

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Workers of the World Unite.

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

COALITION CRACKING LABOUR to Power

BY E. GRANT

THE COALITION BETWEEN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE CAPITALIST CLASS IS CRACKING. THE CYNICAL INDICATION BY THE GOVERNMENT THAT IT HAS NO INTENTION OF CARRYING THROUGH EVEN THE MODEST REFORMS OUTLINED IN THE BEVERIDGE PLAN, HAS PROVOKED A CRISIS WITHIN THE LABOUR PARTY.

The Labour Ministers, having established "Social Security" for themselves, do not worry about splitting hairs when the Government tosses overboard the demagogy about "freedom from want" for the masses after the war. They have shamefully accepted the Government's position. The majority of the second layer of the Labour leaders, under the pressure of mass discontent and disillusionment, have been compelled to oppose the Government on this issue and for the first time, the bulk of them voted against the Government. Thus we have the farcical situation where the Labour Ministers supported by only two Labour M.P.s vote for the Government against the overwhelming majority of their Party group.

But the gesture of the Labour M.P.s in voting against the Government remains a piece of repulsive hypocrisy and a deception of the working class if they continue to tolerate the Labour Ministers remaining in the Government. Yet the disgraceful position

exists where the Labour M.P.s agree to allow the coalition to continue on the familiar path of capitulation and surrender to the capitalists. It is reported in the capitalist press that one or more of the Labour Ministers has threatened to resign from the Labour

Party. This is the MacDonald experience all over again. Anyone making such ultimatums must be immediately denounced and driven from the Labour movement.

WIDESPREAD MOVEMENT AGAINST TORIES

The ruling class is preparing measures, internally and externally, for an

is rapidly turning against the Government of Big Finance. Nearly all the

It is to meet this steady move towards the Left and towards Socialism,

TYNE STRIKE FOR 100% T.U.

NEPTUNE WORKERS' FINE LEAD

BY M. ORTON

THE STRIKE INVOLVING 250 MEN AT NEPTUNE ENGINE WORKS, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE SHOWS PROMISE OF BEING THE MOST DETERMINED DEFENCE OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

Now entering its fourth week, the dispute arose over the right of the workers to organise their shop on the basis of 100 per cent. Trade Unionism. Faced with the refusal of the bosses to take action against five non-Unionists employed in the shop, who had consistently resisted attempts to recruit them into the A.E.U., the workers were compelled to withdraw their labour in defence of their trade union rights.

Boss Plans for Home Guard

When Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Smith, G.O.C., London District Home Guard, blurted out to what uses he thought the Home Guard would be put after the war, there was a flutter in Fleet Street and a sneeze by the daily "democrats". It is no wonder they had to chide this blunderer, for like Moore Brabazon, he put the boss class on the spot.

"Quite apart from the responsibility of the Home Guard during the war," he said, "I would remind you of the great task members will have afterwards, for when Armistice is signed, human nature being what it is, there may well be an inclination for the discipline of the country, not to be as steady as it should."

In the mind of this reactionary, Home Guards will be used as strike-breakers and to attack the working class. Any manifestation of industrial militancy or class independence will be classed as "indiscipline" and this Blimp, alongside his class brothers who control the Home Guard will use it as a reactionary anti-democratic army . . . if they can.

That these ideas of G.O.C. Smith are widely held among the capitalists, is demonstrated by the strike-breaking actions to which sections of the H.G. have been put on several occasions in the past.

Indeed, only a short time after his statement, the management of a South London factory called in the Home Guard to eject a worker from the factory, who was a member of the A.E.U.

But these aspirations of the reactionary wing of the ruling class are not going unnoticed among the workers or members of the Home Guard. Smith's statement has caused a great deal of discussion and consternation and the general conclusions from these discussions on the part of the rank and file

The strike commenced in the Inside Department on the morning of January 25th, and the following day was extended to the Outside Department, which came out in support of the demands of their fellow workers.

The Neptune Yard has been a black spot on the Tyneside over a period of years due to the lack of organisation of the workers, and the management are determined to maintain this position at all costs, including a complete disregard of the interests of production. It is worthy of note that whilst the strikers are accused of sabotaging the war effort, etc., Mr. Wright, the General Manager who is Vice Chairman of the North Eastern Production Board, is not concerned how many productive days are lost, and is not prepared to come to any agreement with the striking men. It is clear from the statement made by Mr. Wright on January 25th, to the effect that workers could remain on strike for as long as they liked, since it was no concern of his, that the onus of loss of output rests entirely on the shoulders of the bosses and not the workers, who are anxious to reach an agreement and return to work.

During recent months increased methods of regimentation have been inflicted on the Neptune Yard workers, and it is generally assumed that these measures were in actual fact a test case for the whole of the Tyneside. From this it is clear that a victory for the engineering workers in this struggle would establish a precedent for 100 per cent trade unionism, which would give an impetus for the organisation of all the shipyards.

That the aim of the reactionary Shipbuilding Employers' Federation is to prevent this at all costs is shown by the stubborn stand taken by the Neptune Management.

The importance of the strike for Tyneside workers is evident. On the basis of a victory for the 250 engineers, a drive for 100 per cent trade unionism throughout the whole of the Tyneside would begin. The question of a closed shop and employment of non-unionists is one which is vital to the interests of the workers. It therefore becomes the duty of trade union militants to render every assistance to the

The Tyneside D.C. of the A.E.U. has unofficially supported the strike and has levied its members to raise financial assistance for the strikers. In accordance, however, with the practice of the Labour and trade union leadership, of shackling the workers in the interests of British capitalism, there has been no attempt to organise support for the strike through official union channels. Whilst exhorting the workers to greater efforts in the defence of capitalist interests, the trade union bureaucrats offer no assistance for the simple preservation of trade union rights.

The activities of the Stalinists in this struggle have been less evident than in the Tyneside dispute of October. The C.P. have no desire to further antagonise the workers in the district and bring about a depletion of their already diminishing ranks. To date, the "Daily Worker" has confined itself to a mere report of the dispute. Faithful to their policy of "national unity at all costs", the C.P. members have been active in agitating for the return to work of the strikers and in sabotaging collections in the workshops. In their leaflet issued under the signature of the North East District Organiser of the C.P.—MacEwen, they tackle the problem with extreme caution but call upon the workers to go back to work and state: "Stoppages of work in these circumstances are assisting fascism and weakening trade unionism"! The Strike Committee have been forced in their own defence, to warn the workers against such activity. The lesson of the Stalinist betrayal, however, was learned by Tyneside workers in the strike of October and the C.P. will find little support for their treachery. The spirit of the strikers is high, and according to one of their leaders, in the event of the intervention by the Ministry of Labour against the men, they are prepared if necessary to continue their struggle in jail.

At the time of going to press a deadlock has been reached; the firm remains uncompromising in its refusal to sack the five non-unionists, and the 250 strikers remain determined in their demand for a closed shop.

The Strike Committee has expressed its desire not to impede production

200 IRISH MINERS IN 6 DAY STAY DOWN STRIKE

BY TOM BURNS

Following the refusal of the Eire Government to accede to the demands of the miners at Castlecomer Colliery, County Kilkenny, for a 4/- wage increase, 200 miners staged a six days "Stay Down" strike.

A further demand of the miners was the withdrawal of Order 166 which prevents workers from obtaining an increase on the basic rates prevailing on April 8th, 1942. The total number of miners in Arigna Colliery, County Leitrim and Tubberella Colliery, County Sligo, struck work in sympathy on the same day.

The strike swiftly spread to the three remaining coal pits in Eire, and on January 27th, the miners at The Swan, Athy, Rossmore Colliery, County Carlow, and Wolfhill pit, Leix, came out in solidarity.

Castlecomer miners receive the lowest rates in the country and the average wage earned is a little over £2 per week. Out of this meagre sum, the workers have to supply their own lights, tools and explosives!

So certain were the Castlecomer miners of their just demands, that they endured the horrors of living underground for 6 whole days and nights. Sick men implored their comrades not to take them to the surface. The older miners were asked by their comrades not to stay underground but they refused. 60 year old James Delaney, who is amongst the oldest members, went down the pit despite the pleas of the miners. 18 miners are very ill, two seriously. William Boyle, refused to give in and was eventually brought up on a stretcher to hospital. The townspeople rallied to the aid of their fellow workers and organised the sending down of food, tea, cigarettes and straw for the men to sleep on.

The capitalist government had the usual support of the press and the "Irish Times" carried a story stating: "Miners Challenge Government" inferring that the state should step in and deal with the wave of strikes. As direct negotiations between the trade unions and the employers on wage issues are now forbidden by law, the Government's treacherous "arbitration courts" are being exposed for what they are—a paper alternative.

In a statement to the press, Mr. J. Kelly, secretary of the Miners Branch, Irish Transport and General Workers Union, showed this clearly:

"Miners made application for a Wage (Standard Rate) Order on October 31st, 1942, with the desire to bring average earnings to the level of Wolfhill and Rossmore Collieries."

WIDESPREAD MOVEMENT AGAINST TORIES

The ruling class is preparing measures, internally and externally, for an offensive against the working class. The speeches of Churchill and Roosevelt have raised the question once again of the real aims of the war. At home the masses of the workers, and the middle class also, are becoming more and more critical of the situation in which they find themselves. The ruling class has utilised the war for the purpose of enriching themselves at the expense of the standard of living of the people. All the burdens of the war have been laid on the shoulders of the miners, soldiers, engineers, housewives, small shopkeepers, etc., while the millionaire combines and banks have ruthlessly secured an overwhelming grip on the economy of Britain.

Under these circumstances the restlessness and disgust of the workers

is rapidly turning against the Government of Big Finance. Nearly all the recent by-elections show a tendency in this direction. In West Belfast, formerly a stronghold of backward Ulster Tory reaction, the Labour Party has won a resounding victory. This is the first Labour M.P. to be sent to Whitehall from Ulster. In the Midlothian bye-election in Scotland, the Tory candidate only managed to scrape home by a few hundred votes in what was regarded as a safe Tory seat. The "Times", organ of Big Business, reflects the alarm of the ruling class at the tendency throughout the country, and reluctantly comments: "When every factor has been deducted that may make a bye-election an indecisive index of opinion, such a result as that which the Midlothian electors have lately registered is still something of a portent."

It is to meet this steady move towards the Left and towards Socialism, that compelled the Government to attempt to by-pass this opposition by announcing the Beveridge Scheme as a great scheme for Social Reconstruction. Despite warnings and efforts to avoid it by all the means in their power, the Government had to follow in the footsteps of Lloyd George. His "Land fit for heroes" has once again been pulled out of the drawer of capitalist promises and dusted over, his demagoguery furnished with a new gilding, entitled "Freedom from want for all. Social Security", etc.

But immediately Bevin introduced the Catering Bill—meagre and inadequate as it was—to alleviate the horrible sweated conditions in this nightmare industry, the Tories showed their teeth. A substantial number of Tories voted against the Government. "National Unity" was contemptuously thrown aside even when a modest proposal such as this was placed before them. Their class interests and their right to exploit the workers as much

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Guard to eject a worker from the factory, who was a member of the A.E.U.

But these aspirations of the reactionary wing of the ruling class are not going unnoticed among the workers or members of the Home Guard. Smith's statement has caused a great deal of discussion and consternation and the general conclusions from these discussions on the part of the rank and file are very different from those of the G.O.C. The question of the use of the Home Guard to eject a worker from the plant was raised on the S. London D.C. of the A.E.U. and the workers protested in no uncertain terms at the H.G. being used as a private army against them.

Workers who joined or were conscripted into the Home Guard on the plea of fighting fascism, do not intend to allow themselves to be used as an anti-democratic and pro-fascist force.

The best guarantee against the Home Guard being used to impose Smith's conception of "discipline" on the working class is for the officers to be under the control of the workers. It is not possible to trust officers with Smith's reactionary class outlook. Only officers elected by the ranks could be trusted to be genuine democrats and to fight against reaction.

The Red Guard which was set up by the workers of Russia under Lenin and Trotsky was an armed force of this description. It was a workers' militia, a workers' Home Guard, organised and led by the workers, whose officers were not hand-picked for their loyalty to capitalist reaction but elected by the workers for their loyalty to the working class: that is the kind of force that we need in Britain, a force that will organise working class discipline.

Gandhi's Fast Mirrors Mass Starvation

BY I. DDUMJEE

Gandhi's hunger strike against his continued detention by the British Raj has created a crisis. The tone of the press implies that he may die, and portrays the extreme nervousness of the British ruling class at the situation which will arise in such an eventuality.

And it is no wonder that the capitalists are nervous. For whilst they give plenty of publicity in the press to demonstrate the kid-glove policy with which they handle Gandhi and his friends, they clamp down an iron censorship on how they handle the rank and file of Congress and the Indian masses with shot and lash.

In India the British are sitting on a powder barrel which may go off at any moment and the death of Gandhi may be the action which would set it alight. On August 8th, last year, 60,000 leaders or potential leaders of Congress were arrested and interned.

According to "Hansard", Mr. Amery, in answering a question from Mr. Sorenson, Labour M.P., stated that between August 9th and November 30th, 1942, **1,028 people were killed in "disturbances", 3,215 were more or less seriously wounded and 958 were flogged.** Parliamentary questions also brought out the fact that, **since Aug. the police have fired upon demonstrators no fewer than 538 times; in other words: that a veritable civil war, or civil massacre is taking place.** But the massacre of the population and the brutal floggings which are identical to the Nazi attacks on the European population and the Jews, are only a reflection of the even greater oppression of the Indian masses through British control of the economic life of the country.

From one end of the country to the other, masses of Indian workers and erty and disease, today on account of Normally suffering terribly from pov-peasants are faced with starvation.

the bankrupt policy of the imperialists, famine is ravishing the land. And nothing is done to relieve the situation. In spite of the fact that conditions have been deteriorating in the last year, the export of foodstuffs has continued.

The situation is so serious that it has led to widespread hunger riots in several parts of the country.

At Narik, in the Bombay Province on Sunday, 7th January, military assistance had to be obtained to control large crowds who had stormed the grain shops. Fifty arrests, including those of a number of starving women, were made. The police and the military are empowered to shoot without warning and curfew has been imposed in many parts of the country.

The British press is spreading the report that the situation is temporary and that nothing need be done. It has been pointed out that the loss of imported rice from Burma is partly responsible for the famine and the position will be eased soon. *But the Burmese imports accounted for only a small percentage of the total food supplies of the country.* Again, it is pointed out by the representatives of imperialism that the provincial governments are responsible for the agricultural and food supply and that the Central Government and the Viceroy are in no way responsible for the situation. But the fact is that on the outbreak of the war, the Viceroy took over sweeping powers and is a virtual dictator. This is simply an alibi to

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PITY THE POOR RICH!

Lord Fitzwilliam, aged 70, died at his house at Wentworth-Woodhouse near Rotherham, on February 15th.

This coal millionaire, whose house stood in the middle of the Yorkshire coalfields from which he drew thousands of pounds in royalties as the owner of the land, lived and died in what was described as the largest private residence in Britain. It had 365 rooms. One for every day of the year! At one time guests arriving at the house, were given a small packet of wafers—no, not to eat—but to drop as they went to their rooms, so that they could find their way back again.

365 rooms! This is the kind of residence that the coal kings live and die in. They do no work but they eat, sleep and are housed on a similar scale; all on the sweat and blood of thousands of men who go down to dig coal. And while a coal king possesses a house with 365 rooms, hundreds of miners whose blood went to build up the Fitzwilliam fortune are without even a decent room to live in after 40 and 50 years in the pit.

Here are some clippings from the press over the past few years which relate to this gentleman:

"Wentworth Woodhouse, where Lord Fitzwilliam is entertaining for the St. Leger, is one of the largest country seats in the Kingdom, and has the reputation of possessing more windows than any other private residence in the land.

The great mansion has been built and rebuilt and added to at various periods, and the oldest wing, now devoted to the servants quarters, goes for some reason by the name of Bedlam.

There is a story of a former owner going exploring one day in Bedlam

Fitzwilliam has died but his heirs will go on exploiting the miners and living in the same luxury on the backs of the miners. He is only one of a class. There are others—all of them live on a similar scale as Fitzwilliam.

What wonderful resthouses these coalowners homes would make with their spacious rooms and splendid gardens. How contented aged and sick miners could feel in surroundings like these! A man could only monopolise a house of 365 rooms in a reactionary society in which one class filched from the workers the best portion of their product. Under socialism it is the men who dig the coal who will live in these houses which will be owned in common and used for the benefit of the people.

entirely losing himself, and being piloted back to more familiar regions by a servant lad whom he had never seen before and who had never seen him."

"Daily Mail", 5th Sept., 1927.

"Lord Fitzwilliam' owns rich coleries. He is reputed to be a millionaire. Wentworth is the largest house in England. It has a thousand windows on the front alone. He also owns houses in London and Ireland."

"Daily Express", 11th Sept.

"His income was estimated . . . at about a thousand pounds a day, and his fortune at about £5,000,000."

"Evening Standard", 15th Feb., 1943.

RED ARMY BORN OF REVOLUTION

When the British Press is sufficiently determined it can perform feats of mis-representation that at first sight would seem to be wildly impossible. In the past it has distorted every aspect, every manifestation and every theory of the working class struggle. But the way it has dealt with the 25th Anniversary of the Red Army, it has reached to new depths of vulgar hypocrisy and distortion.

IN ALL THE LONG TONGUE-IN-CHEEK EDITORIALS AND HALLELUJAH ARTICLES THE NEWSPAPER KNIGHTS HAVE NOT PERMITTED A SINGLE MENTION OF THE NAME OF THE FOUNDER AND GREATEST LEADER OF THE RED ARMY TO APPEAR. TO PRESENT THE RED ARMY WITHOUT TROTSKY GOES FAR BEYOND THE PREVIOUS CLASSICAL EXAMPLE OF DISTORTION—PRESENTING HAMLET WITHOUT THE PRINCE. BUT THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT THE BRITISH PRESS HAS SUCCEEDED IN DOING, AND WITHOUT SO MUCH AS TURNING A HAIR.

If it were only a matter of suppressing mention of the role of an individual, that would in itself be a matter of little importance. But what they are really glossing over is the true character of the Red Army, the conditions under which it was founded, the new foundation on which it was built, the politics that inspired it; in other words, the fact that it was founded and built as a revolutionary army. And so closely connected is the name of Trotsky with all that was truly revolutionary in the formation of the Red Army that they dare not even mention it for fear of giving their own game away.

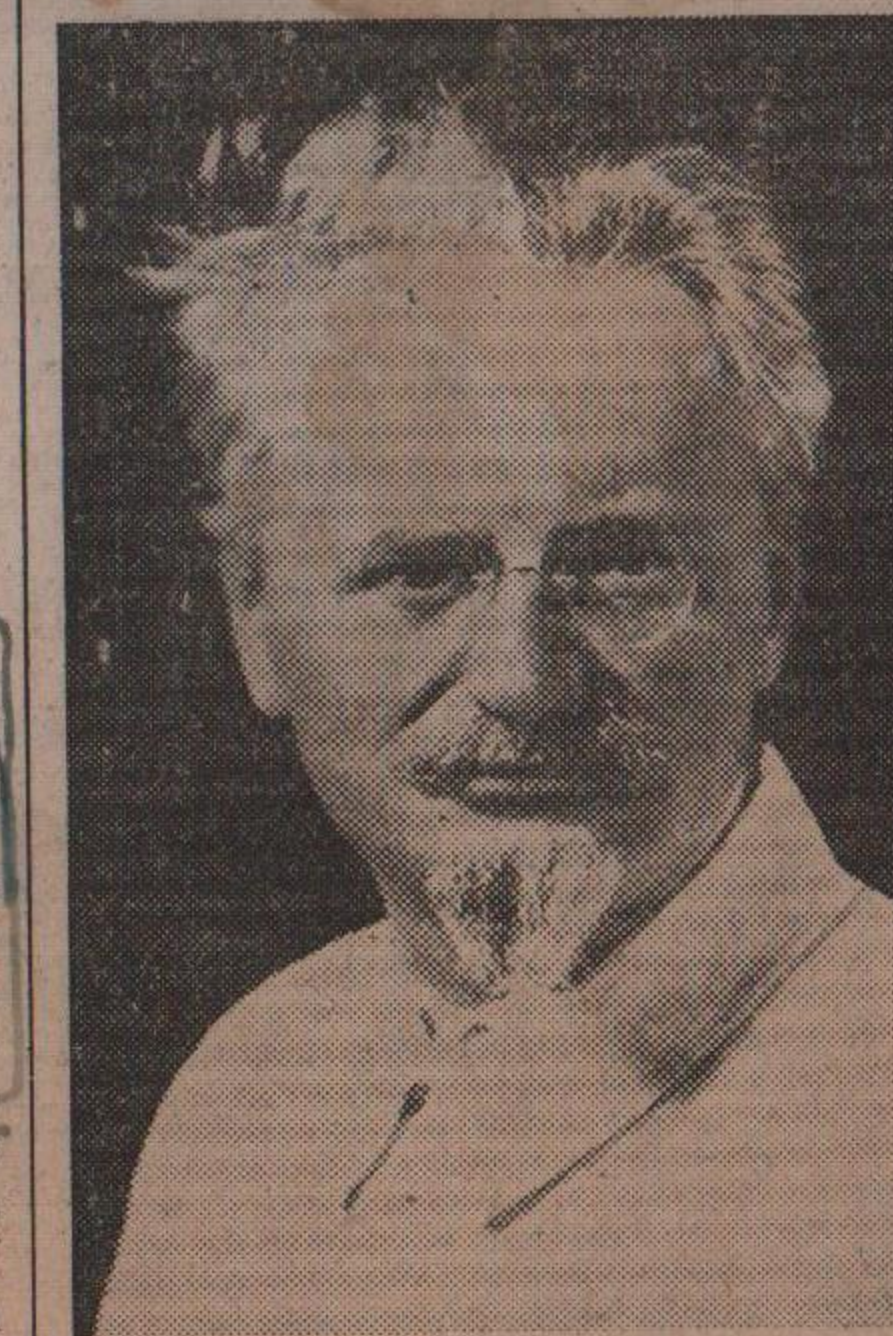
In re-writing this vitally important part of history, the Beaverbrooks and

The importance of the strike for Tyneside workers is evident. On the basis of a victory for the 250 engineers, a drive for 100 per cent trade unionism throughout the whole of the Tyneside would begin. The question of a closed shop and employment of non-unionists is one which is vital to the interests of the workers. It therefore becomes the duty of trade union militants to render every assistance to the strikers. Failure to do this will give the bosses a free hand, and force the workers to capitulate through lack of support.

We learn that already substantial financial support has been received not only from Tyneside and other ship-building and engineering centres, but also from the organised Tailors and Garment Workers and other such non-engineering organisations on the Tyne and other parts of the country. With the perspective of several weeks of hard struggle, more financial assistance will be needed if the strike is to be carried through to a victorious conclusion.

The whole of Tyneside the future of trade union organisation hangs in the balance. Meanwhile the strikers face the fourth week of enforced idleness—solid, and confident of their ultimate victory.

Rothermeres are playing Stalin's game. But not merely to please Stalin. For this new, castrated story of the Red Army suits the British capitalists down to the ground. What could be more harmless than a purely national army fighting only for the "Motherland" and to "expel the German invaders"?



LEON TROTSKY
ORGANISER OF RED ARMY—
1918-1925

What, on the other hand, could be more dangerous than an army based on a proletarian revolution which was not national but was seen as part of a great international, world revolution? It was the profoundly internationalist character of the Red Army and its struggle that struck terror into the heart of world capitalism during the first few years of the Red Army's life. And Trotsky's voice and leadership, giving unmistakably clear expression to what was truly revolutionary and internationalist in the Red Army, became the particular object of capitalist hate and fear.

The very decrees which formally brought the Red Army into being sent shivers of apprehension through the ranks of the privileged in every country. The decrees of January 2nd, 1918 stated:

"The old army functioned as an instrument for the oppression of the workers and the exploited classes. With the transfer of state authority to the workers and the exploited classes there arises a need for a new army to serve as a bulwark for the Soviet regime . . . and as a basis for the socialist revolution in Europe."

This decree was based on the report submitted by Trotsky. Later, addressing the First World Congress of the Comintern, Trotsky stressed the internationalist role of the Red Army:

"I can assure you that the worker-communists who comprise the core of this army feel they are not only the guard of the Russian Socialist

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PARKHEAD FORGE WORKERS ANGRY

Transfers the Cause

The workers in Parkhead Forge have once more been attacked under the E.W.O. A number of men have received instructions from the Man Power Board to go to work in factories as far apart as Dundee and Bristol. In every instance the transfer means a reduction in wages of approx. £2-£3.

The Shop Stewards spurred forward to do something by the workers have spent hours discussing this position. As a result of their deliberations, a deputation representing three of the four factories in the combine was sent to London to interview Bevin but without success. The only people interviewed there were Kirkwood, Gallacher, Maxton and through the latter, Tomlinson, Secretary to Bevin. Bevin himself refused to meet the deputation. Tomlinson promised to raise the whole position with Bevin, and after presenting a statement outlining the chaos and hardships caused through the transfer of labour, the deputation returned home having accomplished exactly nothing. In the meantime the situation had come to a head in Parkhead Forge. One man who stood to lose £3 per week by his proposed transfer had already had his appeal dismissed by the hardship tribunal and on refusing to accept the transfer had been dismissed. He is at present idle and is being paid his average wage by

the workers in his department. The Shop Stewards Committee met to hear the report back from the deputation, and after hours of heated argument and discussion it was finally carried to ask the A.E.U. to give the Government Departments concerned 21 days notice of strike action, unless the proposed transfers were withdrawn and an immediate inquiry made into the whole question of transfers. This motion was carried by a majority of 10, against a Stalinist amendment to make a further appeal to the Ministry of Labour and the Man Power Board. It was also agreed to hold a mass meeting of the men to put the position before them.

This mass meeting was held at 6 a.m., about 1,000 workers attending. It was very badly handled, but it was nevertheless very clear that the workers realised the gravity of the situation and were in a real fighting mood. The outcome of the meeting was a decision by a large majority to declare a stoppage for 24 hours and send a deputation of Shop Stewards and workers to interview the Conciliation Officer, and tell him that the workers demanded the withdrawal of all transfer notices. The deputation will report back and failing some immediate results, it is odds on that a stoppage will take place involving most of the Engineering workers on Clydeside. The Stalinists have moved heaven and hell and used every hackneyed argument to avoid a showdown but without much success.

U.S. "MILITANT" BANNED FROM MAILS

We learn from America that the "democratic" Roosevelt government is continuing its attack on the Trotskyists in the U.S.A.

Four issues of the "Militant", the weekly paper of our brother party, the Socialist Workers Party of America, have been seized by the Post Office and destroyed without warning or explanation. Four other issues have been held up in the post and only released after great delay and it is not known what has happened to the ninth.

At the same time, detectives from the F.B.I. have called at the Party's offices in New York to inquire whether the leading members of the party had anything to do with a train wreck which took place more than 18 months ago—this because in the train preceding or following the one wrecked, engineers and officials of the Soviet Union were travelling!

Our American comrades have addressed an Open Letter to the U.S. Attorney General pointing out the inhuman nature of the questioning and

This attack on the "Militant" is the sequel to savage attacks on the rights and standards of the American working class. Big business has been piling up colossal profits at the expense of the masses. So unrestrained is the grab by the upper strata that Congress has just passed a Bill abolishing the limits imposed on salaries that can be earned by business executives, etc. Even though this was a purely nominal restriction and did not work out in practice. Meanwhile, wages are frozen and prices are rising. At the same time Congress is breathing fire and thunder if the workers should dare "unpatriotically" to strike.

Our comrades have striven to defend the rights of the American workers and are fighting for the independence of the Labour movement from capitalism, exposing in a forthright manner the unbridled appetite of the Wall Street bankers for world domination.

It is this which has resulted in the persecution of our American comrades. Just as the reactionary elements in Britain strove to suppress the "Socialist Appeal" for voicing the interests

MINERS MOVE AGAINST LEADERSHIP

LANARKSHIRE GIVES RANK AND FILE LEAD

The pressure of class exploitation which arises from the speed-up campaign of the bosses, finds its most vivid expression among the miners in the present period. The series of strikes in Yorkshire, culminating in the Cortonwood dispute which lasted more than a month and was the most bitter strike struggle since the outbreak of the war, has resulted in a growing opposition among the rank and file miners in Yorkshire and a tendency to throw up a new fighting leadership as opposed to the Hall gang with its disposition to sell-out.

In Durham the miners have thrown up a rank and file leadership centred in the Ryhope and Dawdon lodges who are demanding from Lawther and Co. that they fight for the original programme of the miners of nationalisation and workers' control.

This tendency is also being reflected in South Wales coalfields where several spontaneous attempts have been made to oust the local Stalinists who dominate the union, and have only been defeated by the strength of the Party machine which blankets the opposition.

But it is in the Scottish district the struggle has reached its highest phase. At the January Council meeting of the Lanarkshire Miners Union, the following resolution was discussed:

"This meeting of members of Branch 76 of Lanarkshire Mine Workers' Union, having heard the report of the delegate to the Conference of Mining Representatives in London, on Saturday, 31st October, is of the opinion that the Conference can have served no useful purpose insofar as increasing production is concerned, and condemns the speeches delivered at the Conference in that they tend to place the responsibility for the coal shortage on the shoulders of the miners.

It calls upon the M.F.G.B. to immediately end the suicidal policy

BAD VENTILLATION LEADS TO ACTION

—S. LONDON.

The effectiveness of direct action by the workers as a means of solving their problems was amply illustrated by the actions of themen employed in the Blast Shop at the E.N.V. workers in London. These workers, as a result of the persistent refusal of the management to accede to the mens demands for better ventilation, smashed

of class collaboration now being practised, and to launch an immediate nation-wide campaign with a view to making it clear to the public that the government and the owners are solely responsible for the coal shortage, and demanding that the coal industry shall immediately be taken under common ownership without payment of compensation, and placed under the control and direction of the workers employed therein as the only solution to the problems confronting the industry."

This resolution, which was moved by Clark, the delegate of Kingshill No. 2 and seconded by McNulty, the delegate of Castlehill, was defeated by only one vote, the final vote being 21 to 20 against the resolution. When it is understood that the resolution was hotly contested by Pearson and Waugh, the leading Stalinists in the L.M.U. who dominate the union and who have handled the Council almost any way they wished in the last few years, it

CLYDE WORKERS COMMITTEE

Socialist Appeal, Glasgow, Dear Comrade, 10.2.43.

As the result of the fining of 90 men £10 or 30 days each for striking in defence of victimised workers, the Works Committee called a meeting of Shop Stewards and Works Delegates on Sunday, 7th February, to appeal for financial support for these men.

17 factories were represented and a good discussion took place. The delegate of the men concerned said that there was a strong possibility of the men refusing to pay the fines if they could be sure of support from the other workers in the area. A further meeting was called for Sunday, February 14th, to hear reports from the other workshops.

Many opinions have been expressed among the workers that an organisation, similar to the Clyde Workers Committee can be built from this situation to fight this and other persecutions of workers. The general feeling throughout the area is a desire to fight, but meantime a clear lead and directive is lacking. It is up to us to give it.

J.

Workers Apathy in Bristol Bus Election

is possible to understand the full significance of this vote.

The high level of political consciousness is shown by the clear unambiguous character of this resolution and its large support, but it is emphasised by the split in the Stalinist faction itself, and the struggle against Pearson which has been undertaken by McKendrick who was undoubtedly the outstanding member of the Communist Party in Lanarkshire among the miners for many years. On several occasions he has opposed the "production" policies of the C.P. When the Stalinists moved that the usual 3 day New Years' holiday in 1941 be reduced to one, McKendrick moved an amendment that a three day holiday was in order and was necessary. Again, he opposed the C.P. policy and nominee for the "Coal Board of Scotland" sponsored by Lord Traprain and propagated by the Stalinists. He also opposed the nominee of the C.P. for President of the Scottish Miners Union, and on numerous other occasions he has demonstrated his break with Stalinism.

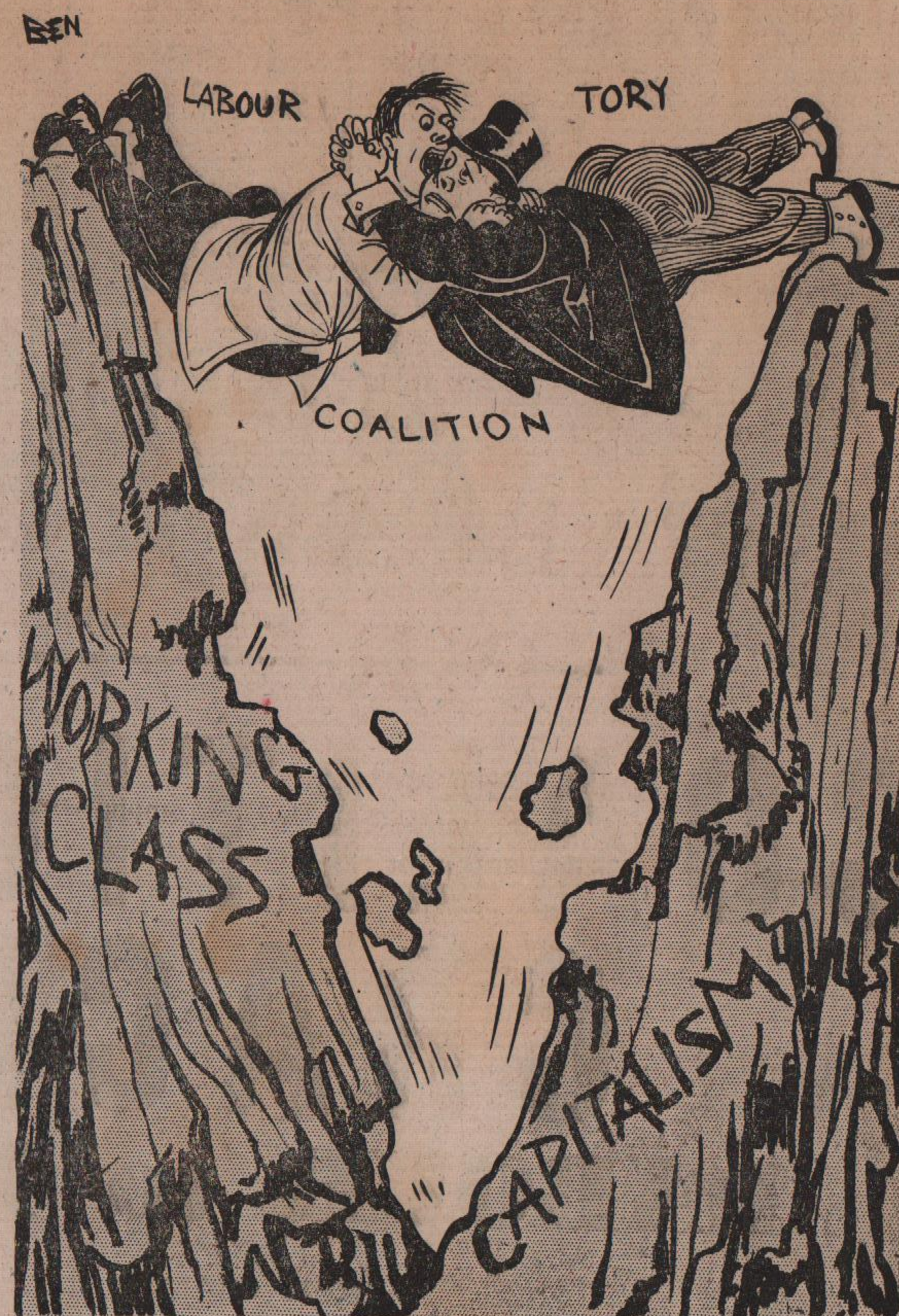
The full effects of this movement are not yet felt because of its spontaneous character. Also by the fact that the bureaucrats, who control the union machine, are organised and centralised in opposition to movements of this description. But already a group of Lanarkshire miners are attempting to unify the rank and file movement in Scotland. Their lead must be followed in every coal field. Dissident, militant pits and branches of the union must be linked together on a county basis and centralised into a national rank and file movement, which alone would be capable of conducting a genuine struggle for a militant miners' programme and for the ousting of the fakers who are now in control of the union.

This movement will be difficult to organise and will demand the full attention of honest and enthusiastic miners, but it is the only guarantee for victory against the set-up at the top; against those leaders who live well themselves and don't give a damn how the miners live or are exploited, and who collaborate with the coalowners and their government to undermine the hard-won conditions of working miners.

The programme of this rank and file movement must be based on the ideas advocated by the "Socialist Appeal". Demand the nationalisation of the mines without compensation to the owners and the operation of the mines under the control of the miners and technicians;

For the ending of life jobs in the miners unions and the election of all officials to the highest paid posts every two years.

THE RIFT WIDENS



Correspondence

MILITANT PAINTER VICTIMISED BY N.S.P. EXECUTIVE

To Socialist Appeal, Dear Comrade,

The case of Brother Jock Milligan exposes the official element in control of the National Society of Painters. They suppress militant members, without whom the movement would be unable to bind the employers to observe agreements and prevent the conditions of Labour being transgressed.

He has been a member of the National Society of Painters for the last nine years and during that period has had a fine record of trade union act-

why they should not vote for the inauguration of "a full time E.C."

Several other members had visited branches and done likewise but no action was taken so far as they were concerned. On the other hand the General Council, the Executive Council, and London District Committee members visited Branches all over the country trying to persuade the members to vote for a full time Executive Council. Two of their members were present at the Branch meetings when the voting on this question took place, and made speeches explaining why the members should give the E.C. a nice comfortable job and a nice fat salary. Maybe they will accuse themselves of disruptive tactics and place a ban on themselves also; or does it mean that democracy and freedom to express one's thoughts is permitted so long as what one says is agreed to by the official element? In other words one cannot have one's own opinion or disagree with

These are the conflicting appeals with which Churchill and Roosevelt are faced. What is their attitude? What will be their action? The principal task of the Casablanca meeting was undoubtedly to sum up the pros and cons of this question, to assess the strength of Russia and Germany, and to base their plans on the result of this assessment.

The decisions are by no means simple for the imperialists. At the present stage of the war matters are very finely balanced. In particular, any action which would give military assistance to Russia has to be very carefully considered. "Supposing," the imperialists must be saying, "that we had opened a Second Front in Europe last Autumn — Why, the Red Army would be in the region of Berlin by this time!" And that is precisely why they did not open a Second Front last Autumn. For, in spite of Stalin's assurances, and in spite of their knowledge of the counter-revolutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy, they know that a decisive defeat of Hitler's forces at the hands of the Red Army would mean revolution in Germany and throughout Europe. At the same time, there is always the possibility that with increasing demoralisation among the German forces, the Red Army will be enabled in any case, without the aid of a Second Front, to make further great advances. In this case it would be necessary for Anglo-American imperialism to invade Europe in order to attempt to control the revolutionary movements which would inevitably take place.

The official statement announced that the plans worked out at Casablanca will have as their prime object "to draw as much weight as possible off the Russian armies by engaging the enemy as heavily as possible at the best selected points." This in any case was supposed to be their policy long before Casablanca. But even in its new form it leaves the way open for exactly the same sort of interpretation as the previous communique — that it was intended to deceive Hitler. And was it necessary to have an eleven day meeting in Africa either to come to this profound conclusion or to make arrangements for a Second Front — and without consultations of any sort with Soviet military representatives?

Churchill left a further loophole when, in his speech to the House of Commons after the meeting he said that "to try to draw the enemy from the Russian front was accepted as the first of our objectives ONCE THE PROBLEMS OF THE U-BOAT WAR HAD BEEN MET IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ENABLE US TO ACT AGGRESSIVELY."

The steps, military and diplomatic, that will be taken by the "Allies" during the next nine months will be decided on the basis of a careful estimate of the factors operating in Europe — particularly those of Revolution, and of the advance or retreat of the Red Army. These will be measured in relation to the interests of Anglo-American imperialism, and the appropriate steps taken. Second Front or no Second Front. Peace with Italy or continuation of war with Italy; Mihailovitch as ally in Yugoslavia, or the Croat partisans as ally; the British and American imperialists will take the decisions — and in their own interests.

The bringing of "pressure" to bear on them, and the holding of farther Trafalgar Square meetings has been shown by the events of the last year to be futile and hopeless. As long as they are in power they will go their own way, using the blood and sacrifice of the Soviet masses as a buttress for their privileges and their empire. The Axis peace overtures are in reality a request for an agreement for a common struggle against both the European revolution and the Soviet Union. If the British workers and soldiers are to have guarantees that these offers will not be accepted then they cannot allow the present Government to speak and act in their name. Only a Government truly representing the workers and soldiers will be able to stand side by side with the Red Army and the peoples of Germany and Europe and with them smash the last remnants of Fascism. Europe must not become another North Africa, with one form of Fascism giving place to another. Europe must become free. The British workers have a vital and responsible part to play in the struggle for a free Europe. The conspirators of Casablanca can only offer capitulation to Fascism and a struggle against the revolution. The workers have a new Europe and a new world to fight for. And the first part of that fight is the struggle against imperialism at home.

air." On this question let it be said, Roosevelt didn't lie—he just "omitted" to mention the amount of material that could be sent along this route!

That the greater part of even this meagre amount of material never reaches China is admitted by Lin Yutang, in a letter to the "New York Times" last year in which he says: "The greater part of the transport planes sent to China were held up and diverted before they reached China. The few bombers that did reach China and participated in the recent bombing of Hankow were taken out again and diverted to Egypt . . . Unless an immediate order be given to divert planes from India to China, instead of diverting planes from China to India, it will be too late . . . The transport planes diverted to India must be immediately diverted back to China . . ."

This clear example of the deliberate sabotaging of supplies to China can be laid only at the doors of the British and American imperialists who have complete control over such supplies.

CHILDREN EXCHANGED FOR HANDFUL OF GRAIN

The necessity of China, as a result of this policy, to rely upon her own resources, has resulted in terrible privations and hardships for the masses. The "Daily Express" reported last year of a famine raging in the Honan province:

" . . . in a space of 20,000 square miles, there are 18,000,000 people who are eating leaves of trees, bark and roots . . . Bishop Yubin saw thousands of children with their faces and upper bodies just skin and bone . . . children were being sold for a handful of grain . . ."

Allistair Cooke, reporting Madame Wellington Koo's speech, said:

" . . . that the Chinese don't worry much about rationing because there is nothing to ration . . . and said that, an indifferent meal costs 15s. A yard of cloth costs £2. 10. A mud and straw hut costs just short of £900, coal is at the price of diamonds."

Doctor Shushi Hsu reported also: "today ten Chinese soldiers are dying of dysentery or malaria for every one wounded . . ."

In the sphere of military co-operation we find the same mixture of sly hypocritical gestures completely belied by action. Since his appointment as the "Allied" generalissimo in the Far East—Chiang Kai-Shek has acquired the distinction of being the only generalissimo whose opinions need not count.

"China," writes the famous Chinese author Lin Yutang, "must be let into the mysterious secrets of the 'Allied Grand Strategy' before efficient co-operation on the part of China can bring the most useful results, Chiang Kai-Shek must not

a Britain controlled the working class, extending the imperial aid made possible under socialism only such a Britain can aid the Chinese people.

proletariat, but only to lead it to ruin. The Belgian Labour Party has the right to call itself the sole party of the proletariat, but that does not prevent it from going from capitulation to

on the part of every section of the working class movement in every phase of the daily struggle against capitalism, fighting to transform the Labour Party from the basis of class collaboration onto a class basis . . ."

But the present campaign is conducted along somewhat different lines and in very different tones. In his article in the February 1943 issue of the "Labour Monthly", Pollitt wants us to forget what he said yesterday. "It would be easy," he says, "to make full play with the political differences of the past as a means of avoiding facing up to hard new facts of the present position. But if this were done it would not represent serious leadership." And later, "There is a keen awareness in existence, a keen desire to understand, a desire for unity, accompanied by astonishment that political differences of the past can be allowed to prevent mature judgment now being directed to achieve maximum unity while there is yet time."

What has happened in the course of these nine years to have changed Pollitt's opinion? Has the Labour Party broken with the "policy and practice of Social Democracy"? Have the "political differences of the past" evaporated because the Labour leaders have taken to the road of class struggle and revolution? On the contrary. Not even Pollitt would have the temerity to put that one across. The Labour leaders capitulated to reaction and the class enemy as never before in history. Their role as lackeys of finance capital has never been so clearly exposed as at the present moment. No! It is the Communist Party which has reduced itself to the "practice and policy of Social Democracy"! The process of degeneration which had reached the high degree of ripeness in 1936 has now completely fruited. From an organisation which maintained at least a few verbal principles, the C.P. has degenerated to a diseased political corpse differing no whit, on their own admission, from the reformist Labour Party. *It needs Stalin.*

REAL AIMS PARTLY HIDDEN

If this was the only reason why the Stalinists are attempting to affiliate to the Labour Party, the revolutionary left could breathe a sigh of relief. For if there are no fundamental differences between the organisations then they ought to get together and every socialist worker must support this move. But there is another reason why the Stalinists want to get inside the L.P., a reason which they do not boast about too loudly. Like Moore Brabazon, who inadvertently revealed the real ideas and aspirations of the reactionary capitalist class regarding the Soviet Union, the less experienced of the Stalinist leaders reveal the true aims of their party. John Gollan, writing in a recent issue of "World's News and Views", attacked the Glasgow "Forward" for "sniping" at national unity and revealed that one of the tasks that the Communist Party would have to undertake is to end this left feeling inside the Labour Party.

Here we see it. They want to smash the growing left wing movement in the Labour Party which is demanding the End to the Coalition and a more positive class policy on the part of Labour; they want to act as policemen for the capitalists in the ranks of the Labour movement.

DILEMMA OF LABOUR LEFTS

Meanwhile, the Labour leaders are none too happy about the new turn on

collision with the Stalinists.

LABOUR FAKERS FEAR FOR JOBS

Basically, the right wing Labour leaders reflect the fear and interests of their capitalist masters, who in turn dread the entrenchment of the Stalinists in the working class. The capitalists are well aware that although the Third International is no longer a revolutionary movement, the loyalty of the British C.P. is primarily to Stalin. In view of the possible clash between themselves and the Soviet Union, they have no stomach for a labour movement controlled or influenced by the Stalinists which would be a powerful lever in Soviet foreign policy in the event of such a clash. The Labour leaders can be relied upon as their faithful lackeys—they can be trusted to have a "stabilising influence" on the workers; the Stalinists, however, can change their policy overnight as they have done so often before, and completely upset the political equilibrium in the country.

Moreover, the Labour leaders fear that their vested interests as controllers of the Labour movement will be undermined—they have no wish to share with the Stalinists their well paid jobs as government officials, M.P.'s and "specialists". Their privileged economic position is bound up with their continued control of the Labour movement. In the present moribund state of the Labour Party, it would not be long before the Stalinists had seized control of the constituency parties, or at least insinuated themselves into key positions and organised a formidable opposition to undermine the existing leadership.

In their statement rejecting the C.P. application, the L.P. Executive reveals this fear. Without making any genuinely principled statement in opposition to the C.P., they nevertheless score some telling points and do not hesitate to use demagogic arguments about the "instability" and "political irresponsibility" of the Stalinists. One passage of their statement runs: "The continual activities of the C.P. in this country between September 3, 1939 and June 1941 were characterised by political somersaulting of the most contemptible kind." But this truthful statement is cynically capped by another, that: "The Labour Party has always stood firmly for a policy of friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Britain." The Labour fakers have not yet successfully learned to "spit in the wind". For the last quoted passage blows back in their faces with all the slush and anti-Soviet propaganda which they dished out when the Red Army entered Poland and when "poor little democratic Finland" was attacked by the Soviet Union. Truly, the political "somersaults" of the Labour Party Executive, during the same period as they quote for the Stalinists are also of the "most contemptible kind"! On that score the Labour fakers shouldn't cast stones at their Stalinist opponents because they are brothers under the treacherous skin.

NO POLITICAL REASON FOR SEPARATE ORGANISATIONS

On all counts, there is no fundamental political difference between the Labour Party and Communist Party. Despite its more revolutionary background and phraseology, the Stalinists are even to the right of the Labour Party. Both are parties of Social reform; both support the war and the class who are conducting the war. Both support the continuation of nat-

Continued on Back page



STARKEY JACKSON (CENTRE) WITH THE FIRST BRITISH YOUNG WORKERS' DELEGATION TO SOVIET RUSSIA, 1926.

We have learnt with deep regret of the loss at sea of Comrade Starkey Jackson, a leading Fourth Internationalist in Britain.

Comrade Jackson is reported missing, presumed drowned whilst his regiment was being transported abroad.

Although still in his early thirties, Starkey Jackson had taken an active part in the Socialist movement for nearly 20 years. He joined the Labour League of Youth when he was 14 years old. At an early age he lost his job as the result of activities in the General Strike and he threw himself wholeheartedly into Socialist work.

He was elected by the Labour League of Youth as a delegate to the first Youth Delegation which visited the Soviet Union from Britain in 1926 and acted as the Secretary of the delegation.

On his return to England, he broke with the Labour Party and joined the Young Communist League and for a short period was the Editor of the Communist Party youth journal "The Young Worker."

He was an activist in the unemployment movement for several years and was sentenced to six months imprisonment after a demonstration in which he played a leading role, was broken up in the most brutal manner by the police.

Towards the end of 1929, Comrade Jackson became critical of Stalinism and the policy of the British C.P. and as a result of his experiences he eventually joined the Fourth Internationals.

For some years he was the Secretary of the Militant Group and in 1938 became the Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist League, which post he fulfilled until he was called up early in the war.

Starkey Jackson entered the army as a proletarian revolutionist adopting the attitude of our movement that a revolutionist must go with the workers of his age and class, to carry on the struggle for the socialist revolution in the army as well as in industry.

We salute a comrade who lost his life in the imperialist war which he combatted for many years.

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL NEWS

THEORETICAL ORGAN OF W.I.L. (FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)

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Internationalism in the I.L.P.

A TURN TO LABOUR IN SOUTHERN IRELAND

Coalition Cracks

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THE WAR HAS AFFECTED THE PEOPLE OF "EIRE"—THE 26 COUNTIES OF SOUTHERN IRELAND, TO ALMOST THE SAME EXTENT AS THE COUNTRIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN HOSTILITIES. IN MANY RESPECTS IT HAS AFFECTED THEM TO AN EVEN GREATER DEGREE.

BY JIM CORBETT

its glorious labour traditions, the Labour Party gained 13 seats instead of its usual 3, and thus secured control of the Council. Not only in the cities did the Labour Party gain in votes and prestige, but also among the small farmers and farm labourers. The number of Labour Party branches increased during 1941 and 1942 by 250 per cent.

the hands of the Irish capitalists, in particular the most reactionary and pro-British wing.

LABOUR LEADERS HELP SPLITTING PROCESS

Undoubtedly, their work is being facilitated by the reactionary policy of the right wing leadership of the Irish Labour Party. For instead of preparing a real struggle to place Labour in Power on a workers' and farmers' programme, aimed at taking over complete control of the nation's industries, expropriating the capitalists and landlords, and granting government subsidies to the small farmers, these labour leaders have fiddled around with a programme of reforms which is but a pale reflection of the policy of the Government itself, and is centred around the most stupid caricature of the utopian Douglas Credit policy of currency reform. At the same time, fearing the leftward swing on the part of the rank and file, and in an attempt to placate the clergy who demand a conciliatory right wing policy, the Labour bureaucrats have eliminated all the Left Wingers, such as Jim Larkin, from the candidates' slate for the forthcoming parliamentary elections, and foisted onto the party membership, a reactionary, middle-class bunch of opportunists.

UNITE LABOUR IN EIRE AND ULSTER

For the first time in Irish history, the possibility is opening up for the Labour Party to become the mass party of the working class; a possibility of Labour taking the control of the government from the hands of the reactionary parties of the capitalist class.

At the same time, the desertion of the Northern Irish Labour Party by Midgely, who formerly exercised a reactionary "Orange" influence inside it, and whose exit was followed by the most reactionary and conservative clique, can only have resulted in the strengthening of the Left Wing of the Belfast and Northern Irish Labour Party. This offers a favourable condition for the unity of Irish Labour—North and South.

NO SPLITS — NO DESERTIONS

This action on the part of the leadership has disgusted a wide section of the rank and file, who without any clear alternative policy, are dropping out or falling under the demagogic Stalinist criticism of the leaders.

The present situation is pregnant with disastrous consequences for the Irish Labour movement. The party is being sabotaged by the right wing, who limit its appeal to the workers by manoeuvres at the top and the abandonment of any vestige of a socialist programme; it is being undermined by the Stalinists who seek to wreck the movement in the interests of involving the 26 Counties in the war.

FOR A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT

Militants in the Dublin area must give a lead to unite the Irish workers and destroy both of these corroding tendencies. The unity of the Labour Party and the Labour movement can only be maintained if the Left Wing work out a militant transitional programme aimed at power.

LABOUR TO POWER ON A

The strictures which the war has placed on Irish foreign trade, which has declined to almost half, and the British policy of "squeezing" Ireland in repayment for her "neutrality", has resulted in a terrific decline in the standards of living. The cost of living has risen by almost 70 per cent, unemployment has risen to 102,000 in the beginning of 1942 and would have been double this but for the wholesale migration of young Irish men and women into British industry and army. Extreme poverty, a characteristic feature of Irish working class life in times of peace, has now intensified to a degree unknown for many years. Evictions of tenants for non-payment of rent is a daily occurrence in the city of Dublin. But for the monies sent home by the husbands, sons and daughters who are working in British war industries, the conditions of the population would be even worse than those which prevailed during the years of 1912-1913.

"SPECIAL POWERS" AGAINST WORKERS

This collapse of Irish economic life is accompanied by a reactionary political attack by the capitalists against the Irish workers and the victimisation of militants who have played a leading role in the struggles of the Trade Union and Labour movement. All the "Special Powers" which have been introduced in Eire have been applied even more rigorously than in Britain. Thousands of members of the I.R.A. Left Wing nationalists and militant workers have been interned under these Special Powers. The Trades Unions have been shackled to the State by the infamous "Order 83", the Anti-Trades Union Act of 1941. The unemployed have been compelled to undergo training in Government "Construction C-ops", or starve.

WORKERS TURN TO LABOUR PARTY

The inability of De Valera and the Irish capitalists to solve the problems of Eire and establish a minimum livelihood for the masses, has resulted in the beginnings of a political crisis, long suppressed, only because of the

as possible were, as always with the capitalists, their guiding considerations. If the Labour leaders showed only one per cent of the class consciousness of these reactionaries, the future of the workers would be assured.

But the emptiness of all the Government's proposals has been shown by the statement on the Beveridge Report. To quote the pro-Government "Daily Worker":

"Under the pressure of the most reactionary group of Tories the Government has already partially surrendered to the vested interests opposing Beveridge. No other meaning can be drawn from Sir John Anderson's speech in the Commons yesterday."

The "Daily Herald" stated:

"There is profound dissatisfaction with Sir John's assertion that although the Government accepts the principles laid down by Beveridge, it is unable at this stage to enter into any specific commitments."

So that the brave, new world they promised, of which they have now given a glimpse, is nothing but the same old world—only worse. The same as the "good old days" after the last war. Means Test, unemployment, misery and want for the working class. Even the carrying through of the Beveridge Report itself would not alter this in any way. But the capitalists and their government are showing already that the Beveridge Report was not meant seriously. Sir John Anderson and Kingsley Wood have demonstrated quite crudely and brutally that this scheme was purely meant as a fairy tale to keep the masses quiet. Says the "Times" on the Government position:

"The Government's acceptance 'in principle' of a very large part of the report has been presented with so many conditions and qualifications as to leave the impression that action, in their view, is only vaguely desirable, that it may be postponed for years, or may even be deferred altogether in a coming era of poverty and depression."

Thus the "Times", most authoritative journal of British capitalism, sums up the Government's position as it "appears" to be. Of course, the alarm of the "Times" is merely voiced at the indiscretion of the Government revealing the brutal truth of the position of British capitalism too soon. They realise what the reaction among the masses will be, as the bye-elections have already shown. It is in this atmosphere that the Labour M.P.'s, faced with the pressure of the workers, have threatened a "revolt" against the

against the Arabs, as the Axis uses in Europe. The whole of the capitalist press fanned the justified indignation of the masses at the destruction of Lidice in Czechoslovakia, and of other towns in occupied Europe. Yet a report published in the "Daily Telegraph" reveals that British troops are burning and destroying villages, seizing the inhabitants' cattle, and driving them from their former homes. This is a picture of the regime which they intend establishing in Europe and Asia when they have been "liberated" from the iron grip of German and Japanese imperialism. The farce of the "war against fascism" has been exposed in North Africa by the installation into power of the French fascist quislings.

The capitalists are planning ahead both for the struggle against the peoples of Europe and the workers of Britain. They offer a future of hunger and chaos, of Quislings in Europe and Asia, and inevitably of reaction and fascism at home. The working class must plan ahead as well. The Labour leaders have been holding the masses in check with the fiction of "national unity". But even the "Times" can see that the workers want an alternative to the rotten system of capitalism. In undisguised dismay they watch the barometer of the bye-elections.

The Labour members of parliament have been forced into opposition over the refusal of the Government even to pay lip-service to the Beveridge Plan. This is not enough! Speeches in Parliament cost nothing but hot air! *The time has come to act!*

The bulk of the workers in the Labour movement support the Labour leaders because they believe that they represent their interests. The Labour leaders have entered the government with the cry that it was necessary for a struggle against fascism. Sacrifices must be made, they said. But only the masses, not the capitalists have made the sacrifices! Sacrifices for the workers, profits for the bosses! Now even the miserably inadequate Beveridge Plan is not even to be promised. It goes too far for the Tories.

If the Labour leaders desired power it is theirs for the taking. A campaign throughout the country on a militant socialist programme would force a general election. And a General Election under these conditions would give the Labour Party an overwhelming majority. It is time for the farce of "national unity" to be ended. End the Coalition with the Capitalists—Labour must take power! No more compromises, no more sell-outs by the Labour and Trade Union leaders to the bosses.

Workers' International League believes that only the taking of power by the working class can solve their

problems. But the road to this lies through the independent struggle of the working class. We believe that the Labour leaders do not represent the interests of the workers, but since the masses of the workers still have confidence in these leaders, we will fight side by side with them to convince them that our point of view is correct. But the whole course of the war has shown the rottenness and bankruptcy of the coalition. The next step forward is the reassertion of the Demand that the Labour leaders fight for power.

Workers, members of Trade Unions, Labour Parties, Co-ops and the whole Labour movement, the time has come to exert pressure now. We appeal to you—Don't put your trust in the capitalists and their politicians. Watch the actions of your own leaders. Rely on your own strength, your own forces, your own organisations. Only the working class can solve the problems facing the workers. End the Coalition! Labour to Power! Put into force the programme of the "Socialist Appeal", which will lead the workers to victory.

Our Programme

1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.
6. Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
7. Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
9. Establishment of military academies 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.

Trotsky and the Red Army

Continued from Page 1.

Republic but also the Red Army of the Third International.

Into the fashioning and leading of this mighty revolutionary instrument,

