

SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

TORIES RIDING HIGH

Land Bill Satisfies Owners

By **TED GRANT**

IN RECENT MONTHS THE COALITION LEADERS, ALARMED AT THE SPREADING FEARS AMONG THE MASSES OF THE RESULTS OF THE WAR, HAVE BEEN PAINTING A GLOWING PICTURE OF POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS.

"Work, Food, Homes" is the new version of Lloyd George's "Land for heroes to live in". But with the approach of "victory" the capitalist masters of Britain are revealing more openly the shape of things to come.

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MID - JULY, 1944.

TWOPENCE

LONDON WORKERS SUFFER

Demand Adequate Protection

Statement of the London District Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party

IT IS NO SECRET THAT CONSIDERABLE SUFFERING IS BEING CAUSED TO THE WORKERS IN THE LONDON AREA BY THE FLYING-BOMB RAIDS. WITH EACH EXPLOSION THE NUMBER OF CASUALTIES MOUNTS UP A GROWING NUMBER OF PEOPLE ARE RENDERED HOMELESS.

After almost three years free from large-scale aerial bombardment, the Government and local authorities have completely failed to provide adequate protection against this new onslaught. Plans for evacuation, re-housing and adequate deep shelters, mentioned from time to time by glib Government spokesmen, have simply not matured.

The contrast between rich and poor is brought sharply to light in the present circumstances. In the deep bomb-proof shelters of luxury flats, West End hotels and Government buildings, the rich idlers and their agents sleep snugly whilst the workers huddle on cold concrete floors in horribly overcrowded conditions. The bombed-out rich retire to their country residences whilst the

workers queue for hours (often in the rain) before they can gain access to the tubes.

The Government's evacuation scheme introduced at the commencement of the war completely collapsed because of the niggardly allowances paid to evacuees. In the recent flying bomb attacks, working class children have had to scuttle for safety into passages, cupboards or Anderson steel pens. The children of the well-to-do are of course evacuated either overseas or in pleasant and safe country surroundings. Money is no object so far as their evacuation is concerned.

No less inhuman is the treatment of the homeless. Crowded in so-called rest homes, often under the most primitive conditions, they soon become fed up with their surroundings and walk the streets in a never-ending search for some better accommodation. With their homes and furniture gone, grind-

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BAIL REFUSED

An application was made before Mr. Justice Wrottesley by Mr. J. Burge that Roy Tearse, Heaton Lee and Jock Haston be admitted to bail pending the hearing of the Appeal based upon the following grounds:

1. That this was the first prosecution under the Trade Disputes Act of 1927.
2. That this was an important trial to the political and industrial labour movement.
3. That there was a very substantial case in law and in fact to be pleaded before the Court of Criminal Appeal.
4. In the event of the appeal being successful it would be wrong that these defendants should have been kept in custody.
5. That the major counts of conspiracy and incitement were rejected by the Jury who returned a verdict of not guilty.

Mr. James Maxton, M.P. and Mr. John McGovern, M.P., were offered as sureties.

The Town and Country Planning Bill is one instalment of the way the ruling class intends to face up to the problem of reconstruction. The fundamental principle on which this Bill is based is the sacred right of private property and of capitalism to exploit the masses of the people. Even the mild and unsatisfactory measures of the Uthwatt Report are swept aside as impracticable. No wonder it received the enthusiastic support of the National Federation of Property Owners, whose



The Marquis of Bute owns 117,000 acres of land. Merely for having possession of this land he already receives £109,000 a year in coal royalties! The Town and Country Planning Bill serves the interests of these landowners of private property—and with the support of the Labour Ministers.

representative said that the suggestions were a "tremendous" relief to them.

Obviously since this Bill is essentially designed to protect their and capitalism's interests as a whole. The Bill expressly states:

"It is not proposed that a single master plan should be devised by the Government and imposed on the country nor that the existing pat-

are maintained. These are to be compensated or taxed accordingly, leaving, of course, a nice plum of 20 per cent to the landowner who himself builds on the land as an "incentive" to increase the value of his land or suitable compensation, if permission to build is refused. One can be sure that as between one rapacious landowner and another, the Government will be completely impartial, or between a capitalist and a landowner, there will be strict justice. But against the workers there is no impartiality.

However, only in blitzed areas, or areas which have become blighted is the right given to local or other authorities to compulsorily purchase land. In a leader, the "Manchester Guardian" states:

"It (the Bill) would leave the initiative in deciding how land should be used with the private owners and (to a lesser degree) with the local authorities acting in furtherance of private and local interests."

Even the Tory boroughs and county councils were taken aback by the cynical way in which new burdens are being thrust on the workers and the local rates for the benefit of the landowners. There was protest on the part of every council in England at this barefaced robbery. Naturally the plan for which the Labour ministers accept responsibility, has called forth a storm of protest within the labour movement. Labour M.P.'s, Trade Union Branches, the London Labour Party, the Executive of the London Trades Council have protested against it.

This question of the land is a decisive one in viewing the post-war world the capitalists are planning. They are not prepared to attack the privileges of even the most reactionary and outworn section of the ruling class—the landowners. This scheme, because of the storm of protest, may be altered in some of its details. But fundamentally it will remain as it is—an attack upon the workers, an insurmountable obstacle in the way of building a better Britain, and a bolstering up of privilege.

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ALLIED GENERALS HERALD REACTION

General Alexander Paying Italian Workers Less Than Hitler and Mussolini

That the Allied officers have no real hatred of Fascism as the working classes throughout the world possess, was proved once again by the fall of Cherbourg where the American commander immediately got onto the friendliest terms with his beaten counterpart. The newspapers relate the story of how he shook hands with fascist Von Schlieben, upon his surrender.

It is clear that to the American and British generals it was no more than a chess match that had been played and won. The soldiers—both Allied and German who were killed in the ghastly slaughter, were merely a counter in the game of power politics.

To emphasise this, we see the different treatment given to the Nazi officers—"the reactionary Junker corps behind Hitler"—and the treatment threatened to the German people. The geniality with which the surrender of von Schlieben was greeted was systematically continued while he was being escorted to imprisonment in England. We cannot doubt that he will receive the same treatment in confinement as the Nazi gangster Hess is already receiving.

Von Schlieben's Meals

To quote the pro-fascist "Daily Mail" of June 30th, in an article which deals with the generosity of the victors, Reginald Eason writes:

"For the trip to Britain the prisoners were given every courtesy.

General von Schlieben and his companions ate their meals—breakfast at 7.30, lunch at 12, dinner at 6—with the ship's officers. They sat at a separate table.

Each had his cabin, his own orderly and the freedom of the ward room.

For breakfast they had cereal, fresh eggs, toast, butter, jam, and coffee. For lunch: steak, hashed brown potatoes, peas and carrots, with lemon pie and coffee for desert.

And for dinner they had hamburger served in fried onions.

They enjoyed the coffee so much that they asked for it between meals"

In Italy the Allied conquerors im-

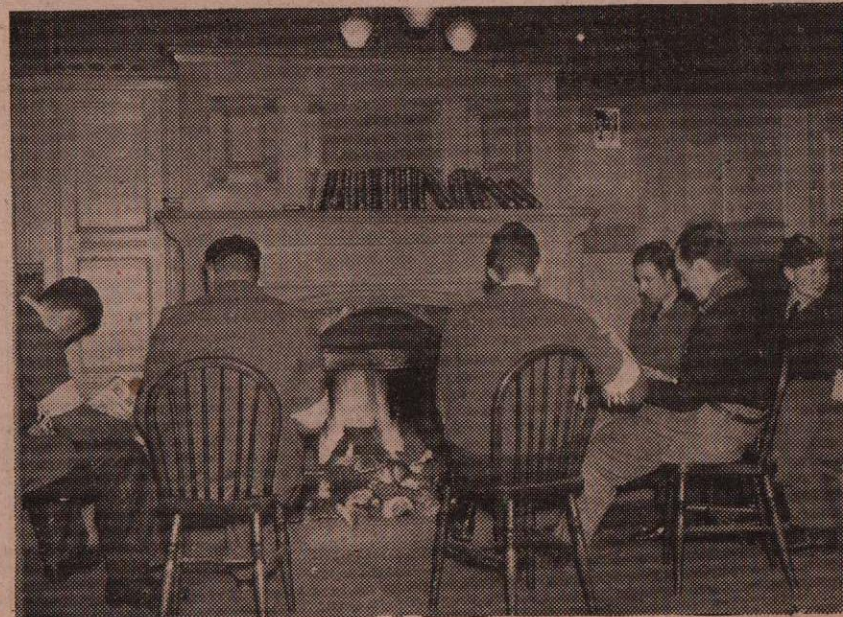
mediately installed the Fascists to the same positions they formerly held, after a few figureheads had been removed. Reports in the capitalist press admit that the Fascists in Italy are wining and dining on the proceeds of the Black Market in Rome under Allied protection.

This is the treatment systematically given to the Nazi gangsters and murderers—those who are really responsible together with the German capitalists, for the crimes and atrocities of the Nazis.

Contrast this to the treatment of the ordinary worker soldiers. In Italy, General Alexander has provided a fine example of the class motives of the Allies. In Southern Italy he established starvation wages for the Italian workers. The official wage of the best paid employees of A.M.G. is 50 lira, or 1/2 per day!—the price of a loaf of bread on the Black Market! In Rome this would be much less because prices are higher and wages have been higher

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GERMAN OFFICER PRISONERS



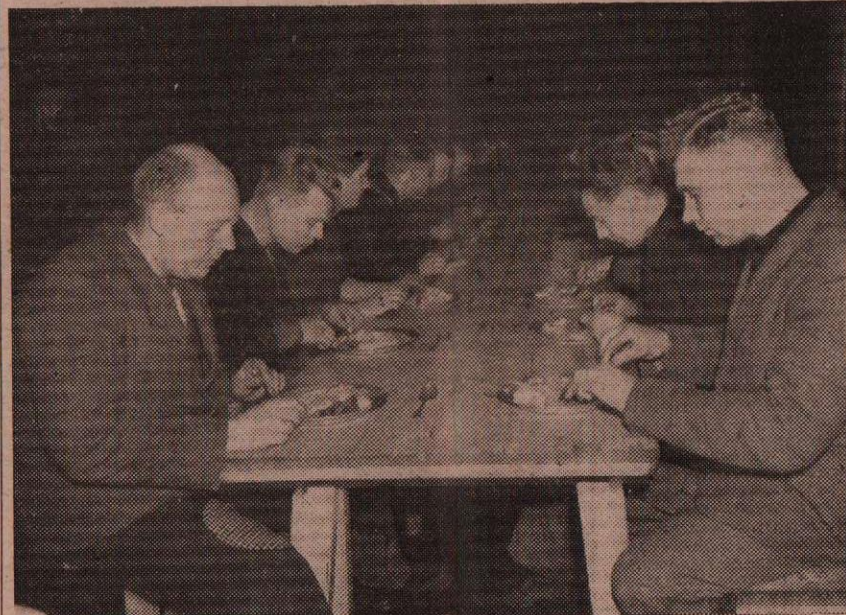
were rejected by the Jury who returned a verdict of not guilty.

Mr. James Maxton, M.P., and Mr. John McGovern, M.P., were offered as sureties.

Mr. Justice Wrottesley refused bail claiming that there were no special circumstances in this case.

The appeal will be heard in October.

GERMAN WORKER PRISONERS



These two pictures show German prisoners of war in their camps. They show the Nazi officers lounging at their ease in comfortable surround-

ings while the privates live under conditions entirely different. Note the picture of the Fuehrer in the officers' room, and the fact that the R.A.F. sergeant is photographed fraternising with the officers. British soldiers are strictly forbidden to fraternise with the ordinary rank and file German prisoners.

These pictures present a contrast between the treatment of the ordinary German worker soldiers and the German officers. While breathing fiery hate of the whole German people claiming them as responsible for the Nazis, the British capitalists accord those in authority over the German workers and soldiers (and thus those really responsible for Nazism) comparative comfort and solicitude. The German Junker Generals in particular who together with the German capitalists put Hitler in power are treated with even greater consideration as the treatment of General von Schlieben in the article below shows.

capitalism's interests as a whole. The Bill expressly states:

"It is not proposed that a single master plan should be devised by the Government and imposed on the country nor that the existing pattern of land ownership or land use should be swept away."

The fact that the Bill puts planning in this framework makes a mockery of the ostensible reason for which it is brought forward. The contradictions between the different capitalist interests make a national plan impossible. Thus the unsatisfactory development of building will continue more or less as it was. The people who will benefit most from the provisions of the Bill will be the big landowners.

In this, of course, the Government is acting as capitalist governments have done in the past. It should never be forgotten that the land now owned by the landowners was stolen from the mass of the people through the enclosures in the sixteenth and eighteenth century with the assistance of the Governments at that time. The interests of the peasants were ruthlessly disregarded and they were forcibly ejected from the land to starve or work under slave conditions in the factories just being built in the towns.

That is how the Duchess of Sutherland obtained her land as late as the last century. Now the Duke of Buccleugh owns 459,108 acres, the Duke of Devonshire 186,000 acres, the Duke of Hamilton 157,387, the Marquis of Bute 117,000. It has been calculated that a little more than a few thousand people own the overwhelming part of the land in this country.

The provisions for "compensating" the big capitalists makes any attempt at building houses, roads, parks, really in the interests of the workers virtually prohibitive because of the expense.

Lord Latham, Labour leader of the L.C.C., not prone to any exaggeration, was compelled to say: "Comprehensive planning and reconstruction has been sold down the river . . . its (the Bill's) main purpose seemed to be to interfere as little as possible with the rights of property."

In the Utthwatt Report the recommendation was made to base suggested compensation for compulsory acquisition of land at March 1939 values as a maximum. This in itself was already unsatisfactory. But in the new Bill the March 1939 prices become the guaranteed minimum.

Thus the Bill benefits the speculators, landlords and other parasites. The White Paper ingenuously states:

" . . . by far the greater area of the country owners will be able to go on using their land just as they do now without interference of any sort, whether they be farmers, shopkeepers, industrialists, or the ordinary owners of a house and garden."

The reference to "shopkeepers" and "ordinary owners" of houses and gardens is of course, merely thrown in as a cover to conceal the protection of the real big property owners. The Bill provides that no building shall be done without consent of the local planning authority—and then attempts carefully to prepare a balance of losses and gains between the different property owners of land if taken over by councils, the Government, etc., or if compulsory restrictions on building rights

building a better Britain, and a bolstering up of privilege.

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TYNE MEETING

A very successful meeting was held in the Gaiety Theatre, Newcastle under the auspices of the Anti-Labour Laws Victims Defence Committee to protest against the convictions of Comrades Haston, Tearse and Lee under the Trade Disputes Act and the introduction of Regulation 1A(a).

Nearly 400 workers listened intently to Jimmy Maxton, Chairman of the Defence Committee, which he said, had made itself responsible for the three comrades now in prison and which will do everything possible to further the appeal against the convictions.

"We are taking the case from the Assize Court to a higher one," he said. "From the lower court we have got a decision that these people were not responsible for the strike, that they did not incite the strikers and that they were only concerned with furthering a strike. We want to know if furthering a strike can take place before a strike has taken place, and whether furthering a strike in any way can incur a penalty of 12 months imprisonment."

The other speakers were Ted Grant of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Ann Keen, the fourth convicted comrade, and apprentice leader Bill Davy. Comrade Len Harrison of the I.L.P. chaired the meeting.

Ted Grant dealt with the implications of the verdict together with Regulation 1A(a). "The ostensible excuse for Regulation 1A(a) and the arrests," he said, "was the so-called incitement to strike by the 'agitators.' If this were so Regulation 1A(a) should be withdrawn, since a verdict of not guilty has been brought in on the counts of conspiracy and incitement. But this was not the real reason for the convictions or the Regulation. Bevin stated that this was an exceptional Regulation to be used during the war only, but Citrine blurted out the truth in an interview in America. The Regulation, he said, was necessary to cope with the industrial unrest that would come after the war."

Comrade Ann Keen was loudly applauded when she dealt with the programme that was offered to the apprentices and the nation by the imprisoned comrades—nationalisation of the mines and their operation under workers' control. The spontaneous applause is a reflection of the feeling of the workers throughout the country.

Bill Davy outlined the history of the Tyne Apprentices' movement and said that the three comrades were now in prison for serving the interests of the apprentices and the working class.

Comrade Alec Auld made the collection which brought £17. 10. 0.

Summed up, in a word, this was an inspiring meeting.

Letters

From a Soldier's Wife

Dear Comrade,

The ruling class is becoming quite anxious about the fall in the birthrate and constantly propaganda efforts are being conducted through the medium of the press and lectures given in the forces on this question. No doubt the ruling class are thinking that a falling birthrate will weaken their power against their rivals in the next conflict they are already preparing for us. So the propaganda goes on—Produce more babies!

However, I would like to bring to your notice the outrageous treatment we received at the hands of the military authorities whilst I was in hospital having my second child. My husband is in the Army R.E.'s. We had no one at all to take care of our two year old child whilst I was away, so on these grounds of extreme hardship, my husband applied for compassionate leave.

After investigation into our position he was granted compassionate leave for 7 days. We immediately applied for an extension on the grounds that 7 days were inadequate. We explained that I was being evacuated by the Council to a hostel a week before we were expecting the baby and from there I would be in hospital about 14 days. We would need another week so that I could be assisted with the children on my return home.

But the extra leave was refused. We appealed for an extension of 3 weeks. But despite our efforts we re-

THANKS TO SOUTH AFRICAN COMRADES!

In response to an appeal for financial aid for the defence of the imprisoned comrades our South African comrades have sent us £85. We take this opportunity to express our thanks and appreciation to the South African Fourth Internationalists for their efforts



Committee of National Liberation

June, 1944.

Dear Comrade,

I have just heard the Shachtmanite position on the national question. His position, as I understand it, is based on a complete misunderstanding of what is actually happening in the occupied countries. At basis, it is defeatist in the worst sense of the term, of course, and leads straight into the camp of class collaboration and social chauvinism.

Just in case there are some doubting elements in the ranks of the Fourth International, I think a few words might be useful. You are of course, at liberty to use them as you choose.

First of all it is necessary to get a very clear idea of just what the Committees of National Liberation are. What I have to say applies particularly to the one in Italy which I have been able to observe at first hand. Undoubtedly there will be differences in the various countries, reflecting the intensity of the struggle and the class consciousness of the masses. But in general, I feel confident, we will find the same basic conditions.

The Committee of National Liberation is not a mass organisation. This is the first thing to get clear in our heads. It is an organisation of political parties. The masses do not, in any way attempt to express themselves through the Committee, but turn, invariably to their own organisations—the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Trade Unions.

In Italy the Christian Democrats (Catholics), whose paper carries across its front page the slogan "Workers of the World, Unite in Christ" (without acknowledgements), carry considerable weight among the poor peasantry and the more backward elements of the proletariat. But in general it can be said that the workers have remained loyal to their traditional organisations. Cut off for 20 years from active participation in politics, the workers are easily confused, but their instincts are very sound, and, even while they flock into the Socialist Party and Communist Party, they manifest their distrust of the National Committee, which they see, unmistakably, as the instrument of collaboration with the national bourgeoisie and with Anglo-American imperialism.

SHOP STEWARDS' CONVENOR VICTIMISED

On Tuesday, 23rd May, Reg Birch, Shop Stewards' Convenor of Landis & Gyrs was called into the Security Officer's department and told that he was fired on the spot. His crime according to the management was that "he played darts during his tea break".

After protesting against this high-handed action he requested permission to return to the Tool-room in order to collect his clothes and tools, but this was flatly refused. On pointing out that it was impossible for him to walk the streets in his overalls, he made an effort to return to his department, whereupon three members of the management began forcibly to prevent him. A scuffle ensued and as if by magic two uniformed policemen put in their appearance. After further protesting against the use of policemen in an industrial dispute, Bro. Birch was escorted into the street.

It was clear to the workers in the West London factories that this was a case that should be fought to the end, and accordingly they mobilised as much support as possible. A defence committee was set up and a day later a demonstration of over 2,000, representing 30 factories, gathered outside Landis & Gyrs to protest against this crude piece of victimisation. Prominent on the platform was Claude Berridge, the Stalinist Divisional Organiser of the A.E.U. After announcing to the audience that the net result of his negotiations with the management was that they refused to take Birch back "at any price", Berridge went on to say that he warned a Ministry of Labour official that if situations are allowed to develop like the one at Landis & Gyrs, neither the Ministry nor the employers should expect trade union officials always to 'carry the can back' and put matters right.

This whining attitude was typical of the speeches by the Stalinist spokesmen on the platform. They all talked about what had taken place in shocked tones, but not a single one gave a lead on what action should be taken, apart from the pious remarks that "It should be left to the Appeal Board". The result was that 2,000 workers trooped back to their shops with a sense of complete frustration. And this frame of mind was further reinforced by the action which followed. The Appeal Board turned the case down and the local police court bound over both Birch and the management for good behavior.

Two months have gone by and Birch is still walking the streets. The official argument of the dyed-in-the-wool Stalinist is that the case is "still under negotiation" between the E.C. of the A.E.U. and the Ministry of Labour. But every trade unionist knows that Birch has been sold out.

This case is important for a number of reasons. In the first place it follows a number of other cases of victimisation where convenors have been pushed on the streets and the managements have gone scot free, as for example in the famous Desoutter and Lincoln Car cases. Secondly, it provides a clear proof that the Essential Works Order victimises the workers but allows unscrupulous employers as many loopholes as they require.

Thirdly, it shows that the policy of collaboration with the Government pursued by trade union leaders and the Stalinists always brings about the defeat of the workers. Birch is a leading member of the West London Communist Party and whilst accepting its reactionary line he honestly attempts to do his best for his fellow workers on the job. But his hands are tied by the Pollitts, Berridges and the older Party hacks. During his employment at Landis & Gyrs he succeeded in organising it 90 per cent, which was a considerable improvement. Rates and general working conditions were improved. The management decided he must go, so out he went. With a militant appeal he could have roused hundreds of thousands of workers to his aid and forced the management to have him back. But Berridge and Co., hardened by years of "carrying the can back", denied him this right.

The Ministry of Labour, on the other hand, were alarmed in case there should be a further repetition of the Desoutter episode (as appeared likely if the appeal was won); so they made sure he lost his appeal. The magistrate sat on the fence and bound both sides over. The whole thing was rigged against Birch from top to bottom by both the C.P. leaders and the Ministry of Labour.

There is a growing realisation amongst active trade unionists that something must be done to prevent occurrences of this sort, although as yet it has not taken a positive form. That is now the immediate task. As things are at present, negotiations such as were conducted in this case are a farce. Collaboration between the employers and the union leaders must be ended. The Essential Works Order



IMPLICATIONS OF THE APPEAL

From a Socialist Lawyer

The case of the Four comrades is going to the Court of Criminal Appeal.

The importance of this case goes much beyond the trial of the four comrades who are now implicated. Apart from the fact that this is the first trial on indictment under the Trades Disputes Act 1927, it is a case which may be quoted for years to come in the courts as the basis in law of any other prosecutions which in the changing circumstances conditioned by declining capitalism, may take place in the courts in the next few years.

To have established that a person can be charged with furthering a strike which is not yet actually declared, much less declared illegal, is a very dangerous precedent. It is necessary to examine the logical implications resulting to the whole trade union movement, official and unofficial, if this decision were to go unchallenged.

In this particular case, four declared and admitted Trotskyists have been convicted. To view this thing dispassionately one must imagine a case in which four persons, not members of a trade union, but with a grievance, which, for the purpose of argument we will say, affects them in their employment, contemplate action which might result in a withdrawal of their labour and that of their fellows. If the decision in the Trotskyist case is to stand, all the acts taken by such persons to bring to the notice of the public their grievance, can be construed as acts in furtherance of a strike.

ultimately lead to strike action, can, if this decision is to survive, be charged with an act "in furtherance" of a strike.

Mr. Bevin has introduced in 1A(a) a proposition entirely unknown in the criminal law of the land, which says in effect, an act may be legal if done with the knowledge and authority of a trade union, but is illegal if done by persons who are not members of a trade union. If the evidence of Davy at this trial was true, the great proportion of the apprentices were not organised in any trade union. Under 1A(a) it would put them completely outside the law.

One wonders whether all those people who have held up their hands in pious horror at the thought of being associated in the defence of Trotskyists have really thought out what this conviction means to every person interested in any branch of the industrial and political movement and the co-operative movement. This trial will be quoted in the future when, it is not unwise to suggest, the people in the dock will not be Trotskyists, but may be any workers in the movement who are compelled by the force of circumstances to seek redress on some legitimate grievance. The history of the legal system of this country since the days of the Combination Laws should convince any person who thinks about it, that any decision secured by the owning class, under whatever guise, if in fact, that decision can be used to emasculate the fighting capacity of the working class, will be so used irre-

We take this opportunity to express our thanks and appreciation to the South African Fourth Internationalists for their efforts on behalf of our class war prisoners.

ceived a telegram from the C.O. to the effect that if my husband did not return immediately he would be regarded as absent without leave.

Arising out of this, on 4th June, two days after the birth of the child, the police called to arrest my husband. Since he had the two year old child on his hands and believing his arrest to be imminent, he left the house with the child and so avoided arrest.

On hearing the news that my husband and child had been forced to leave home I immediately wrote a further letter to the Under Secretary of State explaining the latest developments and appealing to him to get the leave legally extended. I received a reply that the needs of the services came first. The police came round enquiring at the hospital and I was subject to questioning by the matron. When my husband visited me in order that he might make arrangements for me to come out of hospital at the end of my time there, he was arrested. About 2 hours later the police came to the hospital and brought me out in the evening air before I and the baby were in a fit condition to leave, in order that I could take over the care of the other child, and my husband returned to the army.

The police stated that before taking these steps they had tried everywhere to get my little girl accommodated until I was well, but having failed were forced to bring me out of hospital.

My husband is now awaiting court martial in a compound.

Is it not scandalous that a woman should be brought out of hospital to suit the whim of a spiteful officer on the plea that "military discipline" must be carried out above all else. One may well ask: What sort of world are the boys coming back to?

Yours fraternally,
Sheila Williams.

I Stake My Life!

By LEON TROTSKY

together with

**DEWEY REPORT OF
INQUIRY INTO THE
MOSCOW TRIALS**

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back to their shops with a sense of complete frustration. And this frame of mind was further reinforced by the action which followed. **The Appeal Board turned the case down and the local police court bound over both Birch and the management for good behaviour, in the case of the prosecution which followed the charge and counter-charge of assault.**

Both these parties are rife with discontent, which is coming daily more and more into the open. Almost every issue of *L'Unita*, the Communist Party paper, records another expulsion from the party for "factionalism." These expelled elements, together with like-minded people still in the Party and the Socialist Party, have formed themselves into the "Fraction of the Left of the C.P. and S.P." and they publish a weekly paper *Il Proletario*. Right now they have a Trotskyist tendency but this will undoubtedly take on a more positive aspect in time. Among them are some of the most important Trade Unionists in the Country, who command a great deal of popular support.

The fact that it has not been possible to transform the **Committee of National Liberation** into the nucleus of a mass movement is unmistakable proof that the Italian workers are not vitally interested in "national liberation" as such. In any case, they see in the Committee just a tool of one set of imperialists and its aim, the substitution of one army of occupation by another. **More than anything else the Italian proletariat today is inspired by October.** That is why they are entering the Communist Party in great numbers—and leaving it almost just as quickly precisely because they discover that this is not the party of October after all but simply a competitor with the Socialist Party in the gentle and despicable business of collaboration.

"Opportunism" is a word which is today on the lips of almost every Italian worker. Of course, this situation is only hopeful if something is done about it. Failing the necessary steps it will lead to complete disillusionment and to a setback for years, maybe decades. But the atmosphere is very good on the whole and the weather stimulating.

About Shachtman's theory of the colonisation of Europe, I need not say much. I don't think this preposterous theory can find much support among us. The Germans conquered and occupied Europe out of military necessity. Their goal was the richer loot of the British Empire and the sparsely developed areas of the Ukraine; not to turn countries like France and Italy into colonies. Rather she wished to convert them into junior partners in exploiting the world—the same fate that Yankee imperialism holds out for us.

The whole discussion on the national question should not take up much of our time. But where does Shachtman stand with regard to Russia now? If the workers must be for national liberation in France, Italy, etc., then what about the Soviet proletariat? Has he come through the back door to take up the position of defencism he so decisively rejected?

All the best,
PECK.

back to their shops with a sense of complete frustration. And this frame of mind was further reinforced by the action which followed. **The Appeal Board turned the case down and the local police court bound over both Birch and the management for good behaviour, in the case of the prosecution which followed the charge and counter-charge of assault.**

That is now the immediate task. As things are at present, negotiations such as were conducted in this case are a farce. Collaboration between the employers and the union leaders must be ended. The Essential Works Order must be repealed and the right to strike returned. These are the only effective remedies.

Any member of a trade union, any shop steward who assists, say, in the production of leaflets or propaganda concerning a grievance which may

convince any person who thinks about it, that any decision secured by the owning class, under whatever guise, if in fact, that decision can be used to emasculate the fighting capacity of the working class, will be so used, **irrespective of the political view held by the person victimised at the particular time.**

The Communist Party, if it were not wholly concentrating its attention on its political marriage with all the forces of reaction, might well hesitate a long time before rejoicing at the result of the Trotskyist trial. It requires no prophetic vision on the part of any intelligent Socialist to see that the Stalinist may well occupy the position of the Trotskyist, if and when the Stalinist became a menace to any attempt to stabilise what remains of the existing economic order. One is amazed to hear people who ought to know better, because of their particular spleen against those who hold the Trotskyist view, talking as if the trial of these four comrades was in some amazing sense a working class victory! **What they are doing, in effect, is to help to forge the weapon which will be used against the whole working class movement in the course of the next few year's struggle.** It might be very comforting to a Stalinist to see the so-called Trotskyist put into jail under any pretext, but much more rejoicing will take place among the class enemies of the workers, who know both the value of the weapon they have secured, and its utility to further split the working class.

This prosecution should have been condemned by every section of progressive opinion in this country, and Sir Walter Citrine and his colleagues should have organised the defence. It cannot be too strongly urged that it is not a question of whether four Trotskyist "agitators" have been convicted for aiding and abetting in the furtherance of a strike during a war. The question is whether any action taken by militant workers not in contemplation of strike action which may be the last alternative if everything else fails is going to be construed as "furthering" a strike. And that all the propaganda on any specific grievance shall be construed as being in furtherance of a strike to be declared. The implications of such a proposition are obvious. It is of the greatest importance that we try and fight with all the strength we can, every attempt that is made to utilise the war to consolidate legal machinery which can be used against every section of the workers.

In conclusion the National Council of Civil Liberties which ought to have been the spearhead of this fight appears to put political considerations much higher than the liberty of the individual which is the very foundation for its existence. Looking back on the trial if there is one ray of light in the darkness it was that whatever the safe, secure, entrenched trade union leadership may think, the young apprentices who gave evidence showed courage, sincerity and quite amazing intelligence. They will not soon forget the dockers K.C. giving evidence as the Minister of Labour on issues where in earlier days he had himself been the victim of the kind of conspiracy he now invokes.

Appeal to Trade Unionists

Anti-Labour Laws Victims Defence Committee

c/o 318 REGENTS PARK ROAD,

LONDON, N.3.

Phone: FIN. 4398.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE:

Chairman:

J. MAXTON, M.P.

Secretary:

V. SASTRY,
(Federation of Indian Associations).

Treasurer:

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J. McNAIR,
Independent Labour Party.
WALTER PADLEY,
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ANEURIN BEVAN, M.P.
HUGH LAWSON, M.P.

TED GRANT,
Revolutionary Communist Party
G. PITTOCK-BUSS.
BOB TURNER.
DON MCGREGOR,
London Workers' Committee.
M. KAVANAGH,
Freedom Press.
ARTHUR BALLARD.
D. BEECH.
D. BALLANTINE.
JOHN LOVERSEED, M.P.
SIR RICHARD ACLAND, M.P.

Dear Brother,

Roy Tearse and Heaton Lee have been sentenced to a year's imprisonment each, Jock Haston to six months, and Ann Keen to 13 days imprisonment under the infamous Trade Disputes Act of 1927.

Their conviction demonstrates that the capitalist offensive against the workers has begun. Though Bevin introduced Regulation 1A(a) ostensibly because of a gigantic "conspiracy" and "incitement to strike," the jury has returned a verdict of not guilty on the charges of conspiracy and incitement. Consequently the whole basis of 1A(a) falls to the ground if we are to believe the reasons given.

If this conviction remains unchallenged, the Government will have a weapon to attack all sections of the working class. The savage sentences indicates the hatred the ruling class displays towards militant workers. It is necessary for the entire Trade Union and working class movement to face the issues involved in the trial. This is the first conviction under the Trade Disputes Act, and as such set a judicial precedent for the future. Unless this decision is challenged and the character of the Act exposed, many more prosecutions will follow. The Labour and Trade Union movement, which has campaigned against this anti-labour Act for the last 17 years, must not allow the decision to stand by default.

An appeal against the convictions has been lodged. It is to be fought on two important points of law which will affect the entire trade union movement in the future. First, the decision that the Tyne Apprentices' strike was an illegal strike will be challenged. Second, the decision that "furtherance" of a strike includes any action prior to the outbreak of the strike, will be challenged. Although it has been ruled in the House of Lords by three judges that the definition of "furtherance" of a trade dispute can only be defined to mean any action after the strike has broken out, this ruling was completely ignored. "Furtherance" as interpreted by the present judgment means that all trade union activity before a strike and leading to a strike, all propaganda and activity in connection with a grievance of the workers, becomes illegal.

In the light of such an interpretation, any shop steward, in a factory who raised a wage dispute or adopted any resolution, BEFORE the actual strike broke out could be convicted under the new Defence Regulation 1A(a) and sentenced up to five years imprisonment. The definition of the word "furtherance" is therefore of vital importance not only in relation to the Trade Disputes Act but to 1A(a).

It is the duty of all trade unionists and other working class and socialist organisations to rally to the support of the defence. Funds are needed urgently. The case cannot be fought through the appeal court, and if need be, the House of Lords, unless further contributions are forthcoming. Already the legal and other expenses have amounted to £1,000. The legal expenses for the appeal will cost a further £1,000.

Trade Unionists! This fight is your fight! Pass resolutions demanding the release of the three! Send a generous donation to:

W. G. COVE, M.P.

318, Regents Park Road,
London, N.3.

**SOCIALIST
APPEAL**

Organ of the Revolutionary
Communist Party, British Section of
the Fourth International.
256 HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2
Phone: CUN 2526.
EDITOR: E. Grant.
BUSINESS MANAGER: J. Graham.

EDITORIAL.

Support the German Workers

The assault on the European mainland has begun. With the crumbling of the monstrous and efficient machinery of Nazi oppression, the German working class seeks for an alternative. Betrayed by the Labour leaders and the Stalinists for over eleven years, they have waited for an opportunity to settle their accounts with Hitler.

Already desertions from the army are reported, Soldiers' Councils are being formed, and strikes have broken out in Munich.

With the traditions of the German working class, it can be predicted with certainty that it will seek the road of revolution. The end of the last war witnessed an abortive German revolution. With the blood of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht on their hands, the German labour leaders delivered the German workers, tied hand and foot, to the ruling class.

Repeatedly the German workers have striven to break this stranglehold. In 1923 and in 1931, once again in their millions they turned to the Social Democrats and Stalinists for a lead — once again they were betrayed. No lead was forthcoming and Hitler came to power without a shot being fired.

The future of the European Revolution and the future of the Soviet Union depends upon the successful German revolution. With a high degree of technical development, concentrated in the very nerve centre of Europe, the German workers occupy the strategic position on the European Continent. If the German revolution is crushed and if reaction succeeds in Germany once again, Europe and the world will face a third world war. If the German revolution triumphs and the German workers are victorious, the United Socialist States of Europe will be secured.

In Britain plans to crush the German revolution are already afoot. An extreme expression of this tendency is Vansittartism. Renegade labour leaders and Stalinists are supporting this policy of reaction.

With the fate of the entire European working class hanging in the balance, the British workers must reject the plans of the imperialists to smash the coming revolution of the German workers and reduce them to the level of slaves. With one voice the entire British labour movement must express its solidarity with the German revolution. Marching shoulder to shoulder workers of Britain and Germany will smash capitalism and together with the workers of other lands, establish a socialist society.

Fight Breakaways in the Unions

BY BOB ALLEN

This article is written in response to a comrade in Glasgow who writes:—

"An article on the question of the tendency among militants in industry to break away from their unions would be very helpful at the present time." The breakaway is becoming a very serious problem for our comrades here in industry. The disillusionment of the workers in the Communist Party has played a big part in causing this problem. The Anarchists in one factory where we have comrades, are supporting the "breakaway". The "Socialist Appeal" which is sold largely to workers in industry should contain an article on our policy."

The Trade Unions of Britain are the oldest unions in the world. The British working class, with unparalleled heroism during many bitter battles against the boss class, built up their unions as the organs of struggle in defence of wages and working conditions.

At the present day, more workers belong to trade unions than at any time in the past. Scores of thousands of workers take an active part in the day to day work of these huge organisations in the fight against the bosses. The Branch secretaries, local organisers, shop stewards and officials of all kinds bear by far the main brunt of the economic struggle in industry.

Nobody can deny that in the eyes of the overwhelming majority of workers, the unions constitute their main weapon in the fight against the capitalists.

TRADE UNION BOSSES COLLABORATE WITH EMPLOYERS

Over a period of many years these mass organisations, with a total membership of 8 millions, with millions of pounds in their funds, have built up a leadership, an officialdom which numbers itself in thousands. These officials in the main, represent a conservative factor at all times, and constitute a real bureaucracy in the unions, tending to take up a position independent from that of the members of their unions. Most of these officials have not worked on the job for years. They have an assured income higher than that of the skilled workers, and they have a security in their jobs which no worker ever has. They thus look at problems entirely differently from the way the workers do. In peace time, the efforts of the officials are directed towards peace in industry, collaboration with the employers, and a general desire to keep things "quiet". And because of this in the results of their policy objectively

reactionary in fighting against its own members' interests. In this war we have seen that all the union Executives, all the bureaucrats have agreed to everything that the Government and the employers require. Compulsory arbitration, the Essential Work Order, the No-Strike pledge, and the T.U.C.'s support of Regulation 1A(a) are some of their reactionary actions. Just as bad has been officialdom's acceptance of ridiculously small wage rate increases, out of all proportion to the real rise in the cost of living. On many burning issues, in spite of a lot of big talk, the bureaucrats have done nothing: women's rates—for five years not settled, will remain unsettled for another five years if the bureaucrats are still in control. They do not even successfully defend convenors and shop stewards in plain cases of victimisation by the employers. But in some directions the union leaders have shown themselves capable of resolute, decisive action. When it comes to declaring a strike unofficial and telling the workers to go back to work, the bureaucrats are first in the field and shouting louder than the "Daily Mail." When a union militant or a progressive union official violates official policy, or transgresses some small rule, he finds himself punished, suspended, or even expelled before he can take breath. The "Socialist Appeal" has consistently protested against the high handed, anti-democratic actions of the union bureaucrats. The Armstrong case, the state of affairs in BISAKTA, the NUR, are recently reported examples of this sort of thing.

During the last few years the workers have had bitter experiences at the hands of the trade union bosses. They have felt the effects of the officials' policy in their struggles. At Barrow, the shipyard workers were suffering under the worst bonus system in the country. Arbitration Award 326 was nothing but a mockery, a swindle directed against every engineer in the country. Having completely exhausted their patience, the Barrow workers, supported by the whole District Union organisation and the Shop Stewards, went on strike to demand satisfaction. But although the Barrow demands were perfectly justified, the E.C. of the A.E.U., instead of fighting Vickers, spent their time fighting the District Committee, and trying to persuade the Barrow workers to give in to Vickers. Ever since the strike, the A.E.U. bosses have carried on a bitter vendetta against the finest and most trusted militants in the shipyards.

and open blacklegging activities on the part of the union bosses. These examples could be repeated by dozens.

ACTIVITIES OF UNION BOSSES LEADS TO DISILLUSIONMENT

The effects of the activities of the union bureaucrats have been seen all over the country, but most seriously in places where militant struggles of the workers have taken place. Many workers have become cynical and disillusioned in the unions as a result. Many workers have torn up their cards, or ceased paying dues, because, they say: "The Union is only a racket, and won't fight for the members' interests." Good militants have very often tended in the direction of "Red Unions", or breakaways. "If the A.E.U. won't fight let's get into a union that will, or form a new one ourselves," is the general attitude of this group. Yet again other workers, particularly on the Clyde, have declared that "all unions are useless and will all go the same way as the A.E.U., therefore we can only rely on our own committees elected in the shops. Let us pay our dues to our own shop committees."

These moods of apathy and disillusionment cannot be ignored. They are a symptom of the trends in the working class movement of today, when the fighting spirit of the workers is rising and is coming into head-on collision with the present reactionary leadership.

The Stalinists and the union leaders, when faced with the facts, say that those who leave the unions are simply bad Unionists. They cannot admit that the responsibility rests upon their own shoulders because of the policy they are pursuing. Such arguments are useless and dangerous. It is necessary squarely to point out what is causing these trends and to remedy the cause. It is necessary squarely to point out who is responsible for the present policy, and to remove them from their high positions in the unions. Above all, it is necessary to explain how things can be put right; to explain how much trade union organisation means to the working class, and what powerful weapons the Trade Unions could be with a correct policy and a fighting leadership.

THE SHOP COMMITTEES AND THE UNIONS

Before proceeding on these questions, it is necessary to deal with the Shop Committees. One thing which comes out very strongly in all the breakaway trends, is the fact that the Shop Stewards and the Shop Com-

**BREAK THE
COALITION!**

Labour to Power

on the following Programme
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:—

- Industrial and Economic Policy.
 - Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation, as the prerequisite for a planned economy and the only means of ensuring full employment with adequate standards of living for the workers, and the operation of the means of production under control of workers committees.
 - Confiscation of all war profits, all company books to be open for trade union inspection, control of production through workers' committees to end the chaos and mismanagement.
 - Distribution of food, clothes and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the Co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives' committees, and small shopkeepers, and allocation of housing under the control of tenants' committees.
 - A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum; the rate for the job; and industrial rates for all members of the armed forces.

Democratic Demands

- Repeal of the Essential Works Order, the Emergency Powers Act and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking legislation.
- Full electoral and democratic rights for all persons from the age of 18 years. Full democratic and political rights for the men and women in uniform.
- Immediate freedom and unconditional independence for India, Ireland and all the colonies of Britain; immediate withdrawal of British armed forces from these countries; full economic and military assistance to the Indian and colonial peoples to maintain their independence against all imperialist attack.

Military Policy

- Clear out the reactionary, pro-fascist, and anti-labour officer caste in the armed forces and Home Guard; election of officers by the ranks.
- Establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker-officers; arming of the workers under the control of workers' committees elected in the factories, unions and in the streets for the defence of the democratic rights of

Famine Looming in

DOCKERS' DEMANDS

SCOTLAND —

Mr. Ernest Bevin, who was General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, was given leave of absence in order to take over one of the main positions in the Coalition Government.

This so-called friend of the dockers, as he used to phrase himself, has done, and is still doing, the job to as near perfection as any Tory could have done, in so far as introducing Anti-labour laws are concerned. So perfect in fact, that no Tory could have done the same and got away with it. But the Tories did the next best thing, they employed the leader of the largest Union in the country to do the dirty work at a fat salary.

Even locally, in so far as the Essential Work (Dock Labour) Order is concerned, Trade Union officials from some of the Local Branches have been put into jobs in full agreement with the employers, as Local Managers of the National Dock Labour Corporation, who are responsible for the operation of the E.W.O. locally, and are paid salaries which they could only previously dream about. In their actions these managers are unscrupulous, they have to be in order to keep their jobs. They have suspended, intimidated and even dismissed dockers from the Docks' Scheme; they even treat with contempt the efforts of the Local Branches to get such men re-instated.

In regard to the Basic Wage and the Minimum Wage when in the "Pool". The Dockers have waged a long struggle in order to obtain a rise on both the Basic and Pool wages. A struggle that has grown tense and has produced great discontent at the failure of their Trade Union leaders to fight the Bosses on their original demand for a rise of five shillings per day.

Another long struggle which the dockers have waged in their respective branches is the need for a Manning Scale in those Ports where none exists, and the question of bringing up to satisfactory rates the inadequate manning scales that exist in some of the other Ports. A manning scale is necessary in the Docks in order to alleviate the strain that the men endure and to stop the employers from working jobs on the cheap by splitting the gangs of men up and so getting extra work done at the expense of the men's bodies.

Also important is the question of a system where minor problems which occur daily could be settled on the spot. Too long have the bosses taken advantage of the time that elapses before the men's grievances are attended to by the local trade union officials; who sometimes have their hands full dealing with other Union business.

Equally important is the need of Local Autonomy where local officials should be elected annually or biennially, and the need for electing National officials on the same basis. They

ing the Dockers on the National Dock Labour Corporation represent the men. They allowed, at a meeting of the corporation, the obligations of the employers to the Pool to be cut down without any concessions being granted to the Dockers whatsoever. Surely this was the opportune time, when the money in the "Pool" was accumulating, for the trade union leaders to press for some kind of concession from the Bosses, such as Pay for the Dockers when off sick.

Dockers! you must organise yourselves in your respective Branches to demand—

1. The Repeal of the E.W.O., and all other anti-labour laws, including the new regulation 1A(a).
2. A basic minimum wage of £1 per day and 15/- per day when in the "Pool".
3. A general Manning Scale throughout Dockland, with the provision that still more men will be added where jobs of an abnormal character etc. warrants it.
4. Shop Steward System throughout Dockland, for the purpose of settling minor problems on the spot.
5. The appointing of officials Annually or Biennially by the Rank and File.
6. The Payment of Salaries to be equivalent to Dockers rates including overtime rates, for the Union officials.
7. The Payment of Benefit, out of the Pool, to those Dockers off sick, the payment to be equivalent to the minimum wage as paid when in Pool.
8. The recall of all trade union officials from Government posts, both Nationally and locally.

Dockers at all ports, large and small, up and down Britain, must unite to struggle within the union for a programme of immediate demands on the lines sketched out above. Different ports have different anomalies where the demands should be altered accordingly. In order to make our demands effective, we must have organised discussion and propaganda within the union. There must be no splitting away from the union or desertion of the union. We must recruit the men to the union and fight against the feeling of defeatism which leads men to throw up union activity. We must fight to reform the union to make it do the job it was made for.

Dockers! Write to our paper to get in touch with the other militant dockers. Link up with the Militant Workers' Federation, the rank and file movement of British trade unionists.

ALEXANDER

CO-OP. CENTENARY

The centenary of the Co-operative Movement which falls during the month of July, is a mighty tribute to the courage, initiative and ability of the working class.

In 1844, 28 weavers, whose capital of £28 was raised in weekly subscriptions of a few coppers, opened the first store in Toad Lane, Rochdale. Its meagre stock consisted of flour, oatmeal, sugar, butter and candles. Their statement of objectives and their method of trading were progressive enough to attract wide support among the masses. Its programme of social aims, including house-building, manufacture, agriculture, distribution, education and government.

During the first three years of its existence the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers laid down its principles of trading, which have been rigidly adhered to, while its social aims have been relegated to the background. The principles cover open membership, regardless of sex or religion, cash trading, credit was neither asked nor given, democratic control, each member having one vote regardless of his capital; the election of officers and committees at a periodical meeting of members; all surplus profits to be distributed to members as dividends; only a limited interest on capital was permitted, and 2½% of profits was allocated for education.

BACKGROUND OF GROWTH

The Co-operative movement was able to grow on the basis of reforms, made possible by the expansion of British capitalism. The repeal of the Corn Laws and the recognition of Trade Unionism, provided the possibility for the future close connection between the Co-ops and the Trade Unions. It gave the opportunity for a combined struggle to obtain protection from the state. In 1852 the Rochdale Pioneers and Christian Socialists (the most militant section of the Trade Union movement of that period) formulated and forced through Parliament, the In-

ROSE CARSON

dustrial and Provident Societies Act, which gave legal status and protection to both movements which were being persecuted by the capitalists. During this period the Co-operative movement put into practice its aims of education. It began a series of cultural classes and provided the country with its first free public libraries.

With the growth of the influence of the Co-operative movement, they found it necessary to have a wider purpose outside of actual business, and in 1869 the Co-operative movement was formed, which elected an Annual Congress with the object of co-ordinating all non-trading activities. By 1851 there had been an attempt at some form of Co-operative wholesaling, but it was not until November 1864 that the Co-operative Wholesale Society was established. Its trading was established on the same basis as the general societies, that is, it charged current prices and returned dividend on purchases.

The growing association between the Co-ops and the Trade Unions was clearly demonstrated by the following facts: From 1864 until 1912 the Co-operative Wholesale Society alone donated £26,000 to strike funds and for the relief of the unemployed. In 1911 the Welsh miners won an eight hour day and a coal-mines minimum wage after a succession of strikes which were made possible by the support of local Co-op stores and the Women's Guild. The railway strike of 1911 was another instance of Co-op assistance. However, the biggest form of class solidarity was the 1913 Dublin strike. During this strike the police attempted to starve the strikers and their families into submission by siege. A call for help was sent to the Co-operative Wholesale Society by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress.

Immediately the Co-operatives sent

two food ships, the first of 18 such ships, with 50,000 bags of groceries and the same number of bags of potatoes, and thus broke the siege.

Their support during the General Strike of 1926 is well-known. On the basis of such class solidarity it was inevitable that the Co-operative movement should appeal to the whole of the class conscious workers.

This class solidarity, however is absent today. The Co-operative no longer supports strikes and workers' struggles, but invests its surplus profit in war savings, and war loans and gilt edged securities—this, despite the fact that the Women's Co-operative Guild has gone on record against the war.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Today, after 100 years, the Co-operative movement has become a great prosperous and world-wide trading organisation. It has a total membership of 9 million, with an annual retail trade amounting to £302,246,329 and its combined assets totalling £488,133,376. It employs 300,000 workers in its 1,148 retail distributive societies. In 1929 it acquired *Reynolds News*, a national Sunday paper with a circulation of over half a million. The Co-ops have achieved stability and success—but what has happened to the programme is reflected in *Reynolds*. Co-operation has adapted itself to capitalist society. It has not attempted to attract the poorer section of the working class or to educate them in a socialist consciousness. The earlier democratic structure has been bound up with red tape and bureaucracy.

The Co-op perspectives for the next decade betokens a naive faith in the possibility of capitalist stabilisation. The ten year plan which proposed to "make the Co-operative movement the most stabilising factor in terms of price and employment in the capitalist state" is an illusion that must inevitably suffer the fate of the high hopes that were placed in the International Co-operative Alliance. The idea that the International Co-operative Alliance could canalise the exports of the

national co-operatives, and thus protect international co-operative import and export trade, has been smashed by the destruction of the movements in the fascist states.

The future of Co-operation is bound up with the future of the whole working class. It cannot hope to escape the general crisis of society in the present period. Beaverbrook's campaign is evidence of the fact that the great trusts and combines are determined to destroy the Co-operative movement, which threatens their stability and profits. The Beaverbrook campaign seeks to place handicaps on the Co-operative movement and to organise the small shopkeepers against it, designating the Co-ops as a giant combine which expands at the expense of the small traders. This campaign has had some small success due to the ambiguous attitude of the Co-ops towards the small traders, and their inability to attract them for the support for co-operation.

THE FUTURE OF CO-OPERATION

The Co-operative movement is still bound to the Labour Party by the "bonds of common birth, growth and aspiration" and as S. R. Elliott correctly states, "it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Labour's immediate policy is conditioned more by capitalist demands than by socialist objectives." While Co-operation pays lip service to the "confiscation of private property" it has produced no concrete programme for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist state.

Co-operators must clearly realise that the Co-ops cannot possibly escape the fate of its fraternal organisations in Europe if the present system continues—that it has no future outside of the socialist state. The beginning of the second century of its existence must pose the question of the adoption of a programme that will lead to the establishment of a classless society and thus ensure the equitable distribution of the goods of society to all its members.

MISSION TO ITALY

To the Editor, 26th June, 1944.
"Socialist Appeal."

Dear Comrade,

You will oblige me if you emphasise in the next issue of the *Socialist Appeal* the ridiculous pretence of these so-called Trade Union "leaders".

Mr. Will Lawther, the Miners' President and Mr. H. N. Harrison of the General and Municipal Workers' Union are leaving shortly for Italy as T.U.C.

Land Bill Satisfies Owners

(Continued from page 1).

This Bill is a continuation of the process of fleecing the masses for the benefit of the landlords, while pre-

LONDON WORKERS SUFFER

(Continued from page 1).

ing poverty and pauperisation is often the lot of the bombed-out. Whether it is in Germany or in Britain it is the workers who always suffer.

THE WAY OUT

The bitter experiences of the civilian

large houses, their proper equipment and furnishing for those who are evacuated. Raise the billeting allowance to provide a proper standard of life.

3. Throw open the deep shelters of the rich for public use; and provide proper sanitary facilities, first aid equipment and medical assistance for all shelterers, as well as proper sleeping accommodation free from overcrowding.

4. All compensation for damaged or destroyed personal and household goods

cial; who sometimes have their hands full dealing with other Union business.

Equally important is the need of Local Autonomy where local officials should be elected annually or biennially, and the need for electing National officials on the same basis. They should receive payment of a salary equivalent to the wages of the Dockers. When the dockers get a rise, the Officials get a rise. If the dockers get a cut, the Officials get a cut. This system would keep the officials in step and make them fight in line with the dockers. Some of the Officials have long enjoyed security in salary and position despite their betrayal of the "rank and file". They know that the "rank and file" have not got the power, in so far as the Constitution of the Union is concerned, to dismiss them from office, until such time as that particular rule in regard to the election of permanent officials is changed.

The next point is a clear example, of how the National Officials represent-

ALEXANDER CUTS ITALIANS WAGES

(Continued from page 1)

too. The Generals have seen to the comforts of their Fascist confreres. But how they treat the workers and soldiers of "liberated" territory is shown by the following story:

The "Daily Mirror" of April 5th reports under the heading: **ALEXANDER BANS ROME WAGE RISE.**

"General Alexander's H.Q. has set aside an order by Colonel Johnson, Military Governor of Rome, increasing the wages of civilians employed by the Allied armies there, according to Associated Press.

Officials in Rome said the Allied forces are paying civilians less than the German army paid them (and below Mussolini's Labour code scale—Ed.)

Lieutenant Colonel T. A. Lane, of Washington, a former labour leader and now chief labour officer for Rome has asked to be relieved of his post.

It was on his recommendation that Colonel Johnson ordered increases, which averaged 15 per cent.

Alexander's H.Q. rejected the scale in favour of that already fixed for Southern Italy."

From the angle of their class and their attitude towards Fascism, all this is quite consistent. But the worker-soldiers have an entirely different attitude. They have no hatred for the ordinary German worker and soldier. They want to destroy fascism once and for all; they want to see a regime established, in Europe of peace and plenty for all. But it is clear that with such officers, drawn from the ranks of the ruling class, who speak a common language with the fascist officers on the other side, fascism and reaction will not be defeated after their "victory" is won.

The soldiers do not want to bring misery to the people of Europe, but to destroy those responsible for fascism together with the European workers and soldiers. The worker soldiers cannot allow their fate to rest in the hands of the officers whose interests are those of the capitalist class and not the workers. They can only place their confidence in officers from the ranks of their own class who will serve the interests of their class. We say to the workers and soldiers: Support our programme: Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist and anti-labour officer caste in the armed forces—election of the officers by the ranks. Demand of the Labour and Trade Union leaders that they fight for the establishment of military schools at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers who will know how to defend the interests of the working class at home and abroad.

Appeal the ridiculous pretence of these so-called Trade Union "leaders".

Mr. Will Lawther, the Miners' President and Mr. H. N. Harrison of the General and Municipal Workers' Union are leaving shortly for Italy as T.U.C. representatives to assist the Italian Trade Unionists to regain their former status; while Italian Trade Unionists, political refugee in England are not permitted even to communicate with their comrades in Italy; for instance, with Prieto Nenni, General Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party and author of the Socialist paper *L'Avanti*, now published in Rome.

This "Travelling Trade Union Buyers", like Colonel Lawrence of Arabia can buy some chieftains, but not the workers. At the best what they can bring back is contempt of the workers. Therefore the struggle will go on. The Italian workers are intelligent enough to understand, first the responsibility for the many bombings on Milan, Turin and Genoa, and not the responsibility of one man and one man only. For long they have understood that the Labour Party or rather, the "leaders" have sold barrels and shots to British capitalism, i.e. imperialism.

With you in the struggle against Oppression,

Fraternally,
A. Caltabiano.

NATIONAL UNION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Amersham, Bucks.
Ingle Dene,
Latimer Road,
Chesham, Bucks.

Ted Grant, 10/6/44.
Editor, "Socialist Appeal,"
256, Harrow Road,
London, W. 2.

Dear Comrade,

I have been requested by my Trade Union branch to express its solidarity with the Anti-Labour Laws Victims Defence Committee. The subsequent resolution was recently passed:—

"The Amersham Branch of the National Union of Agricultural Workers unreservedly condemns Regulation 1Aa and at the same time protests most emphatically against the arrests of Comrades Tearse, Keen, Lee and Haston under the notorious Trades Dispute Act of 1927.

"The Branch demands the instant withdrawal of Ernest Bevin's anti working-class legislation and, in addition, reminds the Labour Party and the T.U.C. that they are pledged not to enforce the Trades Dispute Act but to repeal it at the first opportunity."

Yours fraternally,
MICHAEL WILLIAMS,
Secretary Amersham Branch
N.U.A.W.

OWNERS

(Continued from page 1).

This Bill is a continuation of the process of fleecing the masses for the benefit of the landowners, while pretending to introduce measures to ensure their betterment. It will not have any better result than its predecessors. In the above quoted leader of the "Manchester Guardian" the admission is openly made:

"Outright nationalisation of the land, as the Utthwatt Report points out, would solve the problem at a stroke by simply removing the needs for paying compensation or securing betterment; but nationalisation would also serve other purposes which do not command such general approval."

The coalition has run true to form. The Labour leaders are being used to put shameful legislation across the workers under the guise of "progress". The solution to the problem is simple enough. But the capitalists would do anything to avoid it. What do they care if the generations who have suffered in the war, suffer in the "reconstruction" after the war for good measure. So long as their profits are maintained they do not worry if millions live in unsanitary, disease-ridden and filthy, airless houses. The land, the Labour and the technique are there to make Britain healthy, well-fed, happy and comfortable. All it needs is a well thought out and planned organisation of industry and the towns on a national scale. But it is impossible to do it while private ownership of the land stands in the way. It is private ownership of land which is the stumbling block—then the private ownership of the land must be ended!

It is time to get back what the landowners stole from the people. The land must be nationalised without compensation to the landlords! The Labour M.P.'s are aghast at this outrageous robbery, then let them break the coalition and fight for a policy in the interests of the workers.

Nationalise the land without compensation to the Big Landowners! The Coalition is responsible for this scheme? End the Coalition!

PAMPHLETS

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THE WAY OUT

The bitter experiences of the civilian population under the flying-bomb attack compares with the similar experiences of the German workers under the almost continuous day and night bombardment of the five ton block-busters. In Germany as in Britain the same class system prevails. High ranking Nazis, Junkers, and industrialists, in common with the lords and ladies of Britain live well behind the lines at the expense of the working people.

In Germany as in Britain, human blood and tears are transformed into shares, dividends and fabulous profits by the capitalists. In the midst of the slaughter a common bond of class suffering is built up between the German and British workers. Across the warring frontiers the age-old bond of class solidarity breaks through all the lies and hatred generated by a corrupt system. When the capitalists say there is a difference between the position in Germany to that in Britain, that is perfectly true. But the only real difference lies in the fact that the organisations of the working class, the trade unions and political parties are still intact in Britain, and though emasculated, the rights which were fought for and won by our fathers, have not been destroyed. But we must make use of our rights and our organisations if they are not to be obliterated by the ruling class.

For the immediate relief of those who have been bombed out, the Revolutionary Communist Party calls upon the Trades Councils, labour and trade union organisations to fight for the following programme:

1. The immediate commandeering of all empty flats, houses, mansions and rooms in hotels for those who are homeless. Requisitioning to be carried out under control of elected street committees. No rents to be paid for damaged buildings until full reconstruction is made.

2. Immediate requisitioning of all

proper sanitary facilities, first aid equipment and medical assistance for all shelterers, as well as proper sleeping accommodation free from overcrowding.

4. All compensation for damaged or destroyed personal and household goods should be paid on the spot and based on the actual wartime cost of articles.

READ

The Death Agony of Capitalism AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS
By Leon Trotsky
THE PROGRAMME OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
48 Pages Pamphlet 6d

CORRECTION

An error crept into the article in our last issue by Rose Carson entitled "Italian Quislings Protected." It said: "However, while it is a step forward to have a 100 per cent anti-Fascist Government, the masses can place little trust in Bonomi and his cabinet." Obviously, as the rest of the article indicates it was not intended to mean that this government in any way reflects the interests of the workers or that it was genuinely anti-fascist. The "Socialist Appeal" has time and again stated that a "People's Front" and "National Unity" in all its forms is directed as a "strike-breaking conspiracy" against the working class. Especially is this the case in a caricature Government set up under the bayonets of the Imperialists. What was meant was that the pressure of the workers in Rome was so irresistibly against the Monarchy and the hated Badoglio, who are smeared irretrievably with the slime of fascism, that the Italian capitalists were compelled to throw Badoglio overboard to pacify the masses. Despite the fact that all the Allies, especially the Kremlin backed Badoglio and the King with the full force at their command, they could not save him. In this sense the movement of the masses, reflected in the change of Government, represented a step forward in the Italian revolution. Although, of course, the crime of the Stalinists and "Socialists" in creating the illusion that this government will act in the interests of the Italian people and bring those responsible for fascism to justice (i.e. the capitalist class) represents a terrible danger for the Italian people. But as the article and the editorial of the same issue indicated the Fourth Internationalists in Italy are teaching the workers that they can only rely on their own independent class forces and organisations to achieve their aims.

The phrase "100 per cent anti-fascist government" should have been in quotation marks.

—Ed.

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Fight Breakaways

(Continued from page 3.)

and Committees doing the day to day work of fighting the boss, that the Trade Union is unnecessary and only hampers the work: why have a Union?

This question and the role of shop committees and ad hoc committees will be dealt with in the next issue of the Appeal.

THE MILITANT WORKERS FEDERATION HELPS IN THIS TASK

The Militant Workers Federation is not a union. It seeks to organise 100% trade union membership. It seeks to help all workers in all trade unions and all shop committees to clear out the bureaucrats, to re-establish the independence of the trade unions from the bosses; it fights for a policy of workers' control of industry. One of its tasks is to see to it that wherever possible support must be rallied in defence of any union militant victimised by the bosses or the bureaucrats for supporting a fighting policy.

This policy has earned the hatred of the jaded, cynical trade union bureaucrats of the Bevin, Joe Hall, stamp. It is not difficult to see why Ernest Bevin unleashed the attacks of the bosses' police force against the Militant Workers Federation Secretary and its policy. It is because they see their end in this policy.

It is one of the tasks not only of the Militant Workers Federation, but of that the tendency to turn away from the unions is strenuously combatted. While this trend is not by any means assuming alarming proportions at this stage, it must be fought with a resolute class conscious policy of struggle in the unions.

TURN THE UNIONS INTO FIGHTING ORGANS OF STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS!