining exclusive reports, and can probably still do that, providing he gives an assurance that interviews or reports shall be strictly in line with statements made to him.

Yours fraternally,

S.

## Read an A.B.C. of Trotskyism THE CASE FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The Evidence of J. P. Cannon in the U.S. Trial.

INTERNATIONALLY APPRECIATED

FROM BELFAST COMRADES

"Send as many copies of Cannon's Testimony as you can. We are completely out of them. The last bundle of 6 dozen are sold."

FROM EGYPT

"Cannon's Testimony goes over in a big way. Egyptian nationalists are proposing to translate it into Arabic."

FROM A CANADIAN CAMP IN ENGLAND

"I am glad that another copy of Cannon's Trial I asked for is on the way. I rather wished for another of those booklets—the evidence presented at the trial makes it so easy to spike the lies of the Stalinists, for after all, the attitude of the American bourgeoisie to the American section of the Fourth International is the best refutation of the slander that Trotskyism does not represent a genuine proletarian tendency. Cannon's trial is going like wild fire around the camp—you should hear the arguments it has started . . ."



J. P. CANNON

## Rhodesian Miners Leaders Arrested

The South African Trades and Labour Council which represents 36 trade unions, have protested the continued detention without trial and deportation of two officials of the Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers Union by the Rhodesian authorities.

These officials, Bro. Maybank, Secretary-General of the N.R.M.U. and Bro. Maeyer, Vice-Chairman of the Mufulira Branch of the Union were arrested last October on the pretext of "complicity in subversive activities." This probably means that these officials refused to sell out the mine-workers as their less worthy fellow officials in the mineworkers and other unions in this country are doing, and that they were prepared to support the struggle of the Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers to improve their conditions and wages.

The feeling among the miners in Rhodesia as well as in various parts of the South African Union is rising and there is the possibility of general stoppage of work. This is reflected in the telegraph which the Secretary of the

South African Mineworkers Union has sent to the Australian Mineworkers Union, stating that there is "a serious possibility of industrial upheavals" if the matter is not settled, and asking for their assistance to get a democratic trial.

The Committee of the South African T. & L.C. has cabled to the Secretary of the British Labour Party and to Sir Walter Citrine as representative of the British T.U.C. protesting the arrest and describing the action as "an insidious attack against trade unionism and a misuse of extraordinary powers."

Rhodesia is a paradise for a section of the most degenerate of Britain's capitalists who live there to avoid taxation. A big section of the aristocrats and retired military officers who control the area were closely bound up with the Mosley Fascist movement in Britain. These parasites are loud in the acclaim of the "war against fascism", but they brutally suppress the coloured miners and arrest their white colleagues who are loyal to their interests.

### PUBLIC DEBATE:

Sunday,  
Jan. 17th  
1943  
6 p.m.

Do the Workers  
Need a Party?

Conway  
Hall,  
Red Lion Sq.  
W.C.

LONDON DISTRICT  
WORKERS'  
INTERNATIONAL  
LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

V  
E  
R  
S  
U  
S

LIBERTARIAN  
YOUTH  
(Anarchists)

BRING A FRIEND

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

EDITOR: E. Grant BUSINESS MANAGER: M. Lee  
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## EDITORIAL

# 1943—Our Party and Paper

As a new year begins and as the war pursues its course through the fourth year the "Socialist Appeal" pauses to take stock and to survey the broad scene in which its activities are set.

What is the principal feature of the period through which we have just passed? This: that the British working class, numbering 75 or 80 per cent. of the population, has been deprived of its voice and its weapons. The policies of the leaders of the British Labour Movement have led to precisely the opposite of a strengthening of true democracy. Class collaboration and the political truce have simply meant that the Labour Movement has been bound hand and foot and delivered C.O.D. at the door of the Conservative Club.

The voice that has given orders during the whole of the war has been the voice of finance capital, the voice of a microscopically small minority. The voice of the great majority, the voice of Labour, has been unheard, even in the distorted tones that used to be imported to it as it passed through the lips of the Labour leaders.

This process has been labelled "national unity," and its alleged purpose has been to "defend democracy" and "smash Fascism." During the greater part of the period in which the Labour leaders have participated in this farce the "Socialist Appeal" has bent its main effort to exposing the true nature of this deception to the workers. It has pointed out that "national unity" has meant that only one side makes sacrifices and gives up rights and that side is not the capitalists. Besides this it has shown that the aims for which the sacrifices are wrung out of the workers cannot ever be won while capitalism is in command, whether these aims be the destruction of Fascism, the establishment of a lasting peace, the defence of the Soviet Union, or making the best use of the productive resources of the country.

Not only have we had to expose the policies of the Labour leaders, but have also had to take up in turn the three different war-time policies of the Stalinist leaders and show that not one of them had anything to offer the British (or the Soviet) workers, since they were based solely on the needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy. In some ways this has been the more difficult task, for the Stalinist leaders not only put over their policies in the name of the Russian Revolution but also under the cover of the heroic resistance of the Soviet masses to Hitler's advance.

# How Lenin's Propaganda Won German Masses

By JOHN REED

Written by John Reed, revolutionary journalist, and reproduced from the American Magazine "Liberator" where it originally appeared, in 1919 this article shows how the Bolsheviks used class propaganda and of conducting the war was historically demonstrated by the the German army but also the armies of all the combined imperialists, who, previously warring between themselves, UNITED AS A CLASS in order to smash the Proletarian Revolution.

The Bolshevik propaganda of 1917-21 was INTERNATIONALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY. It was class propaganda aimed at securing the support of the German workers and soldiers against their own exploiters, NATIONALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY. It was class propaganda aimed at securing the support of the German workers and soldiers against their own exploiters, CHAUVINIST, reactionary in its content, and which is limited by the war aims of the bureaucracy and its capitulation to its imperialist "democratic"

Now that Imperial Germany is overthrown, we are told by the capitalist press of all countries that the Allied armies did it.

The pressure of superior Allied arms undoubtedly broke the power of the German offensive in the West, but that is all. Soviet Russia conquered Imperial Germany.

Two months ago our government warned us that the war might last five years longer. At the very height of the German retreat, the Army and Navy Journal and the military experts of the New York Tribune and the London Times pointed out that the German armies were falling back in perfect order, according to well worked out strategic plans. When the Allied armies entered Lille they were not even in contact with the German rear guard. Germany could have defended her frontiers almost indefinitely.

It was not the Allied armies which broke the morale of the Central Powers, but something else, something internal. It is generally admitted that Germany had plenty of men, plenty of arms, and even food. Why couldn't she answer Bulgaria's call for help? And Austria's? Because in Germany itself, in the heart of the greatest military machine in history, was a more powerful enemy than the Allies—the rising of the proletariat.

The German imperial government, the German bourgeoisie, preferred surrender to the bourgeois nations of the West, which respect private property, to the social revolution. Even now, as the Russian bourgeoisie before them, they are appealing to the Allies for help against their own "red" working class.

### EFFECTS OF GALICIAN OFFENSIVE

In July, 1917, after three months of inaction, the Russian armies were ordered to advance in Galicia. During those months there had been almost continuous fraternisation on the Eastern front. The German armies were becoming demoralised—whole regiments refused to fire on the Russian lines, were reorganised, and many soldiers executed. There was alarm throughout Germany. But the Galician offensive broke the spell. Nothing could have been more welcome to the German high command.

In Stockholm, in August, I saw a letter written by Rosa Luxemburg to a friend:

"So, you Russians have broken the peace! The Russian Revolution was everything."

It was because of this man advance on Riga was so effective, although there had been no fighting since April. When the Army evacuated the city, however, soldiers went about under bombardment, posting on all walls and open spaces this proclamation:

**German Soldiers!**  
"The Russian soldiers of the Twelfth Army draw your attention to the fact that you are carrying out a war for autocracy against revolution and justice. The victors will be death to democracy. We withdraw from Riga, but we will ultimately prove ourselves more powerful than the force of our own cannons. We know that in the long run your conscience will overtake you and that the German soldiers, with the Russian Revolutionary Army, will be at present stronger than we are, but yours is only the strength of brute force. The moral force of the proletariat will tell against you, international working class solidarity means. You must understand your own and at the same time the immense power against life and liberty!"

A month later the German fleet at Kiel broke out in rebellion. The sailors assembled, sent greetings to their heroic German comrades who have taken part in the insurrection at Kiel.

The Russian sailors are in complete possession of their battleships. The Sailors' Committees are the high command. The yacht of the former Czar, the Polar Star, is now the headquarters of the Fleet Committee, which is composed of common sailors, one from each ship.

"Since the Revolution, the Russian Fleet is as busy as formerly, but the Russian sailors will not use the fleet to fight their brothers, but everywhere to fight under the Red Flag of the International for the freedom of the proletariat throughout the entire world."

### BOLSHEVIKS APPEAL TO WORKERS

The first act of the Bolshevik uprising in November was to order all company regimental and army committees on the Russian front to begin fraternisation with the Germans and to conclude immediate temporary armistice treaties with the military units opposing them.

On the night of November 8, in the Congress of Soviets, Lenin read the decree of peace, part of which said:

"Addressing this proposal for peace to the governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia addresses itself also in particular to the conscious workmen of the three most advanced nations of humanity and the greatest of the powers participating in the present war—England, France and Germany. The workers of these countries have rendered great service to the cause of progress and socialism; the Chartist

movement in England, the series of revolutions carried out by the French proletariat, and lastly, the heroic struggle against the laws of exception in Germany, and the long, stubborn, disciplinary work of creating proletarian organisations in Germany, which ought to serve as a model for the whole world—all these models of proletarian heroism and historical creation are guarantees that the workers of the above-named countries will understand their duty, which is to deliver humanity from the horrors and results of war. These same workers, by their decisive and energetic action, will help us bring to a successful conclusion the fight for peace and at the same time the liberation of all the working classes from slavery and exploitation . . ."

At the same time a proclamation to the German soldiers was drawn up, printed in millions of copies and not only smuggled across the front but dropped from airplanes inside Germany. It begins:

"To the German Soldiers!  
"Soldiers, Brothers!  
"On October 25 (old style), the workmen and soldiers of St. Petersburg overthrew the imperialistic government of Kerensky and placed the whole power in the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. The new government, under the name of the Council of Russian Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Our programme, to the execution of which the government has immediately proceeded, consists in a proposal of an immediate democratic peace, which has already been communicated to the belligerent nations and their governments, in the transfer without compensation of all the land to the peasants for their use, and in the realisation of workers' control over production and industry.

"We have taken all measures and will in the future leave none untried, in order that all the belligerent governments and peoples shall be informed of the full content of our peace negotiations. In addition to the above-mentioned peace proposal, we consider it our duty to address ourselves particularly to you, as representatives of a nation which is at the head of the coalition engaged in war against Russia on an extensive front.

"Soldiers, Brother! We ask you to stand by socialism with all your might in the struggle for immediate peace, as that is the only means to secure an equitable and permanent peace for the working classes of all countries, and to heal the wounds which the present most criminal of all wars has inflicted on humanity . . ."

This was followed by the "Appeal to the Toiling and Exploited Peoples of

## 700 ALLIED SEAMEN IN U.S. JAIL—

The United States Immigration authorities, with their Storm Trooper minds, have established their own concentration camp on Rikers Island in New York's East River. This camp has been dubbed, by the inmates, "Dachau-on-the-River" and "Devil's Island". The Immigration authorities have thrown into this camp, not German or Italian Fascists, but 700 seamen from the "United Nations" of Norway, Greece, Holland and China. The crime these men committed was to protest against the miserable living conditions aboard their ships.

The existence of this concentration camp has been known along the waterfront for some time, but the conditions within the camp were revealed for the first time in an exclusive story appearing in the N. Y. Post on October 2. The Post revealed that the men live under the most primitive conditions in cold barracks and are denied the most essential health services.

"Each prison building contains four overhead radiators, totally inadequate in winter," wrote the Post reporter. "There are 100 men in each building now, and they sleep on steel cots without mattresses. The bedding consists of two small sheets and four dirty cotton blankets, one of which serves as a mattress.

"The men are subject to strict prison discipline. They are marched to and from the mess hall in formation and while eating must maintain silence. Most of the detainees have lost weight and many complain of weakness because of poor food. They are not allowed to receive mail, food or cigarettes from outside.

"There have been several small demonstrations of protest . . . the leaders of these demonstrations have been put in solitary confinement on bread and water. One man died after pleading vainly for medical attention."

### CHARGES AGAINST THE SEAMEN

Some of these men are held for the crime of losing their seamen's papers, others for overstaying shore leave, others for insubordination aboard ship, others for outright desertion of their jobs which had imposed upon them slave hours and wages and working conditions.

What the Post story did not reveal was the miserable conditions aboard the "United Nations" ships and the fact that this "Dachau-on-the-River" is a deliberate campaign of terror on the part of American authorities in an effort to drive these seamen back to their jobs.

The United States government has pledged to England and to the governments-in-exile located in London, that the comparatively good conditions on American ships will not be allowed to spread to the "United Nations" ships coming into American ports. It has pledged further

## JOHN REED AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

John Reed was so impressed with the truthfulness and vigour of Lenin's introduction to the Russian Revolution that he wrote in the world. Here is a book which I should like to see published in

Instead of carrying out Lenin's wish, the Stalinists suppress every truthful or contemporary history in favour of rehashed bourgeois "historians' "

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# Anti-Soviet Talk Among British Officers

BY A. SCOTT

The Montgomery-Von Thoma and Eisenhower-Darlan incidents are only two of many recent indications of the leanings and sympathies of the British and American officer caste.

In Egypt at least, they have not troubled to hide their attitude to the Soviet Union. Philip Jordan writes in his book, "Russian Glory" about:

"Garrulous army officers, too many of whom have been going about saying that they suppose one day we shall have to clean up Russia as we are cleaning up Germany . . . General Auchinleck has had to put a stop to such immoral chatter among the officers of his staff; but he has done it with that sort of faint-heartedness that leaves matters rather worse than they were before. He quite understands that officers should feel as they do about supplies going to Russia, and appreciates their point of view, but he insists, none the less, that all comments on the subject shall cease. In other words, 'go on being a Blimp, by all means, my dear fellow, but for Christ's sake keep it under your hat for the time being'."

In the same book Jordan points out: "It was not very sensible to invite the White Russian colony in Cairo long known for its rabid anti-Sovietism—to organise a ball in aid of the Russian Red Cross."

The same attitude to the Soviet Union was displayed by "a Cabinet Minister's son who stated openly that 'no stick is too dirty with which to beat a German'."

When Philip Jordan visited General Weygand in Syria before the fall of France he found that:

"The old gentleman was infinitely more concerned with the hope of an attack by the Allies on Russia than he was concerned with the necessity of beating the Germans . . . The first and largest maps that I saw in his headquarters . . . were maps showing how best and most easily British and French troops could move up to the Armenian plateau and attack the oil wells at Baku."

Weygand's subsequent history is known to everybody. He handed France over to Hitler rather than risk the danger of the workers taking power.

The British soldiers are now fighting under an officer caste which has precisely the same class basis, sympathies and fears as Weygand.

Even before Weygand, Churchill himself expressed the opinion that a foreign conqueror was to be preferred to Communism. In his "World Crisis" he wrote in regard to the invasion of the Ukraine by the Germans at the end of the last war:

"... the Ukraine these same Germans came as deliverers and were spontaneously recognised as such, not only by the general population, but by those patriotic elements most

the iron heel of the foreign soldier than unrelenting persecution by a priesthood of blackguards and fanatics."

The pictures of Montgomery shaking the hand of the "Butcher of Guernica" are symbolic of the real attitude toward fascism of these fine gentry who officer the army—sons and brothers of the capitalist class, products of Eton and Harrow. For their war is a game played with the lives of the workers and soldiers. They will fight against their fellow capitalists of Germany for Empires and the right to exploit the colonial masses, but immediately a threat arises from the direction of the workers they are one. And even when this threat is not immediate, they show by their treatment of each other that they are really good friends. Hess, von Thoma, Darlan are only three of many. But the same generals and capitalists who are so kind to their fellow-officers are the loudest in demanding the sternest punishment for the German people.

## FOR WORKER OFFICERS —

The Labour and Trade Union leaders never tire of exhorting the workers to greater efforts in the "war against Fascism." But what sort of struggle against Fascism can be waged under the control of officers and generals who come from the capitalist class, and who have every sympathy with the totalitarian methods of Hitler and Mussolini? An officer caste which uses the same methods as Hitler in the colonies. An officer caste which finds a common language with Fascism in the twinkling of an eye. An officer caste which would turn on the British workers with the greatest of ease if the capitalists required this.

The alternative is officers who are truly anti-Fascist and pro-Soviet. And such officers must come from the ranks of the soldiers and workers themselves. For they have a genuine interest in smashing Fascism whether at home or abroad. Real militants elected from the ranks themselves and trained in special schools set up by the Trade Unions would offer an entirely different leadership from the present officer caste. They would never make deals with Darlan and his like, or show anything but implacable hatred for the Hesses and von Thomas.

WE DEMAND THE RIGHT OF THE RANK AND FILE TO ELECT THEIR OWN OFFICERS.

WE DEMAND THAT THE LABOR AND TRADE UNION LEADERS FIGHT FOR THE SET-

# Industrial Militants Need a Programme

BY GERRY HEALY,

A big struggle lies ahead in the field of industry; this much is certain from the events of 1942. The mounting wave of "unofficial" strikes, headed by the miners, shipbuilders and dockers, has paved the way for resurgence of militant trade union action in the teeth of the united opposition of the bureaucrats, the Government and the Communist Party. And it is only the beginning. The growing dissatisfaction of a large section of trade unionists at the paltry pittance doled out by the Arbitration Tribunals, finding its most advanced expression in the A.S.L.E. & F. deadlock, comes increasingly to the fore as the numerous wage issues unfold.

The Transference of Labour Scheme is now in full swing. During the last eight months it is estimated that 17,000 dockers alone have been transferred. Here again the workers must suffer. In the case of shipyard transference, steelworkers have lost up to £1 and electricians 9/- a week in wages. All this on top of the fact that many of these workers have been torn away from their families and thrust into overcrowded lodgings, hundreds of miles away from home.

The Essential Works Order has become known as the Employers Charter. Under its legislation the workers have lost the right to strike and all disputes which cannot be solved through negotiation are referred to the National Arbitration Tribunal.

In return for losing the right to strike the trade union leaders made great play over the fact that employers were denied the right to sack workers. But out of 773 prosecutions under the E.W.O., only were employers, whilst there were 91 cases of imprisonment. Not one employer was imprisoned, even though such im-

portant firms as B.T.H., and Barr & Strouds refused Government Department permission to enquire into their

Directly or indirectly the whole of their memberships now toil for the war effort, and as such are brought into conflict with the numerous issues which arise. Engineers, miners, shipbuilders, builders, electricians, transport workers, etc., are now linked together by a series of common problems, such as wage demands and E.W.O. persecution. This unification in turn the maximum unity between all rank and file trade unionists. The formulation of a fighting programme catering for the demands of the whole trade union movement, as well as a united strategy for the coming struggle.

## THE ATTACK FROM WITHIN

Whilst the Government embarks on a campaign of industrial regimentation, the trade union leaders actively assisted by the Communist Party "do everything in their power to paralyse rank and file resistance. If it were only a case of a straight fight against the employers, there would be little difficulty in exposing the main enemy, but it is within that constitute the barrier to the militant shop stewards movement to the left of the union bureaucrats. Its close contact with the workers on the job has been responsible for an instinctively militant outlook. By trading a demagogic leftist policy for a considerable amount of influence over its leading militants. Before the war the National Council of Shop Stewards was extended its influence in most of the important war industries, which can be seen from the 1940 mid-summer conference at Birmingham.

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This "about face" change of the Communist Party was a god-send to the bureaucrats. They knew that Stalin's men would be willing candidates for their dirty work. It suits them to take a back seat whilst the Pollitts and the Len Powells rush from the Tyneside to South Wales exhorting strikers to blackleg and scab. The union leaders want if possible to let the Communist Party "hold the baby" whilst they keep well in the background. They also know that the Stalinists who in the past exercised a far greater influence over the shop stewards than themselves, are a far greater strike-breaking force, particularly since they masquerade under the banner of "Defend the Soviet Union."

During the past twelve months the Communist Party have "run wild" in the unions. They openly boast of the campaign against Trotskyism which they have started in the A.E.U. (see "Worlds News & Views" 28 Dec. 1942). By Trotskyists they mean trade unionists who pursue a militant policy. In the T.G.W.U. and the E.T.U. a similar drive is in progress.

It must be acknowledged that the Stalinists are far more thorough in their persecution of trade union militants than the union bosses. They have much more experience in dodging such persecution, since at one time or another they themselves have been victims of similar methods. Consequently they utilise their experience to carry out the most filthy attacks possible against leading Trade Unionists. In the London district, it is well known that they have complete control over the General Purposes Committee of the A.E.U., and behind the scenes they scheme to have the shop stewards credentials withdrawn from all militants who refuse to toe "the Party line." Many cases have come to light where this method has been used in attempts to smash up well-organised departments. The E.C. of the A.E.U. are aware of this and silently consent. Tanner, Smith and Co. are happy to let the Communist Party go ahead as long as they do not menace their jobs. The preservation of democracy inside the trade unions against the attacks of the leadership and the Com-



Gerry Healy

Industrial Organiser Workers' International League.

unist Party is one of the most urgent tasks ahead.

## UNITY GROWS

The drive to victimise and frame-up militants has not gone unnoticed. Every good trade unionist is being hounded in this campaign. Even skilled men who have hitherto held craft prejudices and would perhaps be classified as "right-wingers" are now openly denounced as "Trotskyists" because they oppose the "Shock Brigade" rate-cutting policy of the Communist Party. In fact there is developing right throughout the country an opposition to the Stalinists and the trade union leaders. What is needed at the moment is a movement which can organise this opposition.

This need prompted the Industrial Committee of Workers' International League to approach the Independent Labour Party and the Anarchists for united action on the industrial field.

This action resulted in the London Division of the I.L.P. calling together a meeting of all trade union militants irrespective of political affiliation to discuss the situation brought about by the "Anti-Trotskyite" campaign. The response, considering the short notice, was extremely gratifying. Leading trade unionists and shop stewards from all the important unions enthusiastically responded to the call; the keynote of the discussion was the vital necessity for a defensive front against the C.P. and the trade union leaders in their campaign of victimisation.

The discussion, however, revealed a certain amount of confusion insofar as a method of work and a perspective was concerned. This was not surprising, but by a united effort it will be quickly overcome. Some comrades displayed a negatively hostile approach

# Industrial Programme of Workers' International League

1. Withdrawal of T... Repeal of all anti-working class
2. Democratisation... independent... in relation to the

# PLIGHT OF THE JEWS

ACTION NOT WORDS

BY ROSE CARSON

The Nazi persecution of the Jews seems to have reached a new high level. From the Continent come reports that quote Nazi leaders as saying "Hitler means to literally exterminate the race." Various other sources state that a million Jews have already been massacred.

Knowing the Nazi record of brutality it can be readily accepted that the persecution of the Jews has been savage and terrible in the extreme. But this has been going on more or less consistently for ten years. Yet only now is it being given widespread publicity by the Allied capitalist press.

## EXAGGERATIONS CAN

ONLY HARM JEWS

Remembering the official statements of the British press and various responsible politicians who nonchalantly admitted after the last war that most of the atrocity stories such as, "Throwing babies onto their bayonets for sport, and boiling the dead bodies for fat", was necessary war time propaganda; remembering this, it is essential that the Jews throughout the world shall not allow themselves to be used as mere anti-German propaganda. Especially is this the case, since precisely these hypocritical "atrocious mongers" do not hesitate to foster anti-semitism in Britain. They consistently whip up race hatred by playing up reports of Jewish black marketeers and other profiteering offences, and playing down the offences of the non-Jews.

The stories circulating of the babies of 500 Jewish mothers being used as footballs, and of babies being used for bayonet practice, can only tend to harm the plight of the Jewish victims by making honest and intelligent people sceptical. We believe that such stories come from the same laboratory as those of the last war. These parliamentary hypocrites who hold up their hands in horror, and stand trembling with deep emotion in the House of Commons in sympathy with the victims of Nazi persecution, have not in the past, nor will they in the future raise a finger to save these unfortunate people.

BRITISH DENY  
REFUGEES ASYLUM

Foreign conqueror was to be preferred to Communism. In his "World Crisis" he wrote in regard to the invasion of the Ukraine by the Germans at the end of the last war: "Here in the Ukraine these same Germans came as deliverers and were spontaneously recognised as such, not only by the general population, but by those patriotic elements most hostile to the invaders of Russia. A dose of Communism induces a desire in any population to welcome any other form—even the harshest—of civilised authority. With the arrival of the German 'steelhelmets' life again became tolerable . . . Better

like, or show anything but implacable hatred for the Hesses and von Thomas. WE DEMAND THE RIGHT OF THE RANK AND FILE TO ELECT THEIR OWN OFFICERS. WE DEMAND THAT THE LABOUR AND TRADE UNION LEADERS FIGHT FOR THE SETTING UP OF MILITARY TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR THE TRAINING OF WORKER OFFICERS. THESE TO BE FINANCED BY THE STATE AND RUN BY THE TRADE UNIONS.

under the E.W.O., 26 only were employers, whilst there were 91 cases of imprisonment. Not one employer was imprisoned, even the most important firms as B.T.H., and Barr & Strouds refused Government Departments permission to enquire into their costings systems. In almost every instance similar lessons and experiences are being drummed into the minds of the advanced militants. The Arbitration Tribunals work in favour of the employers; the Transfer of Labour Scheme is being used to victimise active trade unionists and workshop militants; the Massive legislation of the Essential Works Order is being utilised in its most vicious form to regiment and discipline the workers, whilst the employers are allowed to reap untold profits out of the misery and suffering of the war. The collaboration between the bureaucrats and the Government has transformed the trade unions from weapons of independent class struggle into playthings of the employers and their Government. Task number one for the future is the ending of this disastrous coalition.

**COMMON PROBLEMS**  
It would be a mistake to imagine that problems which arise out of this process are confined exclusively to the engineering unions. The war has cut sharply across the sectional existence of the vast majority of trade unions.

# BEVERIDGE— Empty Promise

Continued from page 1

return for contribution, rather than free allowances from the state, is what the people of Britain desire", and receipt of the benefits that are proposed would necessitate the payment of contributions that on the average would be more than double those now paid by workers under the National Health and Unemployment Insurance Schemes.

## PROMISES LESS THAN DOLE

We have not the space to deal with each single rate of benefit, nor is it necessary. But we can safely assume that all the payments are based on Sir William's assessment of a "minimum" standard for the subsistence of a single person. The payment for a single man or woman of 21 or more, would be £1. 4. 0 per week. There is no suggestion that the cost of living is going to decrease from its present standard. On the contrary, the capitalist press as a whole points to the fact that it will be higher. What with the steady rising of the bank note issue, the soaring of prices and accumulation of a huge war debt internally (war savings) and externally (lease lend), inflation is inevitable with a consequent rise in the cost of living.

When we consider that to date food prices have increased by about 70 per cent since 1939 and other articles for sale by about 55 per cent, a process of simple arithmetic shows that even now £1. 4. 0 would be less adequate than the amount received by a single person on the dole before the war. Consequently it is not difficult to appreciate that, not only would the plan be no improvement on pre-war conditions—but in fact it would be worse!

On top of all this, the rightly detested Means Test (which Sir William says must go), is to be replaced by compulsion of "attending a work or training centre." There is no guarantee that these centres will not take on

the form of the hideous labour camps and if a worker refuses to go, he would once again be confronted with his old friend "Want" because he would not have fulfilled the "conditions of continuous benefit"! These labour camps are to be instituted because Sir William claims that "Idleness . . . corrupts men whether they are well fed or not." We are entitled to ask what is intended to be done with the handful of corrupted idle rich, who never work but live off the fat of the land?

The avoidance of mass unemployment, which Sir William has stated is necessary for the successful operation of the scheme, is dependent upon the prospects of "expanding prosperity." Sir William Jowitt has stated that "we should emerge from this war a much poorer nation, a debtor nation, and not a creditor nation." Driven out of her one time markets, faced with the competition of her highly developed American rival, mass unemployment is inevitable in the coming period.

Why then, it may be asked, has so much publicity been given to the Beveridge plan? Why has the capitalist press boosted it so loudly? The answer can be found in the nightmares that haunt the ruling class. When they give full publicity to Sir William Beveridge's statement that the plan "is a British revolution", they do so because they know that the workers look forward to a radical change at the conclusion of the war, and they fear a genuine independent revolutionary movement on the part of the workers to achieve that change. But the workers will not be so easily sidetracked and misled as they were twenty years ago. Indeed, already scepticism and distrust prevail, in particular among the most advanced sections of the working class.

## "DAILY WORKER" READERS "PERPLEXED"

In the "Daily Worker" (22.12.42) in an article headed "Neither Empty

Promise nor New Trick", J. R. Campbell admits that the attitude of the Communist Party "perplexed a number of our readers". He complains about "those readers who express a more sharply antagonistic attitude to the Report", and accuses those workers who are saying "they will trick us again" of "rank defeatism". The truth is that these workers who criticise the Plan know instinctively that behind all the phrases and verbosity of the Report and the press campaign to popularise it, lies another attempt to pull the wool over their eyes.

## FALSIFIERS LINK REVOLUTIONARIES WITH REACTIONARIES

Instead of giving a lead to leftward moving workers, the Communist Party, who obviously are fully aware of the fakery behind the Beveridge Plan, are attempting to cover it up and assist in swinging it on the workers, because of their servility to Churchill and his class, and in line with the 20 years Pact between Stalin and Churchill! They use the traditional language of the reformists, and instead of placing socialism as an immediate perspective arising from the war, they say this is an "unreal alternative" (Campbell). In their traditional role of falsifiers these scoundrels, through the medium

of Frank Pitcairn, state that those who oppose the Plan "propagate an enormous store of political ammunition to the working class criticism link genuine Big Business. with that of

A section of Big Business, of course, opposes the Report because it does not prefer to impose a dictatorial and would iately. But those who immediately do so because they know, despite J. R. Campbell that is an Empty Promise.

## LABOUR LEADERS SELL OUT AGAIN

The Labour leaders also lauded the scheme as a tremendous step forward. They attempt to present the workers with coloured spectacles and that the Government further proof its statements of good times the Labour and Trade Union organisations hand and foot in echo the capitalist voice of their masters. These fakery means: operation after the peaceful co-operation with the class enemy in the deception of the people.

1. Withdrawal of T. . . .
  2. Democratisation of the replacement of the unions and cacy with mill the top bureau-ranks. is from the
  3. 100 per cent. trade every factory. organisation in
  4. A factory com plant. ee in every
  5. Union organisation industry instead o be based on
  6. Area and Ma Councils to be for al Workers' Councils and fact from Trades committees.
- MOBILISATION OF MINIMUM DEMANDS FOR**
1. Workers control o profiteering, mis industry to end chaos. agement and
  2. Confiscation of al company books to union inspection. ar profits—all open to trade
  3. Nationalisation w tion of arms indu but compensa- ways and banks. y, mines, rail-
  4. Sliding scale of w increased cost o guaranteed minim s to meet the living with a
  5. Equal pay for penalisation of w al work, no in industry. en and youth

## WORKERS TO CONTROL

### TRANSFER OF LABOUR

1. No transfer of labour from Government factories to private enterprise.
2. No transfer of labour to be carried out at financial loss to the workers.
3. Transfers to be under the control of shop stewards and factory committee to avoid victimisation.
4. Trade union control of hotel accommodation to house transferred workers.

## WORKERS MILITARY POLICY

1. For military training of all workers under trade union control.
2. Establishment of military schools under trade union control at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
3. For access to arms for all workers.
4. Dissolution of capitalist controlled Home Guard into the trade unions' militia.
5. Trade union wages and conditions for all workers in the armed forces.

to the C.P. which tends to lump the rank and file with the leadership. This must be corrected if we are really to smash Stalinist influence in industry. Unfortunately there are a number of workers who still hope against hope that the C.P. will remain faithful to the communist principle. They do not like the present line, but they believe it is only a temporary "tactic." Whilst every organisational step will be taken to guard against the victimisation policy of the Stalinists, it must be understood that what these renegades fear most is a correct industrial programme, because they know that this is what appeals to their most class conscious militant rank and filers, as well as to trade unionists as a whole.

Instead of confining itself to the organisation of the engineering workers, the committee must embrace representatives of all the basic industries. In this way it will be possible to develop agitation inside these industries and at the same time unite the maximum number of trade unionists.

A committee which is composed of representatives of all the trades, armed with a fighting programme, will be a great factor in assisting the process of knitting together the greatest possible number of militants and shop stewards in every industry, whilst at the same time catering for the demands of workers in each particular industry.

1943 will be a decisive year for the British labour movement. Let all trade unionists resolve to play their part.

The British politicians responsible for this spate of horror stories first make sure that the gates of Britain and the Empire are tightly closed against any attempt of these unfortunates to find refuge within its borders. Let us recall the horrible story that went unmentioned some months ago; a story which equals anything perpetrated by the Nazis, actually or allegedly.

The "Struma", a small ship packed with 765 men, women and children, harried victims escaping from Nazi terror, sailed via Turkey for Palestine. (Palestine was promised to the Jews as well as to the Arabs in the last war, but this has since been admitted also to have been purely for "propaganda purposes"). They were ruthlessly and heartlessly turned back by the British authorities. Appeals to the other "democracies" were of no avail. Eventually they were blown up at sea, where all perished.

## ROLE OF STALIN

Not only have the capitalist countries closed their doors to these victims for whom they piously proclaim sympathy, but the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership, has also refused admission, not only to the Jews but to the International Brigaders fleeing from Franco, as well as the anti-fascist and socialist refugees from Germany. This failure on the part of the Stalinist bureaucracy to conform to one of the first principles and rights of working class democracy: the right of asylum for persecuted individuals and minorities, is one more crime to be laid at its door.

## THE TEST . . .

Meanwhile, the Jewish peoples, and particularly the Jewish working class, must not allow the atrocities which the Nazis undoubtedly inflict on the Jews of Europe to be made use of for reactionary ends. I hesitated to say it before, said a leading Church hypocrite at the height of the campaign, but at last the war has become a crusade. That's it. To cover up their imperialist war of plunder they make use of the Jews for propaganda purposes. Later they will inform the world that this was necessary for "propaganda purposes."

None of the panaceas put forward by middle class utopians to succour the Jews can be effective. Antisemitism is an outgrowth of a decaying system and can only be uprooted with the system that breeds it. The only immediate step that can afford aid to the victims of persecution of whatever colour, race or creed, is for every country to open its gates: this is the test of their sincerity

## ONLY SOCIALISM CAN ENSURE SOCIAL SECURITY

"A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY IS A TIME FOR REVOLUTIONS, NOT FOR PATCHING"! That is the idea which must motivate our actions in the struggle for social security.

The working class will reject the Beveridge Plan as not being the kind of social security to which they aspire "after the war". The "Socialist Appeal" repeats that the only condition under which freedom from Want and the other "giants" can be achieved, is Socialism. The present system which expends £12,000,000 a day on war, but haggles over a few paltry pence for the welfare of the workers in peace time, must go! We declare uncompromising war on the politics of the capitalists who seek to place the whole burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers, and threatens to cast them into the pit of pauperism. The workers in the Labour Party, the Trade Unions and other working class organisations must give their answer to the Beveridge Report: Raise the demand that the Labour and Trade Union leaders break the coalition with the reactionary capitalist class and wage the struggle for power for socialism as the only basis for social security.

READ:—

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Tasks and Perspectives of the Fourth Internationalists in Britain

Three pence